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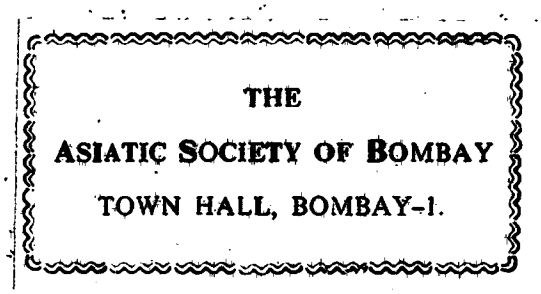

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THE

HISTORY OF JAVA.

VOLUME I.

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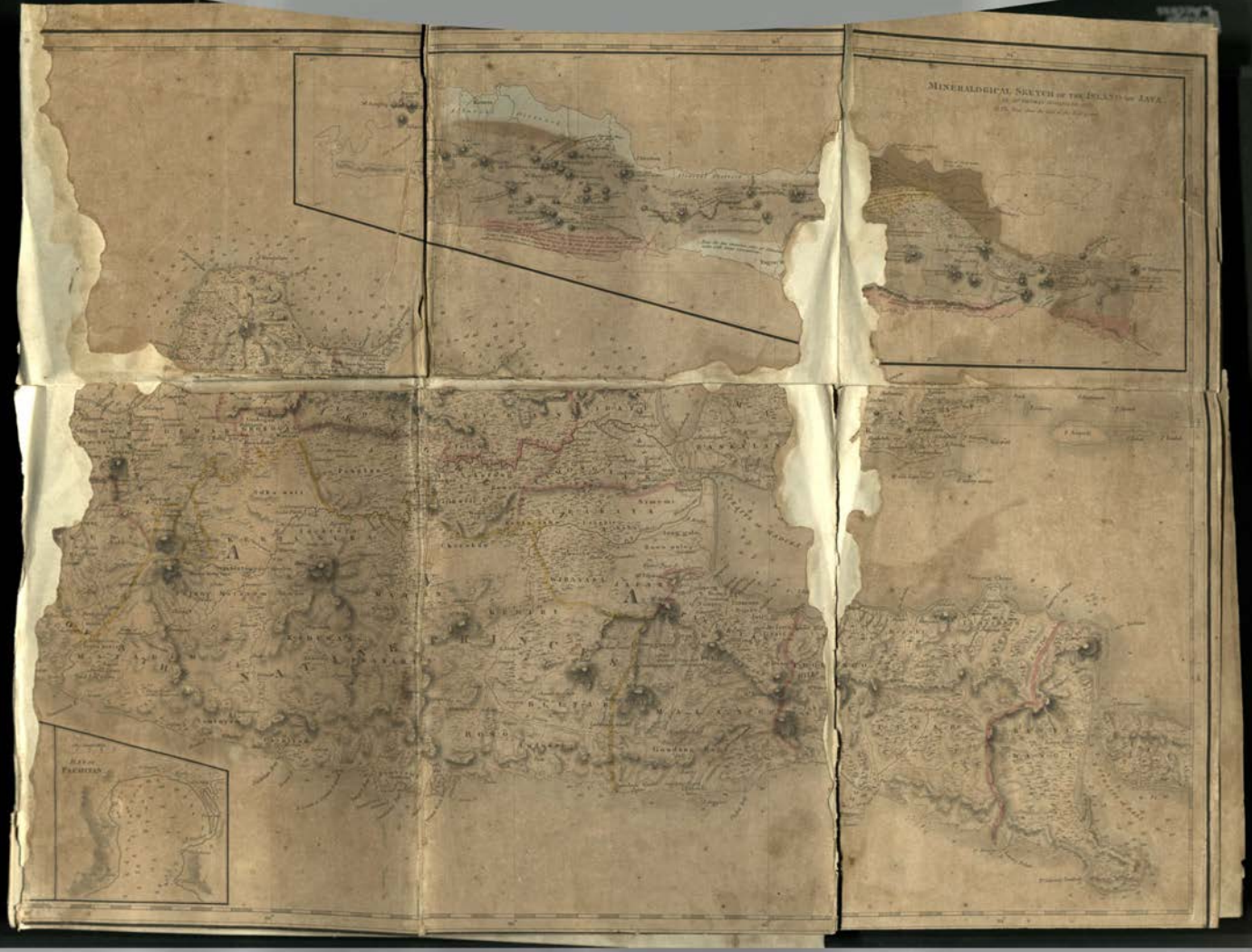
MINERALOGICAL SKETCH OF THE ISLAND OF JAVA

A Map of
JAVA
Chiefly from Surveys made during the
British Administration
Constructed in Illustration of an
Account of Java
By Thomas Stamford Raffles Esq
and Engraved by
J. Walker.
Plan of
PALASUAN BAY
WYN COOPS BAY.
WESTERN HARBOUR
EASTERN HARBOUR
HARBOURS Formed by the ISLAND
NUSA KAMBANG'AN.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH

Rāden Rāna Dipūra

London Published by Black Parbury & Allen Leadenhall Street 1827

THE

HISTORY

OF

JAVA.

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OC

BY

THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES, Esq.

Late Lieut.-Governor of that Island and its Dependencies,

F.R.S. and A.S.

Member of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, Honorary Member of the Literary Society at Bombay, and late President of the Society of Arts and Sciences at Batavia.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

WITH A MAP AND PLATES.

VOL. I.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR BLACK, PARBURY, AND ALLEN, BOOKSELLERS TO THE HON. EAST-INDIA COMPANY, LEADENHALL STREET; AND JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1817.

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Printed by Cox and Baylis,
Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE

Prince Regent.

SIR,

THE gracious permission which I have received to dedicate these volumes to your Royal Highness, affords me an opportunity of interesting your Royal Highness in favour of the amiable and ingenuous people whose country they describe. The high respect they entertain for British valour and justice, and the lively gratitude they retain for the generous system of British Legislation, will, I am sure, give them a strong claim upon your Royal Highness's good opinion.

To

To uphold the weak, to put down lawless force, to lighten the chain of the slave, to sustain the honour of the British arms and British good faith; to promote the arts, sciences, and literature, to establish humane institutions, are duties of government which have been most conspicuously performed during your Royal Highness's regency. For a period of nearly five years, in which I have had the honour, as a servant of the East-India Company, to preside over a mild and simple people, it has been my pride and my ambition to make known to them the justice and benevolence of my Prince, whose intentions towards them I could only fulfil by acting up to the principles of the Authority which I represented, and by doing every thing in my power to make them happy.

To those who judge that the right to express their sentiments requires no more than sincerity, or that their praise is of a value to overbalance the disrespect of offering it, I shall leave the usual language of dedications.

Conscious

Conscious that the assurances of respect and of loyal attachment can never be offered to your Royal Highness by the humblest British subject, without meeting a gracious reception,

I have the honour to be,

With profound veneration and respect,

SIR,

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS'S

Most faithful and most dutiful servant,

THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES.

AS it is possible that, in the many severe strictures passed, in the course of this work, upon the Dutch Administration in Java, some of the observations may, for want of a careful restriction in the words employed, appear to extend to the Dutch nation and character generally, I think it proper explicitly to declare, that such observations are intended exclusively to apply to the Colonial Government and its Officers. The orders of the Dutch Government in Holland to the Authorities at Batavia, as far as my information extends, breathe a spirit of liberality and benevolence; and I have reason to believe, that the tyranny and rapacity of its colonial officers, created no less indignation in Holland than in other countries of Europe.

For such, and all other inaccuracies, as well as for the defects of style and arrangement which may appear in this work, an apology is necessary; and in the circumstances under which it has been prepared, it is hoped, that an admissable one will be found. While in the active discharge of the severe and responsible duties of an extensive government, it was not in my power to devote much time to the subject: the most that I could do, was to encourage the exertions of others, and to collect in a crude state such new or interesting matter as fell under my personal observation. I quitted Java in the month of March in last year: on the twelve months that have

since elapsed, illness during the voyage to Europe and subsequently, added to the demands on my time arising out of my late office, and the duties of private friendship after an absence of many years, have made great encroachments; but engaged as I am in public life, and about to proceed to a distant quarter of the globe, I have been induced, by the interest which the subject of these volumes has excited, and the precarious state of my health, rather to rely on the indulgence of the public than the attainment of leisure, for which I must wait certainly long, and possibly in vain.

Most sincerely and deeply do I regret, that this task did not fall into hands more able to do it justice. There was one,* dear to me in private friendship and esteem, who, had he lived, was of all men best calculated to have supplied those deficiencies which will be apparent in the very imperfect work now presented to the Public. From his profound acquaintance with eastern languages and Indian history, from the unceasing activity of his great talents, his other prodigious acquirements, his extensive views, and his confident hope of illustrating national migrations from the scenes which he was approaching, much might have been expected; but just as he reached those shores on which he hoped to slake his ardent thirst for knowledge, he fell a victim to excessive exertion, deeply deplored by all, and by none more truly than myself.

The plates which accompany this work, not otherwise distinguished, are from the graver, and many of the designs from the pencil of Mr. William Daniell, who has devoted his undivided attention in forming a proper conception of his subject, and spared neither time nor exertion in the execution. Some irregularity may possibly exist in

* Dr. J. C. Leyden, the bard of Tiviotdale, who accompanied the expedition to Batavia in 1811, and expired in my arms a few days after the landing of the troops.

in the arrangement of them: this has arisen from an uncertainty with respect to the number which could be completed in time for the present publication, and that which it would be necessary to postpone for a future work, intended to exhibit, with greater minuteness, many of the more striking architectural and other remains of antiquity in the island of Java.

My acknowledgments are due to the Right Honourable Sir JOSEPH BANKS, Bart., the venerable President of the Royal Society, for his kindness and encouragement; and particularly so to Mr. CHARLES WILKINS, Librarian to the East-India Company, as well as to Mr. WILLIAM MARSDEN, for many suggestions, of which I regret that I have not been enabled to avail myself so much as I could wish, in consequence of the haste with which the work has been got up. I am also indebted to Mr. THOMAS MURDOCH, not only for access to his valuable library, but for illustrations from Portuguese authors, which the reader will find in the Introduction and Appendix.

For all that relates to the Natural History of Java, I am indebted to the communications of Dr. THOMAS HORSFIELD. Though sufficient for my purpose, it forms but a scanty portion of the result of his long and diligent researches on this subject. Of this, however, I am happy to say, that the public will shortly be able to judge for themselves.

In sketching the state of the Dutch East-India Company, and the measures adopted by the Dutch government respecting Java, subsequently to the year 1780, I have availed myself of much very valuable information communicated to me by Mr. H. W. MUNTINGHE, President of the Supreme Court of Justice at Batavia; and as, in the course of this work, I have often been obliged to condemn the principles and conduct of the Dutch colonists, I am

anxious to acknowledge the distinguished merit of this excellent magistrate, and that of Mr. J. C. CRANSSEN, President of the Bench of Schepenen, both selected by the late EARL OF MINTO to be members of the British Council in Java.

The English came to Java as friends. Holland had ceased to be an independent nation, and for the time there could be but two parties, the one English, the other French. The emissaries of the late ruler of France had perverted the minds of the majority: many were doubtful on which side they should rally. At this critical juncture these two gentlemen declared for England and the ancient order of things; and to the influence of their decision and conduct is to be ascribed, not only the cordiality and good understanding which soon prevailed between the English and Dutch, but in a great measure also that general tranquillity of the country, without which the re-transfer of it to the rule of its former masters might have been impracticable.

Of the wisdom and benevolence which determined the late EARL OF MINTO to place two members of the Dutch nation at the Board of the British Council in Java, it is unnecessary to speak. The measure was in the same spirit which uniformly actuated that enlightened and virtuous statesman, my revered patron and ever lamented friend. The selection of the two gentlemen whom I have mentioned, was no less advantageous. To their countrymen it was peculiarly so, and I am happy to have this opportunity of publicly expressing my acknowledgments to them for the good counsel, firm support, and unwearied exertions, by which they were distinguished while members of the Board.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

The principles of Orthography, recommended by Sir WILLIAM JONES, and adopted by the Asiatic Society at Calcutta, have been adopted in this work, with some slight modifications. The consonants preserve the same sounds generally as the same letters in the English alphabet: the vowels are used as in Italian. To avoid confusion, the emphatic syllables are alone accented, and the inherent vowel *a* has invariably been adopted.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE first arrival of the Portuguese in the Eastern Islands was in the year 1510, when Alphonzo de Albuquerque first visited Sumatra. In the following year, Albuquerque conquered the city of Malacca, and sent to announce that event to those countries and islands which had traded thither, inviting them to continue their intercourse, and promising them protection and encouragement.* To Java and the Moluccas he sent Antonio de Abrew, having, however, previously prepared the way by a Moor or Mahometan, of the name of *Nakoda Ismael*, who was trading in a merchant vessel. Antonio de Abrew sailed on his mission with three vessels, and took with him several Javans and Malayus who had been accustomed to trade with Malacca. The first port on Java at which he arrived was the city of *Agacai*,† and from thence he sailed to Amboina, one of the Moluccas, where ‡ he set up his padroes, or pillars of discovery and possession, as he had done at every port at which he had touched. One of the vessels was lost in a storm, but the people were saved and carried by Abrew to a port in Banda to which vessels then resorted for trade, and whither it was that the Javan vessels used to go for cloves, nutmegs, and

Java first visited by the Portuguese.

 mace,

* Barros, Decada 3, chap. 6, book 3.

† Probably *Grésik*.

‡ Barros, Decada 3, book 5, chapter 6.

mace, which were carried to that port by the natives of the Moluccas in their own vessels.

Nakoda Ismael returning from the Moluccas with a cargo of nutmegs, his vessel was wrecked on the coast of Java, near *Tuban*. The cargo of the *Nakoda's* vessel having been saved, Joam Lopez Alvrin was sent (A. D. 1513) by the governor of Malacca with four vessels to receive it. Alvrin was well received in all the ports of Java where he touched, but particularly at *Sidayu* belonging to *Páteh Unrug*, a prince who had been defeated at Malacca by Fernan Peres.

The straits of *Sínga púra** being infested by the cruisers of the former king of Malacca, who had been expelled from his dominions by the Portuguese in 1511, the straits of *Sában* were the usual route of the Portuguese vessels from Malacca to the Spice Islands, and in this voyage they generally touched at the ports of Java.

About the year 1520 or 1521, Antonio de Britto, with six vessels under his command, bound to the Moluccas, touched first at *Túban* and proceeded afterwards to *Agacai*, where he remained seventeen days, during which time he sent a boat to the island of *Madúra*, for the purpose of exploring it; but the men landing incautiously were surprised and made prisoners, and were not ransomed without much difficulty, and the friendly intervention of the governor of *Agacai*.

Antonio de Britto had scarcely accomplished the ransom of his men, when he was joined by Don Garcia Henriquez with four vessels bound to Banda for spices, and at the same time a Javan vessel arrived from Banda. This vessel had been furnished with a pass from the Spaniards, under Fernan de Megalhaen, who having passed by the straits which bear his name, had arrived at the Spice Islands. This was the first intelligence which the Portuguese received of Megalhaen's discovery of the route round the southern extremity of the American continent, and they were the more mortified at it, as

* Barros, Decada 3, book 5, chap 7.

as he had left his own country in disgust, and was then in the service of Spain.*

The

* The following is the description of Java from Jono de Barros, Decada iv, book i, chap. 12.

"Before we treat of the expedition of Francisco de Sa, it is proper to state the occasion of "the expedition, and how that was connected with the treaty of peace and friendship which, "by order of Jorge de Albuquerque, governor of Malacca, Henriquez Lerne concluded with "the King of Sunda, on account of the pepper produce in that kingdom.

"We must, therefore, first give an account of the voyage of Henriquez Lerne. The king- "dom of Sunda being one of those of the island of Java, it will be best to begin with a general "description of that island, that what follows may be understood.

"The land of Java we consider as two islands, whose position is from east to west, and "nearly in the same parallel, in seven or eight degrees of south latitude. The total length of "the two islands, according to the best authorities, is about one hundred and eighty leagues, "although perhaps this is rather exaggerated.

"The Javans themselves do not divide the land into two islands, but consider the whole "length as constituting only one; and on the west, where it approaches Sumatra, there is a "channel of ten or twelve leagues wide, through which all the navigation of eastern and western "India used to pass, previous to the founding of Malacca.

"A chain of very high mountains runs along the whole length of Java. Their distance from "the northern coast is about twenty-five leagues. How far they are from the southern shore is "not certainly known, though the natives say about as far as from the northern.

"Sunda, of which we are now to treat, is situated at about one-third of the total length of "Java from the west end. The natives of Sunda consider themselves as separated from Java "by a river, called *Chiamo* or *Chenan*, little known to our navigators; so that the natives, in "dissecting Java, speak of it as separated by this river *Chiamo* from the island of Sunda on "the west, and on the east by a strait from the island of Bali; as having Madura on the "north, and on the south an undiscovered sea; and they think that whoever shall proceed "beyond those straits, will be hurried away by strong currents, so as never to be able to "return, and for this reason they never attempt to navigate it, in the same manner as the "Moors on the eastern coast of Africa do not venture to pass the Cape of Currents."

The following is the substance of a note inserted in Jono de Barros, Decadas, p. 76—77, vol. 4, part 1st, 8vo. Lisbon 1777.

"The island of Java is divided into many kingdoms along the northern coast; and begin- "ning to the eastward, those of which we have any account are—*Paneruca*, *Ovalle*, *Agasai*, "*Paniao* (whose king resides in the interior and has a supremacy over those just mentioned), "*Beredam*, *Sodaio*, *Tubam*, *Cajoam*, *Japara* (the capital of this kingdom is called *Cheronhama*, "three leagues from the sea coast, near to which *Japara* is situated), *Damo*, *Margam*, and "*Matarem*.

"In the mountainous interior live a numerous class of chiefs, called Gunos: they are a savage "race and eat human flesh. The first inhabitants were Siamese, who about the year 800 of "the Christian era, on their passage from Siam to Macassar were driven by a great storm on "the island of *Bali*. Their junk being wrecked they escaped in their boat, and arrived at

"Java,

Arrival of the Dutch.

The first voyage made by the Dutch was in 1595, in which year their first fleet, under the command of Houtman (who had been previously employed by the Portuguese in the East-India service), sailed direct to Bantam.

" Java, until that period undiscovered; but, which on account of its size and fertility was " immediately peopled by *Passara*, son of the king of Siam: and the city of *Passaruan*, " called after his own name, was founded at a very good seaport, and this was the first settle- " ment on the island.

" The Javans are proud, brave, and treacherous, and so vindictive, that for any slight " offence (and they consider as the most unpardonable the touching their forehead with your " hand) they declare *amok* to revenge it. They navigate much to every part of the Eastern " Archipelago, and say that formerly they used to navigate the ocean as far as the island of " Madagascar (St. Laurence).

" The city of *Bintam*, or *Banta*, which is in the middle of the opening of the straits of Sunda, " stands in the centre of a large bay, which from point to point may be about three leagues " wide, the bottom good, and the depth of water from two to six fathoms. A river of suffi- " cient depth for junks and galleys, falls into this bay, and divides the town into two parts. " On one side of the town there is a fort, built of sun-dried bricks: the walls are about seven " palms thick, the bulwarks of wood, well furnished with artillery.

" The island of Sunda is more mountainous than Java. It has six good seaports: *Chiamo*, " at the extremity of the island; *Chacatara*, or *Caravam*; *Tungaram*, *Cheginde*, *Pandang*, and " *Bintam*, which have a great traffic, on account of the trade carried on, not only with " Java, but with Malacca and Sumatra.

" The principal city of this kingdom is called *Daro*, situated a little towards the interior, " and we are assured that when Henriquez Lerne first visited it, this town had upwards of fifty " thousand inhabitants, and that the kingdom had upwards of one hundred thousand fighting " men.

" The soil is very rich. An inferior gold, of six carats, is found. There is abundance of " butcher's meat, game and provisions, and tamarinds which serve the natives for vinegar. " The inhabitants are not very warlike, much addicted to their idolatries, and hate the Maho- " medans, and particularly since they were conquered by the *Sangue Pati Dama*.

" Here four or five thousand slaves may be purchased, on account of the numerous popula- " tion, and its being lawful for the father to sell the children. The women are handsome, and " those of the nobles chaste, which is not the case with those of the lower classes. There are " monasteries or convents for the women, into which the nobles put their daughters, when " they cannot match them in marriage according to their wishes. The married women, when " their husbands die, must, as a point of honour, die with them, and if they should be afraid " of death they are put into the convents.

" The kingdom descends from father to son, and not from uncle to nephew, (son of the " sister,) as among the Malabars and other infidels in India.

" They are fond of rich arms, ornamented with gold and inlaid work. Their *krises* are gilt, " and also the point of their lances. Many other particulars might be added (but we reserve " them

Bantam. At this period the Portuguese were at war with the king of Bantam, to whom Houtman offered assistance, in return for which he obtained permission

" them for our geography),* concerning the productions of this island, in which upwards of " thirty thousand quintals of pepper are collected annually."

" Decad. iv. Chapter 13.

" In the year 1522, Jorge Albuquerque, governor of Malacca, equipped a vessel to carry " Henriquez Lerne, with a competent suite and certain presents, to the king Samiam above " mentioned, for the purpose of establishing a commercial intercourse. Lerne was well re- " ceived by the king, who was fully sensible of the importance of such a connexion, in the " war in which he was then engaged with the Moors (Mahomedans); and, therefore, he re- " quested that, for the protection of the trade, the king of Portugal should erect a fortress, " and that he would load as many ships as he chose with pepper, in return for such merchan- " dize as the country required. And further, he (the king) obliged himself, as a pledge " of his friendship, to give him annually a thousand bags of pepper, from the day on which " the building of the fortress should commence.

* * * * *

" These things being concluded and presents exchanged, Lerne returned to Malacca, where " he was well received by Albuquerque, who immediately communicated the result to the " king of Portugal, who approved of all that had been done.

* * * * * *

" Francisco de Sá was in consequence dispatched with six vessels (the names of which and " of their commanders are enumerated), with which he called at Malacca, and accompanied " the expedition against Bintam (then in the possession of the expelled king of Malacca), on " leaving which he was overtaken by a dreadful storm, and one of his vessels, commanded by " Dironte Coelho, reached the port of Calapa (where the fort was to be built), where she " was driven on shore, and all the crew perished by the hands of the Moors (Mahomedans), who " were then masters of the country, having a few days before taken the town from the native " king, who had concluded the treaty with the King of Portugal, and given him the site on " which to erect the fortress.

* * * * * *

" But although the intended establishment on Java was thus frustrated, the Portuguese " continued to have intercourse with that island, at which they frequently touched on their " voyage to and from the Moluccas."

Decad. iv. Book i. Chapter 14.

" In August, 1526, Antonio de Britto, on his return from Ternati to Malacca, touched at " the port of Paneruca, where he found his countryman, Jono de Moreno, who had twenty " Malay junks under his command. From thence he proceeded to the town of *Tagasam*, " whose inhabitants were at war with the Portuguese, and had captured a junk laden with " cloves, which he had dispatched to Malacca, and they even attempted to take the vessel in " which

* Barros often alludes to his Treatise on Geography, in which he had described particularly all the countries mentioned in his Decadas; but it never was published, having been left in an imperfect state at his death.

permission to build a factory at Bantam, which was the first settlement formed by the Dutch in the East-Indies.

Following

" which he himself was, which occasioned his quitting that place, having however first captured " a junk laden with provisions."

Decad. iv. Book i. Chapter 17.

" In July, 1528, Don Garcia Henriquez appears to have touched at the port of Paneruca, " (Panarukan) for the purpose of taking in provisions on his way to Malacca; and it also " appears, that the king or chief of Paneruca sent ambassadors to the Portuguese governor of " Malacca in the same year 1528."

The following is the substance of a description of Java from the Deçada of Diego de Couto. —Decad. iv. Book iii. Chapter i.

Couto describes the wreck of a Portuguese vessel, and the destruction of her crew by the Moors, who had just become masters of the kingdom of Sunda, in nearly the same words as Barros. He then proceeds to state, that Francis de Sá ran before the storm along the coast of Java, and collected his scattered vessels in the port of *Paneruca*, and gives a general description of Java in nearly the following words.

" But it will be proper to give a concise description of this country, and to shew which " were the Greater and the Lesser Java of Marco Polo, and clear up the confusion which has " prevailed among modern geographers on this subject.

" The figure of the island of Java resembles a hog couched on its fore legs, with its snout " to the channel of *Balaberao*, and its hind legs towards the mouth of the Straits of Sunda, " which is much frequented by our ships. This island lies directly east and west; its length " about one hundred and sixty, and its breadth about seventy leagues.

" The southern coast (hog's back) is not frequented by us, and its bays and ports are not " known; but the northern coast (hog's belly) is much frequented, and has many good ports: " and although there are many shoals, yet the channels and the anchorages are so well known, " that but few disasters happen.

" There are many kingdoms along the maritime parts, some of them subordinate to the " others; and beginning at the east (head of the hog), we will set down the names of such as " are known: *Ovalle, Paneruoa, Agasai, Sodayo, Paniao* (whose sovereign resides thirty leagues " inland, and is a kind of emperor over these and others hereafter mentioned), *Tabao, Berdoao,* " *Cajoao, Japara* (whose principal city or town is called Cerinhama, three leagues inland, " while Japara is situated on the sea shore), *Damo, Margao, Banta, Sunda, Andreguir* (where " there is much pepper, which is exported by a river called Jande). In the mountainous in- " terior there are many kings, called *Gunos*; they live among rugged mountains, are savage " and brutal, and many of them eat human flesh.

" These mountains are exceedingly high, and some of them emit flames, like the island of " Ternati. Every one of these kingdoms which we have named has a language of its own; yet " they mutually understand each other, as we do the Spaniards and Galicians.

" The kingdom of Sunda is thriving and abundant; it lies between Java and Sumatra, hav- " ing between it and the latter the Straits of *Sunda*. Many islands lie along the coast of

this

Following the example of the Dutch, the English East India Company, immediately after their incorporation by Queen Elizabeth in 1601, fitted out

Arrival of the English.

"this kingdom within the Straits, for nearly the space of forty leagues, which in the widest are "about twenty-five, and in others only twelve leagues broad. *Banta* is about the middle "distance. All the islands are well timbered, but have little water. A small one, called "*Macar*, at the entrance of the Straits, is said to have much gold.

"The principal ports of the kingdom of *Sunda* are *Banta*, *Aché*, *Chacatara* (or, by another "name, *Caravão*), to which every year resort about twenty *Sommas*, which are a kind of "vessel belonging to *Chienhec* (Cochin China), out of the maritime provinces of China, to "load pepper. For this kingdom produces eight thousand *bahars*, which are equal to thirty "thousand quintals of pepper annually.

"Bantam is situated in six degrees of south latitude, in the middle of a fine bay, which is "three leagues from point to point. The town in length, stretching landward, is eight hun-"dred and fifty fathoms, and the seaport extends about four hundred. A river capable of ad-"mitting junks and gallies, flows through the middle of the town: a small branch of this river "admits boats and small craft.

"There is a brick fort, the walls of which are seven palms thick, with wooden bulwarks, "armed with two tiers of artillery. The anchorage is good; in some places a muddy, in "others a sandy bottom, the depth from two to six fathoms.

"The King, Don John, conceiving that if he had a fortress in this situation he should be "master of the straits, and of all the pepper of those kingdoms, recommended it strongly to "the lord admiral to have a fort built by Francisco de Sa; and even now it would be perhaps "still more important as well for the purpose of defending the entrance against the English "and the Turks, as for the general security of the trade and commerce of those parts, which "is the principal value of India. And it was the opinion of our forefathers, that if the king "possessed three fortresses, one in this situation, one on *Acheen head*, and one on the coast of "*Pegu*, the navigation of the east would in a manner be locked by these keys, and the king "would be lord of all its riches; and they gave many reasons in support of their opinions, "which we forbear to repeat, and return to Java.

"The island of Java is abundantly furnished with every thing necessary to human life; so "much so, that from it *Malacca*, *Acheen*, and other neighbouring countries, derive their sup-"plies.

"The natives, who are called *Jaos* (Javans), are so proud that they think all mankind their "inferiors; so that, if a Javan were passing along the street, and saw a native of any other "country standing on any hillock or place raised higher than the ground on which he was "walking, if such person did not immediately come down until he should have passed, the "Javan would kill him, for he will permit no person to stand above him; nor would a Javan "carry any weight or burthen on his head, even if they should threaten him with death.

"They are a brave and determined race of men, and for any slight offence will run *amok* "to be revenged; and even if they are run through and through with a lance, they will "advance until they close with their adversary.

"The

out a fleet of four ships, the command of which was entrusted to Captain Lancaster, who sailed from London in 1602, first to *Acheen* (*Aché*) on Sumatra, where he procured part of his cargo, and entered into a treaty with the king, of which a copy is yet in existence. From *Acheen* he went to *Bantam*, and settled a factory there, which was the first possession of the English in the East Indies. Captain Lancaster brought home a letter from the king of Bantam to Queen Elizabeth in 1602, which is still in the State Paper Office.

Establishment of the Dutch at Batavia.

In 1610, the first Dutch governor general, Bolt, arrived at Bantám, and finding the situation of his countrymen in that province not favourable to the establishment of a permanent settlement, removed to *Jákatra*. On the 4th of March, 1621, the name of *Batavia* was conferred upon the new establishment of the Dutch in *Jákatra*, which from that period became the capital of their East Indian empire.

In 1683, the English, who had hitherto maintained a successful rivalry with the Dutch, withdrew their establishment from *Bantam*.

Conquest of Java by the British Forces.

In the year 1811, Holland having become a province of France, the French flag was hoisted at Batavia; and on the 11th September, in the same year, the

" The men are expert navigators, in which they claim priority of all others; although " many give the honour to the Chinese, insisting that they preceded the Javans. But it is " certain that the Javans have sailed to the Cape of Good Hope, and have had intercourse with " the island of Madagascar on the off side, where there are many people of a brown colour, " and a mixed Javan race, who descend from them."

There here follows the refutation of a ridiculous story told by Nicolas Couti, the Venetian, about a tree that produced a rod of gold in its pith, at which some well informed Javans, of whom Couti inquired, laughed very heartily.

" Marco Polo mentions the greater and the lesser Java. We are of opinion, that the Java of " which we are treating is the lesser, and that the island of Sumatra is the greater Java; for he " says that the greater Java is two thousand miles in circumference, and that the north star is " not visible, and that it has eight kingdoms, *Taleh*, *Basma*, *Camara*, *Dragojdo*, *Lambri*, *Fara-* " *fur*, from which it is very clear, that he means Sumatra, for it has nearly the dimensions which " he assigns it. The north pole is not visible, as this island lies under the equinoctial line, " which is not the case with any of the islands situated to the northward, on all of which the north " star is seen: and it is still more evident from the names of the kingdoms; for there cannot " be a doubt that *Camara* is the same as *Camatra* (the ç being soft like s). *Dragojao*, (which is " pronounced *Dragojang*) or *Andreguir*, and *Lambri*, still retain their names on that island."

the British government was declared supreme on Java, by a proclamation of that date signed by the Earl of Minto, Governor-General of Bengal. On the 17th of the same month, a capitulation was entered into, by which all the dependencies fell into the hands of Great Britain.

On the 13th August, 1814, a convention was entered into by Viscount Castlereagh, on the part of his Britannic Majesty, restoring to the Dutch the whole of their former possessions in the Eastern Islands; and on the 19th August, 1816, the flag of the Netherlands was again hoisted at Batavia.

Without adverting to the political importance to Great Britain of the conquest of Java, or to the great commercial advantages which both countries might eventually have derived from its remaining in our hands, I shall merely notice that the loss of it was no immediate or positive evil to the Dutch. For many years prior to the British expedition, Holland had derived little or no advantage from the nominal sovereignty which she continued to exercise over its internal affairs. All trade and intercourse between Java and Europe was interrupted and nearly destroyed; it added nothing to the commercial wealth or the naval means of the mother country: the controul of the latter over the agents she employed had proportionally diminished; she continued to send out governors, counsellors, and commissioners, but she gained from their inquiries little information on the causes of her failure, and no aid from their exertions in improving her resources, or retarding the approach of ruin. The colony became a burden on the mother country instead of assisting her, and the Company which had so long governed it being itself ruined, threw the load of its debts and obligations on the rest of the nation.

It might have been some consolation for the loss of immediate profit, or the contraction of immediate debt, to know, that such unfavourable circumstances were merely temporary; that they arose out of a state of political relations which affected internal improvement, and that the resources of the colony were progressively increasing, and would become available when peace or political changes should allow trade to flow in its former

channels. Whether the Dutch could not indulge such prospects, or whether the system on which the internal government of their eastern dominion was conducted was in itself ruinous under any circumstances, a view of the financial and commercial state of Java before the conquest, and of the causes which led to the losses and dissolution of the Dutch East India Company, will assist the reader in determining.

Financial and commercial state of Java before the conquest.

In tracing these causes, it is hardly necessary to go further back than the period of the Company's history immediately preceding the war of 1780. The accidental calamities of that war brought it to the brink of ruin, and its importance in the past transactions of the country being borne in mind, a general concern existed in Holland for its preservation, and for the restoration and maintenance of its credit. With the view of affording it the most effective and beneficial assistance, inquiries were set on foot, not only to discover some temporary means of relief, but to provide a more permanent remedy for threatened decline. It is impossible to ascertain what might have been the result of the measures which were then in contemplation, as the convulsed state of Europe, and especially of Holland, subsequently to this period, left no room for their operation, and did not even admit of making the experiment of their efficiency. The free intercourse of the mother country with her colonies was interrupted; the trade was thrown into the hands of neutrals; several possessions were lost for the want of due protection, and those which remained were left to support or defend themselves in the best way they could, without any assistance or reinforcement from home.

For ten years preceding the year 1780, the average annual sales of the Company amounted to upwards of twenty millions of guilders, which was considerably more than in former years, and the prices of the different articles were nearly the same as they had been from the years 1648 to 1657, when the sales only amounted on an average to about eight millions a year; it was therefore clear, that the decline of the Company was not to be attributed to the decrease of trade.

On

On an examination of the Indian books, it was found, that from the year 1613 to 1696, the profits in India, though moderate, had always kept equal pace with the profits in Europe.

From 1613	To 1653.	To 1663.	To 1673.	To 1683.	To 1693.
	Guilders.	Guilders.	Guilders.	Guilders.	Guilders.
The total profits were..	101,704,417	142,663,776	206,072,335	259,250,969	322,735,812
Expences	76,177,755	117,616,961	161,271,745	212,282,020	274,416,306
Nett Profits....	25,526,662	25,046,815	44,798,587	46,968,949	48,319,506

Thus, on an average of forty years till 1653, the annual profits were about ..... 640,000 guilders a year;

Of fifty years ..... to 1663 ..... about 500,000 do.

Of sixty do. ..... to 1673 ..... 750,000 do.

Of seventy do. ..... to 1683 ..... 670,000 do.

Of eighty do. ..... to 1693 ..... 600,000 do.

In the year 1696, the nett profit from the same year (1613) amounted to only 40,206,789 guilders, being full eight millions less than it had been in 1693, only three years preceding; and the average nett annual profit from 1613 was reduced to 484,371 guilders, But from 1697 to 1779, comprehending a like period of eighty-three years, the losses were so exorbitant as to overbalance and absorb, not only the contemporary, but all the preceding profits in Europe, and even a large amount of fictitious profit stimulated to screen the government in India.

The nett amount of profits calculated from 1613, amounted

	Guilders.
In 1697 ..... to only	38,696,527
In 1703	31,674,645
In 1713	16,805,598

In

In 1723..... 4,838,925 guilders.
In 1724..... 1,037,777

In 1730 there was already a total loss of 7,737,610, and in the year 1779 this loss amounted to 84,985,425.

The Company used to send yearly to India, before the commencement of the war of 1780, twenty ships of about nine hundred tons each, and eight or ten of about eight hundred tons each, which, to the number of twenty-two or twenty-three, returned with cargoes: four from China, three from Ceylon, three from Bengal, one from Coromandel, and twelve or thirteen from Batavia. They annually exported to India provisions and other articles of trade to the amount of two millions six or eight thousand florins, and in cash from four to six millions, and sold yearly to an amount generally of twenty or twenty-one millions; and it was estimated that the Indian trade maintained, directly and indirectly, all the external commerce of Holland, employing a capital of about two hundred and sixty millions of florins.

From the inquiries of a commission appointed by the government of Holland, in the year 1790, to ascertain the real state of the Company's finances, and to report how far the nation would be warranted in giving its further support to the credit of an institution which had so rapidly declined, it appeared that, in 1789, the arrears of the Company amounted toseventy-four millions of florins, and that this amount had since increased to eighty-four or eighty-five millions, of which sum no less than 67,707,583 florins had been advanced by the nation.

The Commissioners, however, being of opinion, that the affairs of the Company were not irretrievable, recommended a further loan of seven millions of florins.

A meritorious servant of the Company, Mr. C. Tetsingh, had offered to the Commissioners a memorial, in which he proposed that the Company should abandon the trade to private merchants under certain restrictions; but

but on this proposal the Commissioners stated that they were not then prepared to offer an opinion.

This Commission, in reporting upon the manner in which the Company's affairs had been managed in India, declared that "they could not conceal the deep impression which the same had made upon their minds, and that they could not fix their thoughts upon it, without being affected with sentiments of horror and detestation." . . . "When," said they, "we take a view of our chief possession and establishment, and when we attend to the real situation of the internal trade of India, the still increasing and exorbitant rate of the expenses, the incessant want of cash, the mass of paper money in circulation, the unrestrained peculations and faithlessness of many of the Company's servants, the consequent clandestine trade of foreign nations, the perfidy of the native princes, the weakness and connivance of the Indian government, the excessive expenses in the military department and for the public defence; in a word, when we take a view of all this collectively, we should almost despair of being able to fulfil our task, if some persons of great talents and ability among the directors had not stepped forward to devise means by which, if not to eradicate, at least to stop the further progress of corruption, and to prevent the total ruin of the Company."

The improvements proposed by the directors extended to every branch of the administration abroad. They proposed, first, with regard to the Cape of Good Hope, the yearly arrears of which settlement had latterly amounted to a million and a half of florins, that the same should be reduced to one half of that sum. With regard to the further eastern possessions, the measures proposed for consideration were chiefly the following.

To confine the Company's future trade to opium, spices, pepper, Japan copper, tin, and sugar, as far as the European and Japan markets would require. To abandon the trade to Western India to the Company's servants and free merchants, under payment of a certain recognition. To

abandon

abandon several factories in that quarter, and to reduce the rest to mere residencies. To make considerable reductions in the establishment on the coast of Malabar and in Bengal. To reduce the establishments on the Coast of Coromandel to three factories. To abandon the establishments on the West Coast of Sumatra, and to leave it open to a free trade. To diminish the expenses at Ceylon by a reduction of the military force, and by every other possible means to animate the cultivation and importation of rice into that settlement. To open a free trade and navigation to Bengal and Coromandel, under the superintendence of the Company, on paying a certain recognition. To encourage, by every means, the cultivation of rice in the easternmost possessions, and especially at Amboina and Banda, for the sake of preventing the inducements of a clandestine trade, which the importation of rice to those places might afford. To abandon several small factories to the eastward. To adopt a plan for the trade of Malacca proposed by Governor De Bruem. To introduce a general reduction of establishment at Batavia and elsewhere. To introduce new regulations with regard to the sale of opium at Batavia. To improve the Company's revenue, by a tax upon salaries and a duty upon collateral successions. And finally, to send out commissioners to India, with full powers to introduce a general reform in the administration.

In a memorial subsequently submitted by the Commissioners, which formed the basis of all the measures recommended and adopted at this time, for the better administration of affairs in India, after shewing that, from the year 1770 to 1780, the Company had on the whole of its trade and establishments on the coast of Coromandel, Bengal, Malabar, Surat, and the western coast of Sumatra, averaged a profit of only 119,554 florins a year, they recommended the introduction at Batavia of a public sale of the spices, Japan copper, and sugar, wanted for the consumption of Western India, and the establishment of a recognition of ten per cent. on the piece goods from Bengal, and of fifteen per cent. on the piece goods from Coromandel. Under such a plan of free trade, they calculated that, after the

the diminution of the Company's establishments in Western India, and the abolition of several small forts and factories to the eastward, it was highly probable that the administration in India would, in future, cover its own expenses, and thereby save the Company from utter ruin.

It was on these calculations that the Commissioners appointed by the States of Holland founded their hopes of the future relief of the Company, and with these prospects they closed their report, the care and future fate of the Company devolving from that time chiefly on the Commissioners appointed at their recommendation to proceed to India, in order to carry into effect, on the spot, the reforms proposed. Of these new Commissioners, Mr. Nederburg, then first advocate to the Company, was appointed the chief.

The Indian Commissioners sailed from Europe in the year 1791. At the Cape of Good Hope they made such changes and reforms as may be said to have fully effected the object of their commission. The importance, however, of the Cape being comparatively small, it is not necessary to enter into any detail of the measures adopted there. The more momentous part of their trust was undoubtedly to be discharged in India, where they arrived in 1793.

If the talents of these Commissioners were to be estimated by the benefits which resulted from their labours, we may safely pronounce them to have been incompetent to the task they had undertaken; but such a criterion cannot with any justice be applied. A continuance of peace with Great Britain was of course reckoned upon in all their calculations, and war with that power broke out almost immediately afterwards.

With regard to the abandonment of several forts and factories to the eastward, to which their attention had been particularly directed, the result of their deliberation and inquiry was, that the continuance of the Company's establishment on Celebes was indispensable for the protection of the Moluccas; that at Timor reductions had been made, in consequence of which the revenues covered the expenses; that after mature investigation

the Japan trade was shewn to yield a nett profit of 200,000 florins; that with regard to the West Coast of Sumatra the revenues had been made to exceed the expenses, and the pepper collected in that neighbourhood left still some profit to the Company.

With respect to the institution of public sales at Batavia for Japan copper, spices, and sugar, on the introduction of which it was supposed the establishments in Western India might be for the most part reduced, they were of opinion, after deliberating with the Council of India, and after a personal inquiry into the actual state of the private trade at Batavia, that chiefly for the want of an adequate means among the purchasers such sales were entirely impracticable, and that it would therefore be preferable, after making some partial reductions in the expense, to continue the establishments in Bengal and the Coast of Coromandel, but that Cochin on the Malabar Coast might, perhaps, be advantageously abandoned.*

To determine the mode in which the trade with India should in future be conducted, these Commissioners assumed a general calculation of the receipts and disbursements which would occur at home and abroad, on the supposition that the Company should, in future, navigate with hired vessels only, and that all marine establishments should be abolished. The result of this calculation was in abstract as follows. The estimate may be considered as affording an interesting view of the hopes and prospects which were at that time entertained of the resources of the Eastern Islands.

The whole estimate was framed on the principles of monopoly, and with a view to an increase of the trade on the one hand, and a reduction of expenses on the other. The quantity of coffee stated at eighteen million pounds, was calculated upon the produce which might be expected after two years. In the calculation of the quantity of pepper, an augmentation of 1,500,000 pounds beyond the produce of the preceding year was anticipated, from the encouragement given to the growth of that article in Bantam

* This is the factory which by the recent convention has been exchanged with England for the Island of Banka.

Bantam and other parts of Java. With regard to the sugar, calculated at eight millions of pounds for the home cargoes, it is stated, that the actual deliveries

From Batavia at that time amounted to	6,000,000 lbs.
From Chéribon	500,000
From other ports in Java	1,000,000
	7,500,000 lbs.

Supposing therefore the home cargoes	8,000,000 lbs.
The demand for Surat	3,500,000
For Japan	900,000
For the consumption of the Company's own establishments	200,000
The quantity required would be	12,600,000 lbs.

Or 5,100,000 pounds more than the actual produce. The whole of that quantity, however, the Commissioners felt confident might be produced in three years, by encouraging the manufacture in the Eastern Districts of Java. Among the retrenchments was a tax upon the salaries of all civil servants, which reduced the average salary of each to the sum of fifteen Spanish dollars per month.

ESTIMATED ACCOUNT *of the* COMPANY'S RECEIPTS *and* DISBURSEMENTS *at* HOME *and in* INDIA, *exclusively of the direct Trade to China, upon the Plan of the Commissioners of Inquiry*, A. D. 1795.

Receipts.

		Florins.
Public Duties		2,350,000
Freight on Company's Vessels		50,000
Additional Public Revenues		400,000
Profits on Trade in India :—		
Profit on Opium	1,250,000	
Do. on 12,880 *pikuls* tin, at 26 rix-dollars per *pikul*	228,000	
Do. on 5,000 lbs. Mace	43,000	
Do. on 15,000 lbs. Nutmegs	90,000	
Do. on 120,000 lbs. Cloves	420,000	
Do. on 730,000 lbs. Japan Copper	292,000	
Total on Spices and Copper	845,000	
At Surat :—		
On Sugar	190,000	
On Camphor	10,000	
On Tin	18,000	
	218,000	
In Japan, on divers Europe and Indian Articles	76,000	
	2,617,000	
And for Sundries at the Coast of Coromandel	33,000	
		2,650,000
For the Produce of the Indian Returns in Europe :—		
Coffee, 18,000,000 lbs., deduct Wastage, &c. is 16,000,000 lbs. at 8½ stivers per lb.	6,813,281	

Disbursements.

	Florins.
For the Surplus Expenses at the Cape of Good Hope	150,000
For the same in Bengal	33,120
For the same at Surat	40,000
For the Military Expenses in India	2,571,314
For Salaries to Civil Servants	1,000,000
For Ammunition, &c.	100,000
For Fortifications and Repairs	400,000
For Sloops and minor Vessels	200,000
For Hospital Expenses	100,000
On Account of Confiscations	18,000
For Presents to Native Princes	32,000
Interest on Sums lent in India	100,000
For Stores and Goods shipped in India	200,000
For eventual Losses	100,000
For the Purchase of the Produce in India	4,519,400
For Insurance at Five per Cent. on the Money sent to India	212,700
For Freight on Returns of homeward-bound Cargoes	3,300,000
Insurance and Risk of the Sea in India	200,000
For Freight of Tonnage in India	699,030
For Freight for 2,320 Men, to complete the Military and Civil Establishment in India	219,240
For the Passage home of 450 Men	28,350
Bounty Money to 2,020 Military Men	303,000
Premiums to 300 Civil Servants	60,000
Recognition to the Admiralty	360,000
Contribution to the same	500,000

Pepper, 3,765,000 lbs., deducting Wastage, &c. is 3,263,789 lbs. at 12 stivers per lb.	1,958,273	
Tin, 530,000 lbs. deducting Wastage, &c. is 490,913 lbs. at 40 florins per cwt.	196,365	
Cotton Yarn, 60,000 lbs., or nett 57,000 lbs., at 35 stivers per lb.	99,750	
Indigo, 30,750 lbs. deducting Wastage, &c. is 27,645 lbs. at 80 stivers per lb.	110,580	
Sugar, 8,000,000 lbs. deducting Wastage, &c. is 7,068,000 lbs. at 10 stivers per lb.	1,767,000	
Saltpetre, 1,650,000 lbs. deducting Wastage, &c. is 1,285,350 lbs. at 30 florins per cwt. is	385,605	
Sappan Wood, 600,000 lbs. or nett 513,000 lbs. at 12 florins per cwt.	61,560	
Cowries, 160,000 lbs. or nett 101,460 lbs. at 8 stivers per lb.	40,584	
Camphor, 64,000 lbs. or nett 56,344 lbs. at 23 stivers per lb.	65,025	
Cardamons, Java, 22,000 lbs. or nett 18,810 lbs. at 20 stivers per lb.	18,810	
Tamarinds, 115,000 lbs.	43,700	
Arrack, 140 leagers	46,000	
Cinnamon, 400,000 lbs. at 5 florins per lb.	2,000,000	
Cloves, 250,000 lbs. at 65 stivers per lb.	812,500	
Mace, 110,000 lbs.	937,500	
Nutmegs, 320,000 lbs.	561,000	
Bengal Piece Goods	970,000	
Surat do. do.	550,000	
		17,437,533
For Freight and Recognition on Private Trade		200,000
TOTAL	*Florins*	23,087,533

Total Expenses of the Company's Establishments at home		1,000,000
Yearly Interest to be paid		4,758,000
Dividends at 12½ per Cent. to the Holders of Stock		831,000
		22,035,154
Balance		1,052,379
TOTAL	*Florins*	23,087,533

These Commissioners seemed to entertain no very favourable ideas of the benefits which would arise to private trade from the license it already enjoyed. As a measure much more beneficial to the general trade of Europe and to the Company, they proposed, in lieu of it, to throw open to individuals, under certain restrictions, the trade and navigation from Europe to Bengal and Coromandel.

Thus we see these Commissioners sent out with the view of introducing something like free trade on Java, coming to a resolution to take away from it even the little private trade which it had previously been allowed to enjoy.

The Company's trade with continental India had already been so much encroached upon by foreigners, that it was judged expedient no longer to exclude the Dutch free trader from his share in the spoil; but it was hoped, by increased strictness, to preserve entire to the Company the exclusive trade in spices, Javan coffee, pepper as far as it was the produce of her own possessions, Japan copper, the opium which was consumed in Java and in the Moluccas, and Javan sugar.

The trade of the Dutch Company has thus been brought to the period, when its monopoly was proposed to be almost exclusively confined to Java and the Eastern Islands, including Japan. The causes which operated to destroy the Dutch influence on the continent of India, are too well known to require any particular description.

The Dutch had long maintained a decisive superiority, as well on the continent of Asia, as among the Indian islands, until the active exertions of their competitors in trade succeeded in undermining and overturning their monopoly; and as it was natural their weak side should suffer first, it was on the continent where their establishments were far removed from the chief seat of government, and where they had not been able to insure to themselves those exclusive privileges from the princes of the country which they had exacted from the weaker princes of the Eastern Islands, that other

other nations, chiefly the French and English, first endeavoured to introduce themselves.

After reciprocal jealousies had for some time prevented both nations from making any considerable progress, a successful war at last turned the scale entirely in favour of the English, whose influence, from that period, has been paramount in continental India, and the Dutch East India Company was no longer able to enforce its system of exclusive trade there.

Without inquiring into the practicability of realizing the flattering estimate made out by the Indian Commissioners, or the policy which dictated a still more rigorous monopoly of the produce of the Eastern Islands, it ought to be remarked, although it seems never to have been adverted to by the Commissioners, whose calculations and plans were exclusively of a commercial nature, that the original situation of the Company as a mere mercantile body, looking out for trade and not dominion, had undergone a material alteration, by the acquisition it had made from the middle of the last century of considerable territorial possessions, especially on the island of Java.

To use the words of one of the most enlightened men who now adorns his country, and is prepared to give energy to a better state of things,* "these territorial acquisitions became to the Company a source of new "relations. In consequence of them, new rights were acquired and obli- "gations of a novel kind were contracted, as well with regard to the "territories themselves as the population upon them. The nature of these "rights and duties might have been deemed worth inquiry; and as all "these territorial acquisitions were made by a delegated authority derived "from the government at home, it was further worthy of investigation "how far the government itself was entitled to a direct share in the acquisi- "tions made, and how far it was bound to controul and superintend the "exercise of those duties which were newly contracted. A consideration of "these points would have led to the important question, how far, on a "renewal

* Mr. Muntinghe.

" renewal of the Company's charter, it would be requisite to alter and " modify its conditions according to existing circumstances, and especially " how far it would have been expedient, in future, to leave the Company " the exclusive trade, and at the same time the uncontrouled sovereignty " over the same country."

But however natural it may be, at the present moment, to consider questions of this kind, it was perhaps at that time beyond the common course of human thought to entertain doubts on the subject. From an honourable regard for ancient institutions, the mercantile system of the Company was still considered with reverence and respect; it had been at all times the boast and pride of the nation; the services which the Company had rendered to the state in its earlier days, and the immense benefits which the government had been enabled, by its means, to spread among the community at large, had rendered the East-India Company and all its privileges, objects of peculiar care and tenderness. The rights of sovereignty which the Company afterwards required, were obtained by degrees and almost imperceptibly. Every acquisition of the kind had been considered, at the time, merely as the means of increasing its mercantile profits, and all its territorial rights were looked upon as subservient to its mercantile system.

In consequence of these ideas, after the whole of the northern and eastern coast of Java had been added to the Company's territorial dominions, by a cession in the year 1749, no step seems to have been taken for improving these acquisitions, by any direct use of the supremacy obtained. Some contracts were instituted with the native chiefs, for delivering gratis, or at the lowest possible price, such articles as would serve the Company's investments home; but taxation, the levy of produce, and the management of police and justice in the inferior courts, were left to the care and conscience of the natives themselves.

Arguments in favour of this system may perhaps be drawn from the respect due to the native usages and institutions, and from a supposed want

of

of power, on the part of the Company, to assume any direct controul over the native population. But whatever influence these ideas may have had on the conduct of the Company, it may be affirmed that an European government, aiming only to see right and justice administered to every class of the population, might and ought to have maintained all the native usages and institutions, not inconsistent with those principles; and that the power, for want of which it withheld its interference, would have been supplied and confirmed by the act of exercising the power which it possessed, and by the resources it might have been the means of drawing from the country.

Considering, therefore, the propensity inherent in every native authority to abuse its influence, and to render it oppressive to the population at large; the ascendancy of Europeans in general, even over the class of native chieftains; the scantiness of many of the establishments proposed in the plan of the Indian Commissioners; the manifest inadequacy of the remuneration of the civil servants which it recommended, and the narrow scale on which all expenses were calculated; no very durable benefits could have been reasonably expected from it. The discretionary power being left in the hands of the native chieftains, the whole of the lower class of the population would have remained at their disposal; the ascendancy of the European servants would have subjected both to peculations, which the insufficiency of their salaries would constantly have tempted them to practice; the administration of justice not meeting with a proper remuneration would have been ineffectual, perhaps corrupt; the reduction of the military establishment would have left the possessions an easy prey to the first invader; and the original sources of the Company's revenues in India remaining the same, it seems probable, that in a short time, the same scenes which had hitherto met with so much reprobation, would have been acted over again, and to a still more disgraceful extent.

But of whatever merit might have been the plans suggested by the Commissioners in India on the 4th July 1795, the calamities which had already

befallen the mother country were followed by an event, which it seems the Commissioners had hardly dared to suspect, and which, in every case, would have frustrated all their designs. This was the dissolution of the Company, in consequence of a resolution taken to that effect on the 24th December, by the body then representing the government of the United States of Holland.

New views of policy were of course suggested by this important change. In the year 1800 there appeared a small volume, entitled "A Description "of Java and of its principal Productions, shewing the Advantages to be "derived therefrom under a better Administration, by Mr. Dirk Van Hogen-"dorp," in which the writer, after observing that the true state of Java and its importance to the mother country had hitherto been little known, or at least that no correct ideas had yet been formed in Holland with regard to its value, fertility, population, and advantageous situation for trade, establishes,

"1. That the system on which the trade in India had hitherto been con-"ducted and the possessions administered, was no longer good under present "circumstances, but contained in itself the seeds of decline and ruin.

"2. That the exclusive trade was in its nature injurious, and naturally "caused the ruin of the colonies.

"3. That under a different system, those colonies would flourish, and "yield much greater advantages than ever.

"4. That a revenue, founded on the principles of freedom of trade, "property in the soil, and equality of imposts, could be easily introduced.

"5. And finally, that all the benefits which would thereby accrue to the "mother country, from the territorial revenue, the duties on trade, the "industry and wealth for which that trade would furnish employment, and "the treasures which the distribution of produce throughout Europe must "bring into the mother country, would greatly exceed the highest advantages "that could be calculated upon, even under the most favourable prospects,

"by

" by the means of the fallen Company or a continuation of its former sys-
" tem."

Many parts of this pamphlet abound in violence and invective, and others are too highly coloured; but with these exceptions, it may be safely asserted that it contains a more correct view of the state of society, and of the resources of the country, than any paper which had preceded it, and the author is most justly entitled to all the credit of having chalked out to his countrymen the road to honour andprosperity, in the future administration of the Dutch East-Indian colonies.

Having, in the course of the foregoing sketch of the decline and fall of the Dutch East-India Company, exhibited a statement of these resources, under the mercantile system of the Company, it may be interesting also to state what, in the opinion of Mr. Hogendorp, the island of Java alone was capable of affording eventually, under a system founded on the principles of property in the soil, freedom of cultivation and trade, and the impartial administration of justice according to equal rights. "When the " exclusive and oppressive trade of the Company, the forced deliveries, " the feudal services, in short, the whole system of feudal government, is " done away with, and when the effects of this important revolution are felt " in the certain increase of cultivation and trade, then," observes Mr. Hogendorp, " the limits of probability will by no means be exceeded, in " estimating the aggregate of the revenues of Java, in progress of time, at " twelve millions of rix-dollars, or twenty-four millions of guilders, " annually."

This statement, calculated with reference to the comparative produce of the West India Islands, has been generally considered by the colonists asexhibiting a very exaggerated view, of what the island could, under any circumstances, afford, and bymany as too wild a speculation to deserve attention; but to this it should be added, that the plan on which it was founded, viz. an entire change in the internal management of the country, was considered as equally wild and romantic by those who declaimed the

loudest against the possibility of these advantages accruing, and that notwithstanding the doubts then entertained of its practicability, that measure has been actually carried into effect, without producing any one of the consequences depicted by the advocates of the old system, and as far as a judgment can yet be formed, with all the advantages anticipated by Mr. Hogendorp.

It is not surprising to find, that the enlightened views of this writer were never acted upon, when we find it asserted by a commission, who sat at the Hague in 1803, composed of the highest, and perhaps best qualified persons in the state of Holland, and of which he was himself a member (of course a dissenting one), that "it appeared to them to have been admitted gene-" rally, and without contradiction, that according to ancient regulations, " of which the first institution was lost even among the Javans themselves, " the manner in which that people are used to live rests on principles, with " which a free and unlimited disposition of the ground and its productions " is absolutely inconsistent; that they were, for their parts, convinced that, " such a change could not be effected, without causing a general fermenta-" tion among all classes of people; that though, in this case, violent mea-" sures might suppress an insurrection, they would rather advise to bid an " eternal farewell to Java, than to resort to such means; that if they " adverted to the question in a commercial point of view, the same uncer-" tainty, the same dangers presented themselves. These arose from the " natural disinclination of the Javan to work, which has been observed by " many eminent persons; the danger of new monopolies, which would fall " heavier upon the common people than the present forced deliveries; the " exorbitant charges to support a great number of native chiefs and priests, " who are at present provided for and ought to be supported; an undoubted " deficiency in the revenues, and a considerable expenditure during the " first years, without the probability of a remedy. All this," say they, " seems to forebode a neglect of the cultivation; and after long and labo-" rious researches, we are compelled to lay it down as a general principle,

" that

" that property of the soil among the common Javans, and the abolition " of public services, cannot be adopted as the basis of an improvement, of " which the internal management of Java would be susceptible. The con- " tingents and forced deliveries ought therefore to be continued and " received on account of the state, which has succeeded to the prerogatives " of the former Company."*

Marshal Daendels, who was recalled from the government of Java only a few months before the British conquest, and who was by far the most active and energetic governor who had for a long time been at the head of the colony, has written an account of his own administration, of the state in which he found the island, of the measures he proposed and executed, of the improvements which he projected or carried into effect, of the revenues that might be expected, and of the expenditure that the public service required. Although he enters into some free and bold strictures on the conduct of the Commissioners, the estimates they formed, and the policy they recommended, he does not seem himself to have avoided many of the faults which rendered their policy objectionable, or to have entertained any hope of establishing a more liberal system. Forced services and contingents, and all the tyranny which they render necessary, still constituted the greatest part of the ways and means of the colonial treasury, and the grand source of profits for the Company.

The difficulties he had to struggle with, and the peculiar habits and character formed by his profession, seem to have determined his proceedings, more than any matured scheme of general administration, or any deliberate principles of government. He thus describes the situation of the colony on his arrival: " A powerful enemy threatened us by sea, and the Javan princes, " acquiring audacity in proportion as they saw proofs of our weakness, " thought the moment had arrived for prescribing the law to their former " superiors. The very existence of our dominions on Java was thus in the " greatest

* Report of a Committee appointed to investigate East-India Affairs, made to the Government of the Batavian Republic, dated 31st of August 1803, consisting of Messrs. Murman, Sic, Ponloe, Verhuell, D. Van Hogendorp, Nederburgh, and Voute.

" greatest danger. Our internal resources of finance were exhausted, while " a stagnation of trade, caused by the blockade of our shores, cut off all " hopes of procuring assistance from without." In the midst of such disas- " trous circumstances, and the failure of so many attempts to introduce re- " form, and to maintain the dignity of government, *I found it necessary to* " *place myself above the usual formalities, and to disregard every law, but* " *that which enjoined the preservation of the colony entrusted to my manage-* " *ment.* The verbal order which I received, at my departure from Holland, " had this for its object, and the approbation bestowed upon my ear by " attempts to carry it into execution, encouraged me in the course of pro- " ceeding which I had began."

The situation in which the Marshal found the colony is justly drawn; but the result of his operations, and the condition in which he left the government to his successor, are described in colours by far too flattering. His partiality for his own work, and the consciousness of having made great exertions to accomplish it, seems to have influenced his mind too easily, in convincing him of the advantage and success of the measures he had adopted. " In spite," says he, " of all the obstacles I encountered, I obtained the follow- " ing results. I made the general government the centre of authority, from " which every inferior authority descended in a determined proportion, with " a definite responsibility and a salutary controul. Into all the local " and subordinate administrations, clearness and simplicity were intro- " duced; agriculture was encouraged, protected, and extended; general " industry was promoted; the administration of justice and of the police " was put on a sure footing; the means of defence were increased " as much as possible; many works were undertaken, both for the " service of government and other useful ends; new roads were made " and old ones improved; the condition of all the inhabitants, as well native " as European, was ameliorated, and every cause of misunderstanding re- " moved; the relations of the colonial government with the courts of the " native princes were regulated on principles conformable to the dignity,

" and

" conducive to the interests of the former; and, in fine, the revenues of the " colony were so augmented, that after every deduction for internal expen- " diture, they will furnish a surplus of five millions, free of all charge, as a " nett return to Holland."

Marshal Daendels, in this memoir, sufficiently showed the fallacy contained in the report of the Commissioners, concerning the estimated revenue and profits of the Company. Instead of the receipt of 1,250,000 florins, accruing from the profit of the sale of opium (as marked in the table which I have transcribed), he assures us that not one farthing was actually obtained. Many of the conclusions of the Commissioners, concerning the temper of the inhabitants, the nature of the soil of particular districts, and the general resources of the island, he satisfactorily proved to be founded on erroneous information or mistake; and it is only to be regretted, that he did not carry the same spirit of impartiality into the formation of his own reports, which he requires in those of his predecessors, or anticipate from his successors, an examination equally rigorous, and a measure of justice equally strict as that to which they were subjected. Had this been the case, we should not have been offered such financial results as make the revenue of the island amount to 10,789,000 rix-dollars, and its expenditure only 5,790,000, leaving a balance of five millions of profit. It may be interesting to compare his estimate with the table already exhibited.

ESTIMATED RECEIPTS.	Rix-dollars.
Rent of land	2,000,000
Produce of land unfarmed	500,000
Sale of opium*	1,120,000
Money	360,000
Coffee, 300,000 *pikuls*, at 20 rix-dollars	4,500,000
Pepper, 30,000 *pikuls*	160,000
Tin, 35,000 *pikuls*	400,000
Japan Copper, 25,000 *pikuls*	250,000
Spices	1,000,000
Forests	250,000
Sale of rice	250,000
	10,790,000

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE.	Rix-dollars.
Civil appointments	1,000,000
Land forces	1,227,000
Manufactory of powder, foundery of balls, and arsenals	180,000
Hospitals	80,000
Marine	250,000
Fortifications, &c.	200,000
New works	400,000
Justice and police	150,000
Transports and freights	300,000
Transport of Company's servants, recruits, &c. from Europe	300,000
Purchase of native articles	300,000
Package	100,000
Interest	400,000
Unforeseen charges	903,000
	5,790,000
Which being substracted from	10,790,000
Leaves a nett profit, Rix-dol.	5,000,000

* In a note on this source of revenue, Marshal Daendels says that he is sensible of the evils arising from the use of this drug, but that the Javans are so addicted to it, that no prospect of success could be entertained from any project for reducing its consumption. Yet even while he is making this observation, he tells us that the Commissioners fixed the sale at 1,200 chests, and that he in his estimate has only taken it at 800. It was afterwards reduced to less than 300 chests, without any fear of disturbance or any danger of illicit trade.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

ISLAND OF JAVA.

CHAPTER I.

Geographical Situation of Java.—Name.—Extent and Form.—Divisions.—Harbours.—Mountains and Volcanos.—Rivers and Lakes.—General Appearance of the Country.—Mineralogical Constitution.—Seasons and Climate.—Metals.—Minerals.—Soil.—Vegetable and Animal Kingdoms.

Situation of the Island.

THE Country known to Europeans under the name of JAVA, or JAVA MAJOR, and to the Natives under those of *Tána* (the land) *Jáwa*, or *Núsa* (the island) *Jáwa*, is one of the largest of what modern geographers call the SUNDA Islands. It is sometimes considered one of the Malayan Islands, and forms a part of that division of the Oriental Archipelago which it has been lately proposed to designate as the ASIATIC ISLES. It extends eastward, with a slight deviation to the south, from 105° 11′ to 114° 33′ of longitude east of Greenwich, and lies between the latitudes 5° 52′ and 8° 46′ south. On the south and west it is washed by the Indian Ocean; on the north-west by a channel called the Straits of *Súnda*, which separates it from Sumatra, at a distance in one point of only fourteen miles; and on the south-east by the Straits of *Báli*, only two miles wide, which divide it from the island of that name. These islands, and others stretching eastward, form with JAVA a gentle curve of more than two thousand geographical miles, which with less regularity is continued

from Acheen to Pegu on one side, and from *Tímor* to *Papúa*, or New Guinea, on the other: they constitute on the west and south, as do *Bánka*, *Bíliton*, the great islands of Borneo and Celebes, and the Moluccas on the north, the barriers of the Javan Seas and the Malayan Archipelago. From the eastern peninsula of India, Java is distant about one hundred and forty leagues, from Borneo about fifty-six, and from New Holland two hundred.

Name. To what cause the island is indebted for its present name of Java (or *Jáwa* as it is pronounced by the natives) is uncertain. Among the traditions of the country (which are more particularly mentioned in another place) there is one, which relates, that it was so termed by the first colonists from the continent of India, in consequence of the discovery of a certain grain, called *jáwa-wut*,* on which the inhabitants are supposed to have subsisted at that early period, and that it had been known previously only under the term of *Núsa hára-hára*, or *Núsa kéndang*, meaning the island of wild uncultivated waste, or in which the hills run in ridges.

In the tenth chapter of Genesis we are told, that "the isles of the "Gentiles were divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after "their families, in the nations:" and in the twenty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel we find among the rich merchants, those of *Javan* "who traded "the persons of men, and vessels of brass, to the market of Tyre, and "who going to and fro, occupied in her fairs, brought bright iron, cassia, "and calamus." But we shall leave it to others to trace the connection between the *Javan* of Holy Writ and the Java of modern times. It appears, that the Arabs, who had widely extended their commercial intercourse, and established their religious faith over the greatest portion of the Indian Archipelago, long before the Europeans had navigated round the Cape of Good Hope, designate the whole of the nations and tribes which inhabit those regions by the general term of the people of *Jawi*, as in the following passage taken from one of their religious tracts.—"The people of "*Jawi* do not observe with strictness the rule laid down for keeping the fast, "inasmuch as they eat before the sun sets, while the Arabs continue the "fast until that luminary has sunk below the horizon." *Jawa* or *Jawi* is also the name by which Borneo, Java, Sumatra, the Malayan Peninsula and the islands lying amongst them, are known among the nations of Celebes, who apply the *Búgis* diminutive *Jawa-Jawáka*, or Java minor, to the

* Panicum Italicum.

the Moluccas, *Ámbon, Bánda, Tímor*, and *Éndé*. Jabadios Insulæ, from *Jaba*, and *dib, div* or *dio*, has been employed in the largest sense by Europeans, and it is probable this was once generally the case among the Asiatics, with the terms *Java, Jawa, Jawi*, and *Jaba*,* which, as the appellations of people inhabiting the countries beyond the continent or distant, some have derived from the word *jaù*, of very general acceptation in eastern languages, and meaning *beyond, distant*.†

It is, perhaps, in consequence of these names having embraced the whole, or at least several of the islands collectively, that the accounts given by Marco Polo, and other early European voyagers, of particular islands, as Java Major and Java Minor, are so inconsistent with one another. The country described by Marco Polo as Java Minor, seems, beyond doubt, to have

* The term *Zapagé* or *Zabaja* seems also to have been a corruption from *Jawa*, and to have been used with the same latitude, according to the following notices by Major Wilford. "There was a constant intercourse, both by sea and land, between the kingdom of *Magad'hi* "and China, on the authority of Chinese history; and they traded to an island and king- "dom, called Founan, to the eastward of Siam, during the third and fourth centuries. This was "probably a Malay kingdom; but we cannot ascertain its situation. It seems that the Malay "emperors and kings, as those of *Zapagi* and *Founan*, did what they could to introduce trade "and learning into their dominions, but their exertions proved ineffectual; at least they were "not attended with much success; and their subjects soon relapsed into their former mode of "life."..... "There are two countries called Maharaja, which are often confounded together: "the first, at the bottom of the Green Sea, including Bengal and all the countries on the "banks of the Ganges; the second comprehended the peninsula of Malacca, and some of "the adjacent islands in the seas of China. In these countries the emperor, or king, always "assumed the title of Maharaja, even until this day. Their country, in general, was called "*Zapagé* or *Zabaja*, which is a corruption from *Java* or *Jaba*, as it was called in the west, "and was also the name of Sumatra, according to Ptolemy, who calls it *Jaba-diu*, and to "Marco Polo. In the peninsula of Malacca was the famous emporium of *Zaba: Zubaja*, in "Sanscrit, would signify then *Zaba*. The empire of *Zabajé* was thus called, probably, from "its metropolis, *Zaba*, as well as the principal islands near it. *Zaba* was a principal emporium "even as early as the time of Ptolemy. It remained so till the time of the two Musselman "travellers of Renaudot, and probably much longer. It is now called *Batu Sabor*, upon the "river Jehor, which is as large as the Euphrates, according to these travellers; who add, "that the town of Calabar, on the coast of Coromandel, and ten days to the south of Madras, "belonged to the Maharaja of Zabaje. The wars of this Maharaja with the King of *Alkoner* "or countries near Cape Comorin, are mentioned by the two Musselman travellers in the "ninth century and it seems that, at that time, the Malayan empire was in its greatest "splendor." *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix.

† Others again have derived the term *Jawa* from *Yava*, which in Sanscrit means Barley, whence Java has occasionally been termed the land of barley.

have been the eastern coast of Sumatra; but that expression, "or Little Java," is now applied exclusively to *Báli*, as "Great Java" is to the island we are now describing. It is on the latter only, if we except what has been observed of the names given to the Archipelago generally by the natives of Celebes, that the islanders themselves apply the name of *Jawa*, in any of its forms, to their own country. It has there even a still more confined application, being generally limited to the eastern districts of the island, which may be considered as Java proper, in contra-distinction to the western districts, which are for the most part inhabited by a people called *Súnda*, from whom the Straits and Isles of Sunda have been named by Europeans.

Whether Sumatra, Java, or any other island of the Archipelago, or the whole or several of them collectively, may not have formed the *Taprobane* of the ancients, is perhaps still an undecided question, notwithstanding the claims to this distinction which have of late years been rather admitted than proved in favour of Ceylon. The most striking fact detailed in the accounts which have reached us of this ancient country, and one which, from its nature, is least likely to have been disfigured or perverted by the misrepresentations or prejudices of travellers, is, that it was bisected in nearly equal portions by the Equinoctial line, and that to the southward of it the polar star was not visible. How can this statement be evaded, or in any way applied to Ceylon? Major Wilford seems inclined to consider *Taprobane* as derived from the Sanscrit words *tapa* (penance) and *vana* (forest or grove), a derivation equally favorable to the claims of the Javans, *tapa* and *wana*, or *wono*, having the like signification in their language; and if, as there is reason to believe, an extensive intercourse subsisted in very remote times between Western India and these islands, where was there a country that could more invite the retreat of holy men, than the evergreen islands which rise in endless clusters on the smooth seas of the Malayan Archipelago, where the elevation and tranquillity of devotion are fostered by all that is majestic and lovely in nature?

Although in Sumatra no traces of their residence have yet been discovered, except in the languages and customs of the people; on Java, which is almost contiguous to it, it is abundantly attested by monuments still existing in stone and brass. In few countries, with which we are yet acquainted, are more extensive ruins to be found of temples dedicated to an ancient worship. If tradition may be trusted, every mountain had its *tapa*, or recluse, and the

the whole energies and resources of the country would appear to have been applied to the construction of those noble edifices, the ruins of which still strike the spectator with astonishment and veneration.

That these splendid and magnificent piles were erected under the superintendance of a foreign people, more skilled in the arts than the rude and simple natives of the islands, can scarcely be doubted; and that they were sacred to the rites of the Hindu religion, according to some persuasion or other, is equally clear, from the numerous images of deities and attributes by which they are adorned, many of which are still preserved in their original state. Further investigation may perhaps establish Java and Sumatra, or rather the Malayan ports (in which general term we may include all the islands containing the Malayan Ports) as not only the *Taprobane* or *Tapavana* of the ancients, but also the Sacred Isles of the Hindus.

The map of Java which accompanies this work has been drawn principally Map.
from actual surveys, many of which were made by order of the British Government on the island. The first map of Java which was presented to the public, and from which nearly all those, which have subsequently been engraved, are copies, was published by Valentyn,* and consists of seven sheets. As, at that period, little more was known of the island by the Dutch than some parts of the coast, the country in the immediate vicinity of their capital, with perhaps the province of Bantam, the author had no materials for making a map of the whole island which could pretend to much authority or value. Most of the land in the immediate vicinity of Batavia having been sold to Europeans, was of necessity surveyed, in order to ascertain the different boundaries; but it was only a short time before the arrival of Marshal Daendels, in 1808, that any steps appear to have been taken by the local authorities, to procure correct statistical and topographical information of the other more important districts of the island. Something to this effect was done during the administration of Mr. Engelhard, late Governor of the North-east Coast, but it was only during the government of the Marshal that these objects were pursued with much energy or success.

At the period of the arrival of the English, topographical surveys of *Semárang* and several of the eastern districts had been completed; and although somewhat deficient in accuracy of measurement and neatness of execution, yet as they appeared sufficiently correct for many valuable purposes, and

* Beschryving van *Groot Djawa* of te *Java Major* door F. Valentyn.—Amsterdam 1726.

and as the Government was anxious to obtain, without loss of time, a better acquaintance with the geography of the country, it was determined to make some sacrifice of accuracy to the considerations of economy and expedition, and to survey the other districts upon the same plan. While these surveys were in progress, the territorial interest which the European government obtained in the central provinces, induced them to turn their attention to the improvements of which the Solo River might be susceptible. This river, the most considerable in the island, passes through *Súra-kérta*, the capital of the *Susuhúnan*, or (as he is termed by Europeans) Emperor of Java, and discharges itself into the sea near *Grésik*. An actual survey was accordingly made by a British officer of experience, particularly instructed to ascertain how far it might be practicable to improve its navigation by the aid of artificial cuts and dams.

A greater object soon called for more extensive measures. When it was determined to introduce an entirely new system of internal management, by the abolition of feudal service and the establishment of a more permanent property in the soil, it was deemed essential that a detailed survey should be made of the different districts successively, in which the new system was to be introduced. This was intended to form the basis of a general agricultural survey of the country, then about to be made. In several of these districts this detailed survey has been completed; and, with the exception of the provinces still unedr native jurisdiction, and called NATIVE PROVINCES, nearly the whole of the land on Java, not in a state of absolute forest, has been measured with more or less accuracy. Of the native provinces but a very small part has been actually surveyed: with regard to the rest, the materials from which the present map is taken, were principally obtained from observation made during occasional routes through them. The southern division of Bantam being principally forest, has not been actually surveyed; neither has the island of Madura been yet surveyed by Europeans: the eastern part of it was measured by the natives, and it was principally upon their authority that the map now presented of that island was drawn. The best charts of both the north and south coast have been consulted. The three harbours of Wyn Coops Bay, *Cheláchap*, and *Pachítan*, on the latter, are laid down from actual survey, as well as the entrance to the harbour of *Surabáya*. On the whole, therefore, although the map now engraved is far from perfect, and of course suffers from the reduction necessary to adapt it to the rest of the work, it is presumed that it will aid the reader in most of the geographical objects to which this volume

volume will refer, and that its superiority over those that have previously appeared is such as to justify its publication.

Extent. The length of Java, in a straight line drawn between its extreme points, (Java Head, and the south-east point of the island) is five hundred and seventy-five geographical, equal to six hundred and sixty-six statute miles: its breadth varies from one hundred and seventeen geographical, or one hundred and thirty-five and a half statute miles (between the south-west point of *Pachítan* bay and the north point of *Japára*) to forty-eight geographical or fifty-six statute miles, (between the mouth of the *Seráyu* river and the *Marabáya*, five degrees east of *Tegál*);* and it is estimated to contain an area of about fifty thousand statute miles.

Numerous small islands are scattered in its immediate vicinity, particularly along the northern coast, and contribute, with the projecting points and headlands inclosing the different bays, to form harbours of various capacities. The most important of these islands is that of *Madúra*, which is separated from the main land of Java by a strait in one part not more than a mile broad, and serves to form the important harbour of *Surabáya*. This island has the appearance of being a continuation of the main land of Java, and having been long subjected to the same political authority, has generally formed one of the provinces of the Javan empire. In length *Madúra* is about seventy-nine geographical, or ninety-one and a half statute miles; and its narrowest part is about twenty-seven geographical, or thirty-one and a quarter statute miles. The small islands lying to the east of it are considered as its dependencies.

Form. The form of Java is chiefly remarkable for the rectangularity of its outline, which is such that the island might be divided into five or six parts, each a rectangular parallelogram drawn by an unsteady hand. Its western and northern coasts abound with bays and inlets. The outline of *Madúra* is more regular, especially on the northern coast.

The coast from Bantam to the river *Chi-mánok*, about two degrees in length on the north, is nearly parallel to that which extends from Wyn Coops Bay to a point about twenty miles west of *Núsa kambáng'an*, the breadth throughout being about seventy-eight geographical miles; and from the same point to the river *Manchíngan*, a distance of about one degree and three-

* The breadth is a few miles less between Cheribon and the south coast, occasioned by the deep bay of *Chelácháp*, and also in the eastern termination of the island beyond Surabáya, where it only averages forty-five geographical miles.

three-quarters, the coast is nearly parallel to that which lies between *Chéribon* and *Semárang*, the breadth throughout being about fifty-seven geographical miles. From the west point of *Japára* to point *Pángka* on the north, distant from it about two degrees, and along the corresponding coast on the south, the average breadth is seventy-three geographical miles; and from *Surabáya* to the north-east point of the island, distant about one degree and a half, and along the south coast opposite to it, the average breadth is forty-five geographical miles.

Divisions. At the time when Europeans first visited Java, the whole of the island acknowledged the supremacy of one sovereign: but there was a period in its history when it was nearly equally divided under the independent administration of two powers, one established in the eastern, and the other in the western districts; and as there is a marked distinction between the descendants of these two nations, the most general division of the country is still into the western and eastern districts, to the latter of which alone the term Java is applied by the natives. They are separated by the river *Losári*, which forms the boundary between *Chéribon* and *Brébes*; and all the western, the northern, with a few of the inland districts and the Island of *Madúra*, are under the immediate authority and administration of the European government. The rest of the island remains subject to the native princes, and on that account is designated on the map and elsewhere, with more regard to convenience than correctness of language, as the NATIVE PROVINCES.

The provinces under European authority have latterly been divided into fifteen residencies, or separate administrations, exclusive of the seat of government, which, as they will be frequently referred to in the course of this work, it may be convenient to notice in this place.

Commencing from the west, the province, or as it is usually termed, the kingdom of BANTAM (properly *Bántan*) occupies the first place. This extensive province forms a large portion of the island. It is washed on three sides by the sea. At the east it joins with the environs and highlands of Batavia and the district of *Chi-ánjur*, and on the west it is bounded by the Straits of Sunda; and in this quarter comprises dependant islands scattered along its shore, and the two harbours of *Mew* and *Merák*, which, with other bays, deeply indent the coast. Bantam, the native capital of this province, has been latterly deserted by the European establishment for *Sírang* (commonly called Ceram), an elevated and healthy station about seven miles further inland.

Next in succession towards the east is the division of Batavia, which comprises what formerly constituted the native province of *Jákatra* or *Jokárta*. The northern part of this division, towards the coast, includes the city of Batavia, populous and important on account of its excellent roads for shipping, its advantageous position for European commerce, and as being the long established seat of the Dutch government, but less fertile and healthy than the more eastern provinces of the island.

South and east of the division of Batavia and its environs lie what are termed by Europeans the PREANGER (*Priáng'en*) REGENCIES,* the central and southern districts of which, stretching from Bantam to Chéribon, are extremely mountainous. This extensive portion of the island, which now includes a large part of Chéribon, consists of the districts of *Krâwang*, *Chiásem*, *Pamanúkan*, *Kándang-aúr*, and *Dramáyu* or *Indramáyu*, along the northern coast, and of the inland and southern districts of *Chi-ánjur*, *Bándung*, *Súmedang*, *Lim-báng'an*, and *Súka-púra*; the southern coast, from the boundary of Bantam to that of Chéribon, being included within the subdivisions of *Chi-ánjur*, and *Súka-púra*.

To the eastward of these districts, and crossing the island from north to south, is the province of CHÉRIBON, divided into ten principal districts. To the south is the island of *Núsa-kambáng'an* which forms the harbour of *Cheláchap*.

East of Chéribon, as before noticed, it is only the northern and some of the inland districts, that are immediately subject to the European authority. These, during the British government of the island, were comprised under the administrations of TEGÁL, PAKALÚNG'AN, SEMÁRANG, JAPÁRA, and REMBÁNG, which under the Dutch East-India Company constituted what was termed the government of the NORTH-EAST COAST, the seat of which was at SEMÁRANG; and of GRÉSIK, SURABÁYA, PASÚRUAN, BISÚKI, and BANYUWÁNGI, which, with BANKÁLANG and SÚMENAP on MADÚRA, constituted, under the same authority, the division of the OOST HOOK, or East Point of the island, of which SURABÁYA was the principal station. Inland of SEMÁRANG and PAKALÚNGAN, and bounded by those divisions, and by the provinces of the native princes, is situated the rich and fertile district of KEDÚ, which, with the more eastern districts of GROBÓGAN, WIROSÁRI, BLÓRA, JÍPANG, JÁPAN, and WÍRASABA,

* The term *regencies* is adopted from the title of Regent, given by the Dutch to the chief native authority in each district.

Wírasába, stretching inland from Semárang to Surabáya, were ceded to the British government in the year 1812.

The capitals of all the northern districts bear the same name with the districts themselves, and are generally situated on small rivers at no great distance from the sea.

The Native Provinces are divided between two native sovereigns: the *Susuhúnan*, or Emperor of Java, who resides at *Súra-kérta*,* on the *Solo* River; and the Sultan, who resides at *Yúgya-kérta*,† near the south coast, in the province of *Matárem*. These provinces comprise several of the richest districts of the island, among which are *Bányumas*, *Rómo*, *Bágalen*, and *Matárem*, to the west; and *Mádion*, *Jagarága*, *Sukawáti*, *Pranarága*, *Kértasána*, *Blítar*, and *Kedíri*, to the east; and with the exception of the small district of *Pachítan*, which has been recently ceded to the European government, occupy the whole of the southern coast from *Chéribon* to *Málang*, a distance of not less than two hundred and fifty miles, and form about a fourth part of the whole island.

The districts near the coasts are generally separated from each other by rivers; those in the interior often by ranges of hills and mountains. The districts are again divided, each subdivision including numerous villages.

Harbours. The principal harbour of the island is that of *Surabáya* in the eastern districts, formed by the approaching extremities of Java and *Madúra*. It is broad and spacious, secure against the violence of the sea and wind, and may be rendered impregnable to any hostile attack.

The next in importance is that of Batavia, more properly, perhaps, called the roads of Batavia, which are sheltered by several islands lying in the outer part of the bay. These roads, however, not admitting of any means of permanent defence from the attack of a superior naval force, the Dutch government, during the late war, were induced to fortify the small harbour of *Merák* Bay, on the north-west coast of Bantam.

Along

* *Sura-kérta*, or *Sura-kerta di ning'rat*, is the name given to the seat of empire; but as the capital was only removed to its present site about the middle of the last century, it is still frequently called *Solo*, the name of the village in or near which this capital was established.

† This capital is indifferently turned *Yokya*, *Jokya*, *Juju*, *'Ng'yug'ya*, or *Yug'ya-kerta*, and is the *Djojo-Carta*, according to the Dutch orthography. The turn *Yug'ya* has been selected on account of its nearer approximation to the supposed derivation of the word from the *Na-yud-ya* of the Ramayan.

Along the northern coast, there are perhaps other positions which admit of being improved into convenient harbours; but where the whole coast affords excellent anchorage at nearly all seasons of the year, and where vessels of any burthen can approach all the principal stations, at a convenient distance for the barter of their merchandize, the purposes of commerce are in that respect already sufficiently provided for. The sea being usually smooth, and the weather moderate, the native vessels and small craft always find sufficient shelter at the change of the monsoon, by running under some of the numerous islands scattered along this coast, or passing up the rivers, which, though in general difficult of entrance on account of their bars, are for the most part navigable to such vessels, as far up as the maritime capitals, through which they run.

The south coast, on account of its exposure to the open ocean, the consequent high swell or surf which breaks on it, and its general want of good anchorage, is seldom visited by shipping. But even here harbours may be found; and those of *Chelâchap* and *Pachîtan* might, no doubt, be frequented with safety, were it considered desirable to attract commercial adventurers to this side of the island.

Mountains and Volcanos.

Passing from the coast to the interior of the country, the stranger cannot fail to be struck with the bold outline and prominent features of its scenery. An uninterrupted series or range of large mountains, varying in their elevation above the sea from five to eleven, and even twelve thousand feet,* and exhibiting, by their round base or pointed tops, their volcanic origin, extend through the whole length of the island.

The first of this series, commencing from the westward, is in Bantam. This mountain *(Gûnung-kârang)*, though of moderate elevation compared with others on the island,† is seen at a considerable distance from sea, and is a well-known landmark to mariners. It lies due south of the town of Bantam, at a considerable distance from the sea.

The next mountain of the series is the *Sâlak*, the eastern foot of which is connected with the *Gedé* or *Panarang'o*, situated about fifty miles south of

* The height of the mountain *Arjûna*, in the eastern part of the island, has been determined at 10,614 feet above the level of the sea; and this mountain is by no means so lofty as those of *Semîru* and *Tegâl*, the exact height of which has not yet been ascertained.

† The height of this mountain has been ascertained to be 5,263 English feet above the level of the sea.

of Batavia. These two mountains are seen from the roads of Batavia, and, from the appearance they exhibit, are usually termed by mariners the Blue Mountains.

From the eastern part of the *Gedé*, the volcanic series separates into two independent branches, one of which inclines to the south; the other proceeds almost due east, slightly verging to the north. The former breaks into an irregular transverse range, which extends across the island, till it approaches the northern branch, from whence the general series is continued in an easterly direction as far as the mountain *Sindóro*, the western of the two mountains known by mariners as the Two Brothers. The mountain *Súmbing*, or *Sindâri* (the second of The Brothers), is somewhat further to the south.

At a short distance from the eastern foot of the mountain *Súmbing* are three large volcanos, in a direction almost north and south, dividing the large series transversely; these are the mountains *Ung'árang*, *Merbábu*, and *Merápi*. The next volcano, in an eastern direction, is that of *Japára*, which deviates more than any other from the regular series, and forms a peculiar peninsular appendage to the island. The series is then continued in an easterly course from the *Merápi* as far as the mountain *Telágawúrung*, which is in contact with the ocean at the eastern end of the island.

The several large mountains comprized in this series, and which are in number thirty-eight, though different from each other in external figure, agree in the general attribute of volcanos, having a broad base gradually verging towards the summit in the form of a cone.

They all rise from a plain but little elevated above the level of the sea, and each must, with very few exceptions, be considered as a separate mountain, raised by a cause independent of that which produced the others. Most of them have been formed at a very remote period, and are covered by the vegetation of many ages; but the indications and remains of their former irruptions are numerous and unequivocal. The craters of several are completely extinct; those of others contain small apertures, which continually discharge sulphureous vapours or smoke. Many of them have had irruptions during late years.*

Besides

* To the above general observations, which are made on the authority of Dr. Horsfield, it may not be uninteresting to subjoin a more particular account of two or three of the volcanos which have been examined by that gentleman; those of *Tánkuban-Prahu*, *Papandáyang*, and *Gúntur*

Besides the mountains of the larger series above described, there are extensive ranges of mountains of an inferior elevation, sometimes connected with

Gúntur are, therefore, extracted from a paper published by Dr. Horsfield in the Batavian Transactions.

" TANKUBAN-PRAHU.—This mountain (which has derived its name from its appearance at " a distance, resembling a *prahu*, or boat, turned upside down) forms a vast truncated cone. " Its base extends to a very great distance, and it belongs to the largest mountains of the " island, forming one of its most interesting volcanos. Although it has had no violent eruption for many ages, as is evident from the progress of vegetation, and from the depth of black " mould which covers its sides, its interior has continued in a state of uninterrupted activity.

" The crater is one of the largest, perhaps the largest of the island. It has, in general, the " shape of a funnel; but its sides are very irregular. The brim, or margin, which bounds it at " the top, has also different degrees of elevation, rising and descending along the whole " course of its circumference. The perpendicular depth at the side, where I descended (in the " south), is at least two hundred and fifty feet: in the west the margin rises considerably higher. " The regular circumference of the crater I estimate one English mile and nearly an half. The " south side of the interior crater, near the top, is very steep. I found it impossible to descend, " without the assistance of ropes tied to the shrubs at the margin. It consists here of small fragments of lava. About one-third of its depth it becomes more oblique or inclining, and the " lower part consists of large piles of rocks, through which the descending streams of water " have excavated a winding channel. The east side descends gradually about one half of the " depth, where it is terminated abruptly by a perpendicular pile of large rocks, which continues to the bottom. The north side is more gradually shelving than the others, and is " partly covered with vegetation. The west side is one perpendicular pile of rocks. The " nucleus of the mountain consists of large masses of basaltes, in which the volcanic opening " is situated; and the sides exhibit piles and strata of this stone in every possible variety of " configuration. In some places, the rocks have the appearance of a regular wall, which is " suddenly diversified by large fragments suspended apparently by a small base, and threatening to fall down every instant. Sometimes they rise in an oblique manner, and appear to " have been disposed by art. But I shall not attempt a minute description of the disposition " of the rocks and the strata which form the internal walls of the crater, which, without an " accurate drawing, would be tedious and scarcely intelligible. The surface of the rocks " which line the interior of the crater is completely calcined, generally of a white colour, " sometimes inclining to grey or yellow. In many places, small fragments of lava adhere " to and cover the rocks of basalt: these are of different sizes, and of great variety of form " and colour; but the most are calcined or burnt, or the surface like the rocks themselves. " The different sides of the internal crater are excavated in many places, by furrows made by " the descending water, which penetrate to a considerable depth, and expose more completely the interior basaltic composition. The bottom of the crater has a diameter of three " hundred yards, but is not completely regular; its form depends on the gradual meeting of " the sides below. Its surface is much diversified: it is strewed, like the sides, with immense " blocks of basalt, the interstices between which are excavated, in a similar manner, by the " streams of the descending water.

" Near

with the larger series, and sometimes independent of them, which are also for the most part volcanic. Numerous ridges of hills traverse the country in

" Near the centre, somewhat inclining to the west side, it contains an irregular oval lake, " or collection of water, whose greatest diameter is nearly one hundred yards : it dilates into " several branches. The water is white, and exhibits truly the appearance of a lake of milk, " boiling with a perpetual discharge of large bubbles, which rise with greatest force from the " eastern side. The heat is 112° of Fahrenheit's scale : the apparent boiling arises from a " constant development of fixed air. The water has a sulphureous odour ; its taste is astringent, " somewhat saline. Shaken in a bottle it explodes its fixed air with great violence. The sides " of the lake, to some distance, are lined by a white aluminous earth, most impalpably fine, and " very loose, on which account it is very difficult to approach the water. In attempting to " examine its temperature, and to collect for analysis, I sunk into the earth to a considerable " distance, and found it necessary to dispose large fragments of basaltes before I was able " to pass over it. This earth consists of the clay (alumine) of the lavas dissolved by the " sulphureous steams on the bottom of the crater; it is of the purest kind, and divided to " a degree minute almost beyond conception. Large quantities have been several times thrown " out of the ancient craters of the island. One eruption of this substance occurred in the " year 1761 from the mountain Gedé : it was considered as an eruption of ashes.

" I was witness to a similar eruption, which occurred from the mountain of *Klut*, in the " month of June last year. The earth very much resembled ashes, and was so impalpably " fine and light, that the common breeze of the monsoon carried it from this mountain, " situated in the longitude of Surabáya, to Batavia and farther westward. It possessed the " properties of the purest clay, and being mixed with water became viscid and ductile. It " can easily be formed into vessels, and if procurable in large quantities, might usefully be " employed in the arts. All its properties indicated sufficiently that it was the alumine of the " lavas, divided in an extreme degree by the causes above-mentioned. The Javanese are not " wholly unacquainted with the properties of this earth. It is a custom amongst silversmiths to " collect the ashes thrown out by similar eruptions, for the purpose of making *moulds* for the " finest works.

" Towards the eastern extremity of the lake are the remaining outlets of the subterraneous " fires: they consist of several apertures, from which an uninterrupted discharge of sulphure- " ous vapours takes place. Two of these are larger than the rest; they are several feet " distant from each other. The apertures are of an irregular oblong form, and covered with " crystals of impure sulphur, which form from the discharged vapours, and adhere to those " incrustations of the aluminous earth which have formed themselves in a great variety of " configurations (hollows, tubes, &c.) near the apertures. The vapours rush out with incredible " force, with violent subterraneous noises, resembling the boiling of an immense cauldron " in the bowels of the mountain: their colour is white, like the concentrated vapours of " boiling water. The apertures cannot be approached without the greatest danger, as their " true extent cannot be discovered: they are surrounded by incrustations of sulphur adhering " to delicate laminæ of the aluminous earth, which are extremely brittle. The greatest " diameter of the large opening is nearly twelve inches.

" To

in various directions, and the surface of the island in general, independently of these more striking features, is in most parts undulating and uneven, except on the sea coast.

A country

" To give an adequate description of the interior of this crater would furnish matter for an " able pen: the force of the impression is increased, perhaps, by the recollection of the danger " which has been overcome in descending to the bottom. Every thing here contributes to fill " the mind with the most awful satisfaction. It doubtless is one of the most grand and terrific " scenes which nature affords; and, in the present instance, the extent of the crater, as well " as the remains of the former explosions, afforded a view and enjoyment which is not in my " power to describe.

" PAPANDAYANG.—The Papandáyang, situated on the western part of the district of Cheri- " bon, in the province of *Suka-pura*, was formerly one of the largest volcanos of the island; " but the greatest part of it was swallowed up in the earth, after a short but very severe " combustion, in the year 1772. The account which has remained of this event asserts, that " near midnight, between the 11th and 12th of August, there was observed about the moun- " tain an uncommonly luminous cloud, by which it appeared to be completely enveloped. The " inhabitants, as well about the foot as on the declivities of the mountain, alarmed by this " appearance, betook themselves to flight; but before they could all save themselves, the " mountain began to give way, and the greatest part of it actually *fell in* and disappeared in " the earth. At the same time, a tremendous noise was heard, resembling the discharge of " the heaviest cannon. Immense quantities of volcanic substances, which were thrown out " at the same time and spread in every direction, propagated the effects of the explosion " through the space of many miles.

" It is estimated, that an extent of ground, of the mountain itself and its immediate envi- " rons, fifteen miles long and full six broad, was by this commotion swallowed up in the " bowels of the earth. Several persons, sent to examine the condition of the neighbourhood, " made report, that they found it impossible to approach the mountain, on account of the " heat of the substances which covered its circumference, and which were piled on each " other to the height of three feet; although this was the 24th of September, and thus full " six weeks after the catastrophe. It is also mentioned, that forty villages, partly swallowed " up by the ground and partly covered by the substances thrown out, were destroyed on this " occasion, and that 2,957 of the inhabitants perished. A proportionate number of cattle was " also destroyed, and most of the plantations of cotton, indigo, and coffee, in the adjacent " districts, were buried under the volcanic matter. The effects of this explosion are still very " apparent on the remains of this volcano; but I defer an account of it, till I have had an " opportunity of making a more minute examination.

" GUNTUR.—The whole of the eastern part of this mountain is completely naked, and " exposes to view, in a striking manner, the course of the lavas of the latter eruptions: the " top is a regular cone, and covered with loose fragments of lava. I shall give a very " concise abstract of the observations on the mountain, and on the different streams of lava " which have lately flowed from its crater. I could distinctly trace, from the base of " the conical top to the roots of the mountain, five different eruptions. The latest stream of

" lava

Rivers and Lakes.

A country which abounds in mountains is seldom deficient in rivers; accordingly, no region is perhaps better watered. Java is singularly favoured in

" lava which I examined (the mountain has since had a later eruption) was thrown out in 1800. " Its course along the top cannot be distinctly observed, being completely covered with " sand and small fragments of lava, which generally rise towards the end of an eruption. " At the place where the stream first appeared distinctly, it was about five yards broad " and completely even on the surface: having proceeded about twenty yards further it " gradually widened, and was formed into a connected stream, higher in the middle, the " sides tapering or inclining towards the top, forming a ridge with a pointed or sharp back. " As the stream arrived at the foot of the mountain, it spread more and more, and pursued its " course to the eastward, about six hundred yards over the adjacent country. Its greatest " breadth, from north to south, is about one hundred and sixty yards, and it terminates " abruptly by a rounded margin, consisting of large blocks of lava piled upon each other, " nearly perpendicularly, to the height of fifteen to twenty feet.

" This stream of lava, like all the others of later date which I have examined on the island, " does not consist of a connected mass of fluid lava, united like a stream of melted metal; at " least on the surface where it is exposed to view. It is made up of separate masses, which " have an irregular (generally oblong or cubical) shape, and lie upon each other as 'loose " disjointed clods', in an immense variety of disposition. In some of these fragments I think " I could observe a tendency to assume the regular basaltic figure. During its course down " the steeps of the mountain, the stream, as has been observed, forms the long connected " ridge (which has been described above, in the account of the volcanos, as generally cover- " ing the sides); but having arrived at the foot and spread more at large, these lumps of lava " dispose themselves, in some instances, in plains, bounded by deep vallies: now they rise to " a considerable height, and form a steep perpendicular eminence; then again they are piled " upon each other more gradually, and appear rising by steps and divisions. But to give an " accurate description of the arrangement of these fragments of lava would be unnecessarily " prolix, and would require, to be clearly understood, a good drawing. In different places, " the sulphureous vapours have forced their way through the interstices of the blocks of lava. " The sides of their outlets (whose form is very irregular) is covered with a white calcareous " crust; and the heat is so great, that small pieces of paper thrown into them are immediate- " ly singed.

" This stream of lava is bounded on the north by another, of the same nature and disposi- " tion, thrown out of the mountain (according to an estimate made from the commencement " and progress of vegetation upon it) about thirty years ago. In its course along the sides of " the mountain it forms the same pointed ridges above described. It affords a plain demon- " stration of the manner in which the surface of lava is decomposed and rendered fit for vege- " tation. A third district of lava bounds the new stream first described in the south: it is " more extensive than the others, and consists of several distinct regions, probably thrown out " during one eruption (which appears to have been more violent than the others), but in suc- " cessive periods shortly following each other. It extends farther to the eastward than the " others, and covers a great portion of the foot of the mountain. Vegetation has already made " considerable progress upon it: in the vallies between the separate streams of lava are found

" not

in the number of its streams. The size of the island does not admit of the formation of large rivers, but there are probably fifty, that in the wet season, bear down rafts charged with timber and other rough produce of the country, and not less than five or six at all times navigable to the distance of some miles from the coast. It would be vain to attempt numbering those which are precious to the agriculturist; they are many hundreds, if not thousands.

The largest, and most important river on the island, is that of *Sólo*, or as it is termed by the natives *Beng'áwan* (the great) *Sólo*, which takes its rise in the district of *Kadáwang*, and after collecting the waters of the surrounding hills, becomes a stream of considerable depth and breadth at *Súra-kérta*, where it is further increased by the waters collected from the adjacent districts. Its general course from the capital is in an east-north-easterly direction, till it discharges itself by two principal outlets into the sea, near *Grésik* and *Sidáyu*. After leaving *Matárem*, it traverses the provinces of *Sukawáti*, *Jagarága*, *Mádion*, *Jípang*, *Blóra*, *Túban*, *Sidáyu*, and *Grésik*. Solo river.

At *Awi*, near the boundary of *Mádion* and *Jagarága*, on the eastern side of the river, a large branch from the south-eastern provinces, commonly

 called

" not only plants but also small shrubs. At one place, near the termination of this stream, the " lava is piled up in two irregular ridges to the height of twenty feet; and at a small distance " from its eastern extremity, in a spot which has escaped the effects of the later eruptions, and " is covered by a pleasant wood, are three different hot wells, within the circumference of a " quarter of a mile. In the south, this district of lava is bounded by a recent stream, which " appears to have been thrown out in 1800, by the same eruption which produced the first men- " tioned stream. It differs from the others only in the colour of its lava, which has a reddish " hue: it is less considerable in extent than any of the others, and cannot be traced far from " the foot of the mountain. The fifth stream of lava which I examined is still farther towards " the south, and is one of the oldest which have been discharged from the eastern part of the " crater. Near the foot of the mountain, vegetation has made greater progress than in any of " the other districts of lava.

" The colour of the recent lava of this mountain is jet-black or grey: one of the streams " only has a reddish colour. Its texture is very loose, and its fracture very porous. The smal- " ler fragments have much the appearance of the scoriæ of a blacksmith's forge: on being " thrown against each other, they emit a sound like two bricks coming into contact. The in- " terior crater of this mountain, as it has remained after the eruption of 1800, is less interest- " ing than the others which I have examined. Its shape is somewhat oval, the greatest diame- " ter being about one hundred yards: its depth is not very considerable. Its structure, in " general, is similar to that of *Tankuban-prahu*. It has one remaining aperture, which " discharges with great force hot sulphureous vapours."

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called the river of *Mádion*, unites itself with that of *Sólo*, and from hence its course, which in various places has been rapid, and in a few places impeded with rocks, is calm, regular, and steady to its discharge. It has been estimated, that the extent of the windings of this river is not less than three hundred and fifty-six English miles, from *Súra-kérta* to *Grésik*, which in the chart only gives a straight line of one hundred and forty English miles, and during its whole course no serious impediment appears to its navigation.

This river is of great importance to the inland trade of many of the eastern provinces. During the rainy season, boats of considerable size convey the produce of an extensive tract of country to the sea; and, except during the months of August, September, and October, and in seasons uncommonly dry, it bears down boats of middling or small size during the whole year, from a considerable distance above *Súra-kérta*. The boats employed in the navigation of the river are of very different sizes, and of a peculiar construction: they are very long in proportion to their breadth, have flat bottoms, and draw very little water. Those generally used in conveying the produce from one village to another in the vicinity of *Súra-kérta*, carry only a few tons, and have a temporary covering of straw mats, or *kájang*; others, more carefully constructed, have a regular roof of planks and a chamber or cabin which can be closed, and convey from fifty to one hundred tons. These are generally used by individuals in their adventures to *Grésik* and *Surabáya*. The largest, which are the property of the Prince, load nearly two hundred tons. They are employed in transporting the produce of several of the interior provinces, consisting chiefly of pepper and coffee, to *Grésik*, and return laden with salt and foreign merchandize for the consumption of the interior. They require a considerable depth of water, and can only pass when the river is swollen by continued rains. They mostly depart from *Súra-kérta* in the month of January. Their course down the river is rapid: they generally arrive at *Grésik* in eight days; but they can perform but one voyage in a season, as they require nearly four months to work up the stream.

Surabáya river. The river of *Surabáya*, the second in magnitude of the whole island, rises near *Bátu*, in the vicinity of the southern hills of the mountain *Arjúna*. It is near its source called *Káli-brántas*. Near the capital of *Málang* it receives two streams from the eastward. There it first takes its course through the most southern provinces of the island, when winding round the mountain *Káwi* it returns again to the the north, receiving near its curvature

ture numerous augmentations from the southern ridge of mountains. The chief of these is the *Lésti*, a considerable river coming from the east, which joins it near the boundary of *Málang* and *Seríng'at*. Continuing its course in a northern direction, it traverses the provinces of *Rówo* and *Kedíri*, being joined on the way by the river *Rówo*: here it attains its utmost magnitude, and is distinguished by the name of *Beng'áwan Kedíri*. From the capital of this district to its mouths, it is navigable for boats of very considerable size, and its course is steady and uninterrupted. Having crossed the district of *Wirasába* and *Jápan*, it enters that of *Surabáya*. It discharges itself into the ocean by five outlets, which form as many separate rivers. The first of them, taking an easterly course, is called the river *Púnong*: then follow those of *Tang'goláng'ing*, *Sído-kéri*, *Kedóng*, and lastly of *Wóno-króno*, which again subdividing sends off the branch which passes *Surabáya*.

Several smaller rivers, which fall into the sea between *Semárang* and *Lásem*, are highly important for the conveyance of teak timber from the central forests to the coast; and the waters from some of them being directed into canals, particularly through the low district of *Demák*, tend considerably to increase the inland navigation of the country.

In the western districts, the principal rivers which discharge themselves into the sea on the northern coast are the *Chi-kándi*, which forms the present boundary between Bantám and the environs of Batavia; the *Chi-dáni*, which discharges itself below *Táng'ran*; the *Chi-tárom*, which falls into the sea below *Kráwang*; and the *Chi-mánok*, which forms the present boundary between *Dramáyu* and *Chéribon*. The principal rivers which discharge themselves by the south coast are the *Chi-mandíri*, which falls into the sea at *Palábuan-rátu*, or Wyn Coops Bay; the *Chi-tándui*, which disembogues near *Núsa-kambáng'an*; and the *Seráyu*, which taking its rise in the mountain *Díeng* or *Práhu*, traverses the rich districts of *Bányumas*, and falls into the sea a short distance to the east of *Chelácbap*; but these rivers, though of considerable depth, are choked up at their mouths by heavy banks or bars, and in consequence of the heavy surf which constantly breaks on the southern coast, are dangerous at their entrance.

Along the northern coast, almost every district has its principal river, and most of them are navigable up to the maritime capitals for native vessels of considerable burthen; but they all have the disadvantage of being partially blocked up at their discharge by extensive bars and mud-banks, an evil which

is extending with the increase of agriculture, by reason of the quantity of soil necessarily washed down in the process of irrigating the land for the rice cultivation. Most of them require the application of jetties or piers to deepen the passages at their entrance.

Lakes. There are no lakes of any considerable size on Java, for that name cannot be given to the *ráwas*, or swamps, which though swelled to a considerable size in the wet season, are for the rest of the year either dried up or choked by vegetation. Of this description are two extensive tracts; one inland of *Japára*, usually termed by the Dutch the *Binnen Zee*, or inland sea; and another in the district of *Semárang*. In *Báglen* also (one of the native provinces on the southern side of the island) there is a lake which supplies the neighbouring country with fish, and along the coast of which a traffic is carried on in boats.

Extensive swamps are also found in some parts of the native provinces, and in the mountainous districts of the *Súnda* country. Several very beautiful lakes, of small dimensions, are discovered among the hills, and some of them can evidently be shewn to have been formed of the craters of extinct volcanos.

General Aspect. The general aspect of Java on the northern coast is low, in many places swampy and overgrown with mangrove trees and bushes, particularly towards the west. The southern coast, on the contrary, consists almost entirely of a series of rocks and cliffs, which rise perpendicularly to a considerable height. In the interior, stupendous mountains stretch longitudinally throughout the island, while others of an inferior elevation, and innumerable ranges of hills running in various directions, serve to form and confine plains and valleys of various elevations and extent. On the northern side, the ascent is in general very gradual, from the sea coast to the immediate base of the mountains; particularly in the western parts of the island, where it has the greatest breadth, and where the mountains are situated far inland. In approaching the mountains, which lie at the back of Batavia, there is a gradual but almost imperceptible acclivity for about forty miles. In other parts, where the mountains and hills approach nearer to the coast, the ascent is of course more abrupt, as may be observed in the vicinity of *Semárang*.

Although the northern coast is in many parts flat and uninteresting, the interior and southern provinces, from the mountainous character of the country, may be reckoned amongst the most romantic and highly diversified

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in the world; uniting all the rich and magnificent scenery, which waving forests, never-failing streams, and constant verdure can present, heightened by a pure atmosphere and the glowing tints of a tropical sun.

The largest of the elevated plains are; in the west, that of *Bándung*, formed between the two ranges of volcanos which branch off from the foot of the mountain *Gedé;* and in the east, those usually termed the plains of *Sólo* and *Kedíri*, which extend along the central districts from the *Merápi* to *Kedíri* and the site of the ancient capital of *Majapáhit.* These are of considerable magnitude, and with the exception of the valley of *Kedú* and the province of *Bányumas*, through which the beautiful river of *Seráyu* bends its winding and romantic course, are perhaps the richest parts of the island. The low lands, however, are not without their claims to that distinction; especially the flats of *Demák*, once an extensive swamp, and the Delta of *Surabáya.* Large tracts, particularly in the mountainous ranges of the western districts, still remain in a state of nature, or where the ground has been once cleared of forest, are now overrun with long and rank grass. In the central and eastern districts, the country is comparatively well clothed with cultivation.

Quitting the low coast of the north, in many parts unhealthy, the traveller can hardly advance five miles inland without feeling a sensible improvement in the atmosphere and climate. As he proceeds, at every step he breathes a purer air and surveys a brighter scene. At length he reaches the high lands. Here the boldest forms of nature are tempered by the rural arts of man: stupendous mountains clothed with abundant harvest, impetuous cataracts tamed to the peasant's will. Here is perpetual verdure; here are tints of the brightest hue. In the hottest season, the air retains its freshness; in the driest, the innumerable rills and rivulets preserve much of their water. This the mountain farmer directs in endless conduits and canals to irrigate the land, which he has laid out in terraces for its reception; it then descends to the plains, and spreads fertility wherever it flows, till at last, by numerous outlets, it discharges itself into the sea.

Mineralogical constitution of the island.

Almost all the mountains or volcanos, in the large series before noticed, are found on examination to have the same general constitution: they are striped vertically by sharp ridges, which, as they approach the foot of the mountain, take a more winding course. These ridges alternate with valleys, whose sides are of a very various declivity. Large rocks of basaltes

basaltes occasionally project, and in several instances the valleys form the beds of rivers towards the tops of the volcanos; in the rainy season they all convey large volumes of water.

Next in importance to this extensive series of primary mountains, there are various ridges of smaller mountains, or hills, extending in different directions, with nearly an equal degree of elevation; sometimes originating from or connected with the primary volcanos, sometimes forming independent ranges, and arising separately and at a distance from the great series. These, which have been termed secondary mountains, though evidently of a volcanic nature, differ in many particulars of their constitution from those of the larger series. They generally extend in long narrow ridges, with but a moderate elevation, and their sides are less regularly composed of the vertical ridges above mentioned. In most cases, a stratified structure and submarine origin may be discovered. They are generally covered with large rocks of basaltes; and in some instances they consist of wacken and hornblende, which is found along their base in immense piles.

Hills of calcareous constitution, with only a moderate degree of elevation, occur in smaller ridges, often with a flat or tabular top; or in steep rocks and eminences. These are sometimes found in the centre of the island, covering the volcanic districts, but much more frequently near the northern and southern shores.

Hills of a mixed nature, partly calcareous and partly volcanic, are also found. The southern coast of the island consists almost entirely of them, rising in many places to the perpendicular height of eighty or one hundred feet, and sometimes much higher. These, as they branch inward and approach the central or higher districts, gradually disappear, and give place to the volcanic series, or alternate with huge masses of basaltic hornblende, that appears to assume a regular stratification. At the base of these, or in the beds of the rivers which proceed from them, are frequently found various silicious stones, as common flints, prase, hornstone, jasper, porphyry, agate, cornelian, &c.

Alluvial districts, evidently of recent origin, are noticed in several parts of the island. These are formed from the sediment and near the discharge of large rivers, and at the borders of the calcareous ridges, which are in many instances partially covered by them: their boundary can easily be traced, and most of them are still in a state of constant progression. Among other

phenomena

phenomena are mineral wells of various temperature and impregnation; wells of naptha, or petrolium; and rivers arising, in a few instances, from the craters of volcanos, impregnated with sulphureous acid.*

From

* Mineral wells, of various qualities, are found in almost every part of the island. As an instance of the hot wells, the following account of those found in Cheribon is selected. "At the "village of *Bongas* (situated about ten miles to the north-east of *Karang-Sambong*) I directed "my route to the large mountain, in order to examine part of the hills along its foot, called "the hills of *Pana-wangan*, and several hot wells which are found near their borders. On "approaching these hills, after a very gentle acclivity covered entirely by calcareous stones, "I very soon came to the spot of the hot wells. They are found on a gently inclining plain, "about one hundred yards in circumference. This plain is perfectly white; and on approach-"ing it, it is perceived at some distance by a sulphureous vapour, arising from the whole "neighbourhood. The water springs from several apertures, but their temperatures are "not equal; the hottest indicates the degree of one hundred and thirty of Fahrenheit's scale. "They all contain a very large quantity of calcareous earth in solution and suspension, which "coming into contact with the air, immediately separates, and adheres to the surrounding "objects, or is precipitated to the ground. The branches of the shrubs in the vicinity are all "enveloped by a stalactical incrustation. The water from the different wells gently descending "the white calcareous plain, is collected in a rivulet below. A large number of calcareous rocks "are found in the vicinity of the plains; some are covered with elegant crystals of calcareous "spar, others have a coralline appearance, and some have the fracture of alabaster. On proceed-"ing up the hills, immense irregular blocks of calcareous rocks are found strewed about in the "valleys. About one hundred yards above this district are several wells of naptha, or petroleum. "It rises in small plashes of water, about twelve or eighteen inches in diameter, upon which it "drives its black specks, emitting the peculiar odour of the petroleum. The earth in the cir-"cumference of these plashes is strongly impregnated with this oil: it is very tough, and from "that immediately bounding apertures, the naptha flows out on its being pressed; some por-"tions exactly resemble asphaltum. A considerable space of ground is occupied by these "wells. The stones are all calcareous. A few hundred yards above this spot, the borders of the "hills become very steep. I examined them to some extent. They are composed exclusively "of calcareous stones. Several extensive stalactitic caves are found at no great distance "above the wells; they exhibit the usual appearances of calcareous caves and vaults. The "process of incrustation is continually going on. In some places, deep perforations extend "into the heart of the hills."—*Essay on the Mineralogy of Java, by Dr. Horsfield. Bat. Trans.* vol. ix.

Among other objects of curiosity, which can only be illustrated by particular description, are the explosions of mud, situated between the district of Grobogan on the west, and of Blora and Jipang on the east. By the natives they are termed Blédeg, and are described by Dr. Horsfield as salt wells.

"These salt wells," he observes, "are dispersed through a district of country several miles "in circumference, the base of which, like that of other parts of the island which furnish mi-"neral and other saline waters, is limestone. They are of considerable number, and force

From these, and all other investigations yet made, the constitution of Java appears to be exclusively volcanic. From the vast Asiatic chain of mountains, one branch of which terminates in Ceylon, proceeds another, which traversing Arakan, Pegu, and the Malayan Peninsula, extends to Sumatra, *Bánka*, and *Bíliton*, where it may be said to disappear. On Java no granite has been discovered. In its constitution, as in its direction, it may be considered as the first of a series of volcanic islands, which extend nearly eastward from the Straits of Sunda for about twenty-five degrees.

At what period the island assumed its present shape, or whether it was once joined to Sumatra and *Báli*, is matter for conjecture. The violent convulsions which these islands have so often suffered, justify a conclusion that the face of the country has been frequently changed, and tradition mentions

" themselves upwards, through apertures in the rocks, with some violence and ebullition. The " waters are strongly impregnated with sea-salt, and yield upon evaporation very good salt for " culinary purposes. (In quantity not less than two hundred tons in the year.)

" About the centre of this limestone district, is found an extraordinary volcanic phenome- " non. On approaching it from a distance, it is first discovered by a large volume of smoke " rising and disappearing at intervals of a few seconds, resembling the vapours arising from a " violent surf: a dull noise is heard, like that of distant thunder. Having advanced so near, " that the vision was no longer impeded by the smoke, a large hemispherical mass was observed, " consisting of black earth, mixed with water, about sixteen feet in diameter, rising to the height " of twenty or thirty feet in a perfectly regular manner, and as it were pushed up, by a force " beneath; which suddenly exploded with a dull noise, and scattered about a volume of black " mud in every direction. After an interval of two or three, or sometimes four or five seconds, " the hemispherical body of mud or earth rose and exploded again. In the same manner this " volcanic ebullition goes on without interruption, throwing up a globular body of mud, and " dispersing it with violence through the neighbouring plain. The spot where the ebullition " occurs is nearly circular and perfectly level, it is covered only with the earthy particles im- " pregnated with salt water, which are thrown up from below; the circumference may be esti- " mated at about half an English mile. In order to conduct the salt water to the circumfe- " rence, small passages, or gutters, are made in the loose muddy earth, which lead it to the " borders, where it is collected in holes dug in the ground for the purpose of evaporation.

" A strong, pungent, sulphureous smell, somewhat resembling that of earth-oil, is perceived " on standing near the explosion; and the mud recently thrown up possesses a degree of heat " greater than that of the surrounding atmosphere. During the rainy season these explosions " are more violent, the mud is thrown up much higher, and the noise is heard at a greater dis- " tance.

" This volcanic phenomenon is situated near the center of the large plain which interrupts " the large series of volcanos; and owes its origin to the general cause of the numerous vol- " canic eruptions which occur on the island."

Batavian Trans. vol. ix.

mentions the periods when Java was separated from those islands; * but the essential difference which has been found in the mineralogical constitution of Java and Sumatra, would seem to indicate a different origin, and to support the opinion that those two islands were never united. Whether, at a period more remote, the whole Archipelago formed part of the continent of Asia, and was divided from it and shattered into islands; whether they were originally distinct from the main land, or whether they were formed at the same time, or subsequently, are questions we cannot resolve. Yet, when we reflect on the violence of those dreadful phenomena† which have occurred

* The tradition is as follows:—"It is related, that in former times the islands of Sumatra, Java, Bali, and Sumbawa were united, and afterwards separated into nine different parts; and it is also said, that when three thousand rainy seasons have passed away, they will be reunited.

The separation of the lands of Palembang (Sumatra) and Java took place in the Javan year 1114
The separation of the lands of Bali and Balembangan on Java in 1204
The separation of the lands of Giling Trawangán and Bali in 1260
The separation of the island of Selo-Parang and Sumbawa in 1280

See Chronological Table, under the head "History of Java."

† In order to give the reader some idea of the tremendous violence with which nature sometimes distinguishes the operations of the volcano in these regions, and enable him to form some conjecture, from the occurrences of recent experience, of the effects they may have produced in past ages, a short account of the extraordinary and wide spread phenomena that accompanied the eruption of the Tomboro mountain, in the island of Sumbawa, in April 1815, may not be uninteresting. Almost every one is acquainted with the intermitting convulsions of Etna and Vesuvius, as they appear in the descriptions of the poet and the authentic accounts of the naturalist, but the most extraordinary of them can bear no comparison, in point of duration and force, with that of Tomboro. This eruption extended perceptible evidences of its existence over the whole of the Molucca Islands, over Java, a considerable portion of Celebes, Sumatra, and Borneo, to a circumference of a thousand statute miles from its centre, by tremulous motions, and the report of explosions; while within the range of its more immediate activity, embracing a space of three hundred miles around it, it produced the most astonishing effects, and excited the most alarming apprehensions. On Java, at the distance of three hundred miles, it seemed to be awfully present. The sky was overcast at noon-day with clouds of ashes, the sun was envelloped in an atmosphere, whose "palpable" density he was unable to penetrate; showers of ashes covered the houses, the streets, and the fields, to the depth of several inches; and amid this darkness explosions were heard at intervals, like the report of artillery or the noise of distant thunder. So fully did the resemblance of the noises to the report of cannon impress the minds of some officers, that from an apprehension of pirates on the coast vessels were dispatched to afford relief. Superstition, on the other hand, on the minds of the natives, was busily at work, and attributed the reports to an artillery of a different description to that of pirates. All conceived that the effects experienced might be caused by eruptions

red in our own times in the smaller islands of the volcanic series, and view this range, as it is now presented to us on the map of the world, a conjecture

tions of some of the numerous volcanos on the island; but no one could have conjectured that the showers of ashes which darkened the air, and covered the ground of the eastern districts of Java, could have proceeded from a mountain in Sumbawa, at the distance of several hundred miles. Conceiving that it might be interesting and curious to preserve an authentic and detailed account of the information that could be gained of this wonderful phenomenon, while the event was still recent and fully remembered, I directed a circular to the different residents, requiring them to transmit to the Government a statement of the facts and circumstances connected with it, which occurred within their own knowledge. From their replies, the narrative drawn up by Mr. Assey, and printed in the ninth volume of the Batavian Transactions, was collected; the following is an extract from that paper.

"The first explosions were heard on this island (Java) in the evening of the 5th of April: "they were noticed in every quarter, and continued at intervals until the following day. The "noise was, in the first instance, universally attributed to distant cannon: so much so, that a "detachment of troops was marched from Djocjocarta, under the apprehension that a neighbour- "ing post had been attacked; and along the coast boats were in two instances dispatched in quest "of supposed ships in distress. On the following morning, however, a slight fall of ashes removed "all doubt as to the cause of the sound; and it is worthy of remark, that as the eruption "continued, the sound appeared to be so close, that in each district it seemed near at hand, "and was generally attributed to an eruption either from the mountains Merapi, Klut, or "Bromo. From the 6th the sun became obscured; it had every where the appearance of being "enveloped in a fog. The weather was sultry and the atmosphere close, and still the sun seemed "shorn of its rays, and the general stillness and pressure of the atmosphere seemed to forebode "an earthquake. This lasted several days. The explosions continued occasionally, but less "violently, and less frequently than at first. Volcanic ashes also began to fall, but in small quan- "tities, and so slightly as to be hardly perceptible in the western districts. This appearance of "the atmosphere continued, with little variation, until the 10th of April; and till then it does not "appear that the volcano attracted much observation, or was considered of greater importance "than those which have occasionally burst forth in Java. But on the evening of the 10th, the "eruptions were heard more loud and more frequent; from Cheribon eastward the air became "darkened by the quantity of falling ashes; the sun was nearly darkened; and in some "situations, particularly at Solo and Rembang, many said that they felt a tremulous motion of "the earth. It was universally remarked in the more eastern districts, that the explosions were "tremendous, continuing frequently during the 11th, and of such violence as to shake the "houses perceptibly. An unusual thick darkness was remarked all the following night, and "the greater part of the next day. At Solo candles were lighted at 4. p. m. of the 12th; at "Mágelan in Kédu, objects could not be seen at three hundred yards distance. At Grésik, "and other districts more eastward, it was dark as night in the greater part of the 12th April, "and this saturated state of the atmosphere lessened as the cloud of ashes passed along and "discharged itself on its way. Thus the ashes that were eight inches deep at Bănyuwángi "were but two in depth at Súmenap, and less in Grésik, and the sun does not seem to have "been actually obscured in any district west of Semárang.

"All reports concur in stating, that so violent and extensive an eruption has not happened "within

ture might perhaps be hazarded, that the whole may have once formed but the southern side of one large island or continent, within which much of

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" within the memory of the oldest inhabitant, nor within tradition. They speak of similar " effects, in a lesser degree, when an eruption took place from the volcano of Karang Asam in " Bali, about seven years ago, and it was at first supposed that this mountain was the seat of " the eruption. The Balinese on Java attributed the event to a recent dispute between the two " Rajahs of Bali Baliling, which terminated in the death of the younger Rajah by order of " his brother.

" The haziness and heat of the atmosphere, and occasional fall of volcanic ashes, continued " until the 14th, and in some parts of the island until the 17th of April. They were cleared " away universally by a heavy fall of rain, after which the atmosphere became clear and " more cool; and it would seem that this seasonable relief prevented much injury to the " crops, and removed an appearance of epidemic disease which was beginning to prevail. " This was especially the case at Batavia, where for two or three days preceding the rain, " many persons were attacked with fever. As it was, however, no material injury was felt " beyond the districts of Banyuwângi. The cultivators every where took precaution to shake " off the ashes from the growing paddy as they fell, and the timely rain removed an appre- " hension very generally entertained, that insects would have been generated by the long " continuance of the ashes at the root of the plant. In Rembang, where the rain did not " fall till the 17th, and the ashes had been considerable, the crops were somewhat injured; " but in Banyuwângi, the part of the island on which the cloud of ashes spent its force, the " injury was more extensive. A large quantity of paddy was totally destroyed, and all the " plantations more or less injured. One hundred and twenty-six horses and eighty-six head " of cattle also perished, chiefly for want of forage, during a month from the time of the " eruption.

" From Sumbawa to the part of Sumatra where the sound was noticed, is about nine " hundred and seventy geographical miles in a direct line. From Sumbawa to Temate is a " distance of about seven hundred and twenty miles. The distance also to which the cloud of " ashes was carried, so quickly as to produce utter darkness, was clearly pointed out to have " been the island of Celebes and the districts of Grésik on Java: the former is two hundred " and seventeen nautical miles distant from the seat of the volcano; the latter, in a direct " line, more than three hundred geographical miles."

The following is an extract from the reports of Lieutenant Owen Phillips, dated at Bima on the island of Sumbawa. " On my trip towards the western part of the island, I passed " through nearly the whole of Dompo and a considerable part of Bima. The extreme " misery to which the inhabitants have been reduced is shocking to behold. There were still " on the road side the remains of several corpses, and the marks of where many others had " been interred: the villages almost entirely deserted and the houses fallen down, the surviv- " ing inhabitants having dispersed in search of food. The Rajah of Sang'ir came to wait " on me at Dompo, on the 3d instant. The suffering of the people there appears, from his " account, to be still greater than in Dompo. The famine has been so severe that even one of " his own daughters died from hunger. I presented him with three coyangs of rice in your " name, for which he appeared most truly thankful.

the main land has fallen in, and subsequently disappeared on the influx of the sea.

Metals.

The constitution of the island is unfavourable to metals. All the examinations hitherto made confirm this assertion, and it may be laid down as a general position, that no metals occur, in such a quantity, or with such richness of ore, as to reward the operations of the miner. The only notice we have of the existence of gold or silver is contained in the first volume of the Transactions of the Batavian Society; and the attempts on the mountain of *Párang*, in 1723, and on the *Mégeméndung*, in 1744, were soon abandoned. Iron pyrites is found in small quantity in several districts, as well as red ochre; which, however, often contains so little iron, as scarcely to serve for the common

" As the Rajah was himself a spectator of the late eruption, the following account which " he gave me is perhaps more to be depended upon than any other I can possibly obtain. " About 7 p. m. on the 10th of April, three distinct columns of flame burst forth near the " top of the Tomboro mountain (all of them apparently within the verge of the crater), " and after ascending separately to a very great height, their tops united in the air " in a troubled confused manner. In a short time, the whole mountain next Sang'ir " appeared like a body of liquid fire, extending itself in every direction. The fire " and columns of flame continued to rage with unabated fury, until the darkness caused " by the quantity of falling matter obscured it at about 8 p. m. Stones, at this time, " fell very thick at Sang'ir; some of them as large as two fists, but generally not larger than " walnuts. Between 9 and 10 p. m. ashes began to fall, and soon after a violent whirlwind " ensued, which blew down nearly every house in the village of Sang'ir, carrying the " ataps, or roofs, and light parts away with it. In the part of Sang'ir adjoining Tomboro " its effects were much more violent, tearing up by the roots the largest trees and " carrying them into the air, together with men, horses, cattle, and whatever else came " within its influence. (This will account for the immense number of floating trees seen at " sea). The sea rose nearly twelve feet higher than it had ever been known to do before, and " completely spoiled the only small spots of rice land in Sang'ir, sweeping away houses and " every thing within its reach. The whirlwind lasted about an hour. No explosions were heard " till the whirlwind had ceased, at about 11 a. m. From midnight till the evening of the 11th, " they continued without intermission; after that time their violence moderated, and they were " only heard at intervals, but the explosions did not cease entirely until the 15th of July. " Of the whole villages of Tomboro, Tempo, containing about forty inhabitants, is the only " one remaining. In Pekáté no vestige of a house is left: twenty-six of the people, who " were at Sumbawa at the time, are the whole of the population who have escaped. From the " most particular inquiries I have been able to make, there were certainly not fewer than " twelve thousand individuals in Tomboro and Pekáté at the time of the eruption, of whom " only five or six survive. The trees and herbage of every description, along the whole of the " north and west sides of the peninsula, have been completely destroyed, with the exception " of a high point of land near the spot where the village of Tomboro stood."

common purpose of paint. The existence of mercury in the low lands of *Démak*, where it is distributed in minute particles through the clay of the rice grounds bounding one of the principal rivers of that district, has not been considered as an indication of a mine, or of the ores of that metal.

Minerals. No diamonds are found, nor other precious stones, but many minerals of the schorl, quartz, potstone, feldspar, and trap kind. They mostly exist in mountains of secondary elevation, towards the southern shores of the island, sometimes in extensive veins; but separate fragments are carried down by the rivers, and found far from their original deposition. Prase is found in very extensive veins; hornstone is also abundant in particular situations, as well as flint, chalcedony, hyalite, common jasper, jasper-agate, obsidian, and porphyry.

Soil. The soil in Java is for the most part rich, and remarkable for its depth; probably owing to the exclusively volcanic constitution of the country, and the constant accession of new mould, which is washed down the side of its numerous mountains. It has the character of being in a high degree richer than the ordinary soil of the Malayan countries in general, particularly of Sumatra and the Malayan peninsula. The best soil resembles the richest garden-mould of Europe; and whenever it can be exposed to the inundation necessary for the rice crop, requires no manure, and will bear without impoverishment, one heavy and one light crop in the year: the poorest, with this advantage, will yield a liberal return to the husbandman. In an island of such extent and variety of surface, the soil is necessarily various, but its general character is that of extraordinary fertility. The red and very light soil of the western districts is generally considered inferior to the dark brown and stiffer soil which prevails in the eastern. The best soil is usually found near the beds of rivers, in the valleys, and on the slopes of the largest mountains: the worst on the ranges of low calcareous hills, which run through different parts of the island.

Seasons and climate. The seasons, in all the countries situated within about ten degrees of the equator, agree in this: that as one eternal summer prevails, they are not distinguished as hot and cold, but as wet and dry. On Java the seasons depend upon the periodical winds. The period of the setting in of these winds is not determined within a few weeks; but generally the westerly winds, which are always attended with rain, are felt in October, become more steady in November and December, and gradually subside, till in March

March or April they are succeeded by the easterly winds and fair weather, which continue for the remaining half year. The heaviest rains are in the months of December and January, and the driest weather is in July and August; at which latter period, also, the nights are coldest and the days hottest. The weather is most unsettled when the season is changing, particularly at the first setting in of the westerly winds: but those violent storms and hurricanes, which are so often felt in the West Indies and in higher latitudes, are here unknown. With the exception of a few days at these periods, or when the westerly winds are at their height, vessels of any description may ride in safety, in most of the bays along the northern coast of the island; and on shore, the wind is never so violent as to do damage. Thunder storms are, however, frequent, and the lightning is extremely vivid. In the vicinity of the hills, and elsewhere during the dry season, seldom a day passes without thunder and lightning; and although these grand exhibitions of nature cause less consternation in general within the tropics than beyond them, it cannot be denied that they are destructive of many lives. Earthquakes are to be expected in a volcanic country, and are frequent in the vicinity of the volcanos; but the European towns have never sustained any serious injury from them.

During the rainy season there are many days free from showers. The mornings are generally clear, and although the rains sometimes continue without intermission for several days, and frequently fall in torrents, they are not marked on Java by that decided character, either of permanence or violence, which distinguishes the periodical rains of the continent of India; neither is the dry season distinguished by that excessive aridity which attends the hot seasons of that country. Even in July and August, the atmosphere is refreshed by occasional showers, and the landscape is at all times of the year covered with the brightest verdure. The thermometer of Fahrenheit has been known to rise along the northern coast as high as 90° about three in the afternoon, and even higher, particularly in the large and low capitals of Batavia, *Semárang*, and *Surabáya;* but from observations made during a course of some years at Batavia, and published under the authority of the Dutch government, it has been found usually to range between 70 and 74° in the evenings and mornings, and to stand about 83° at noon. By similar observations at *Semárang*, the same thermometer, placed in a spacious and open apartment, has averaged 87½° at noon.

At

At a distance inland of not more than thirty or forty miles, where the ascent is gradual, and of fifteen or twenty or less where it is rapid, the thermometer falls from five to ten degrees lower. At *Chi-seríia*, situated about forty miles inland of Batavia, and *Chi-pánas*, about twelve miles further, on the opposite slope of the mountain *Gedé*, the thermometer ranges generally between 60 and 70°. In the morning, at six o'clock, it is sometimes as low as 57°; and in the afternoon, at three, its usual height is from 67 to 70°, but seldom rising to 72°. On some of the hills inland of *Semárang*, on which Europeans frequently reside during the dry season, at an elevation of about four thousand feet, the thermometer is frequently seen as low as 45°, and generally, in the clear season, ranges from 50 to 62°, and on the summit of one of the mountains (*Sindóro*) it has been observed as low as 27°* Ice, as thick as a Spanish dollar, has been found; and hoar frost, denominated *bóhon úpas*, or the poisonous dew, has been observed on the trees and vegetation of some of the higher regions.

By its insular situation, the climate of Java enjoys the benefit of land and sea breezes, which in its least favored parts subdue the fierceness of the tropical rays, while the great elevation of its interior affords the rare advantage, that from the sea shore up to the tops of the mountains, there is, almost from one end of the island to the other, a regular diminution of the temperature, at the rate of two or three degrees of Fahrenheit for every ten miles.

The general inference which has been drawn by professional men, from the experience which the occupation of Java by the British has afforded, is, that with the exception of the town of Batavia, and some parts of the northern coast, the island of Java stands on a level, in point of salubrity, with the healthiest parts of British India, or of any tropical country in the world.

The principal stations of the British army, composed of Europeans and Sepoys, were at Weltevreden, within three miles of the town of Batavia, and at *Semárang* and *Surabáya*, spots certainly less favourable to health than the rest of the island taken generally; but detachments from it have occasionally done duty in every district of the island.

The tables included in the Appendix,† will shew, that notwithstanding the

* Batavian Transactions, vol. viii, Introductory Discourse.

† See Appendix A.

the troops laboured under many disadvantages and privations, in point of accommodation, &c. to which they would not have been subjected in a more permanent settlement, and that they were otherwise exposed to diseases unconnected with those of the climate, the average casualties were not excessive. From the 1st of November 1813 to the same month in 1814, the average number of troops is stated to have been 7,470, the deaths 504, making a proportion of 1 to 14-8: the average number of sick in the same period was 862, making a proportion of sick to well as 1 to 8. From the beginning of November 1814 to the same month in 1815, out of an average number of troops stationed in different parts of the island, in corps and detachments amounting to 7,487, there were 252 deaths, 63 of which were caused by fever, 123 by dysentery, and 65 by other diseases, making an average number of deaths of 21 per month, or in the proportion of one death to thirty men in the year, a proportion not exceeding that of some of the healthiest possessions in temperate climates.

To this general result may be added the comparative casualties in his Majesty's 78th regiment, during the period of its being stationed in India and Java. This regiment has occasionally been cantoned at each of the principal stations, and has remained on the island from the first conquest of Java. By the table will be seen the number of rank and file of which this regiment consisted at different periods, since 1797 to 1815, and the number of casualties in the same periods. It might not be proper to select the years in which it landed on the continent of India or on Java; but those in which it was stationed in either country may be brought together, as fit subjects for comparison. By calculation, upon the data of the table, it will appear, that from December 1800 to December 1801 the deaths were to the number of troops as 1 to about $20\frac{1}{2}$; in 1801-2, as 1 to 12; in 1803-4, as 1 to $5\frac{1}{5}$; in 1804-5, as 1 to $8\frac{1}{2}$; in 1805, as 1 to about 20; in 1806-7, as 1 to 28 nearly; in 1807-8, as 1 to $24\frac{1}{2}$; in 1809-10, as 1 to about 23; in 1811-12, as 1 to $3\frac{3}{4}$; in 1813-14, as 1 to 6; and in 1814-15, as 1 to about 20 nearly. The places at which the regiment was stationed at these different periods will be seen by the table; and the cause of the unusual mortality that prevailed in 1811-12, and which exceeds any of the years on the continent, will be found in an extract from the letter of Dr. Currie, the surgeon, inclosing the return. The mortality in the last year was as 1 to 20 in the regiment, and among the whole troops, according to the data above,

as

as 1 to about 30; a low estimate for climates, whose characters stand higher for salubrity than that of Java.

That the climate of Java, in general, is congenial to the human frame, at least to that of an Asiatic, is corroborated by the great extent of its native population, compared with that of the surrounding islands, notwithstanding the checks which it experienced both from the native princes and the European government; and the convincing proof which the records of the British army now afford, are perhaps sufficient to remove the unfavourable impression which existed against the climate of the island, as affecting Europeans.

At the same time, however, that Java has to boast this general character of high salubrity, comparatively with other tropical climates, it is not to be denied that there are some spots upon it which are decidedly unhealthy. These are to be found along the low swampy marshes of the nothern coast, which are mostly recent encroachments upon the sea: the principal of these is BATAVIA, the long established capital of the Dutch eastern empire.

The climate of this city has ever been considered as one of the most baneful in the world. It has even been designated the storehouse of disease; with how much justice, is too woefully demonstrated by the writings of those visitors who have survived its perils, and the records of the Dutch East-India Company itself. If we may credit Raynal,* there perished between the years 1714 and 1776, in the hospitals of Batavia, above eighty-seven thousand sailors and soldiers. From the table, No. 1, imperfect as it is, on account of the loss of many of the registers at the period of the British conquest, it will be seen what a large proportion the deaths bore to the whole population; and from the table, No. 2, of the same Appendix, discovered among the Dutch records, it appears further, that the total amount of deaths in this city, from the year 1730 to the year 1752, was in twenty-two years more than a million of souls.

To those who are acquainted with the manner in which the affairs of the Dutch East-India Company were managed abroad, there will perhaps be no difficulty in laying rather at the door of the colonists, than of the nation, the crime of maintaining a commercial monopoly, at such a dreadful expence of lives as resulted from confining the European population within the narrow walls of this unhealthy city. That the sacrifice was made for that object, or to speak more correctly, under that pretext, for the private interests of the colonists who were entrusted with its details, can scarcely be

 doubted.

* Raynal, vol. i, page 293.

doubted. From the moment the walls of the city were demolished, the draw-bridges let down, and free egress and ingress to and from the country was permitted, the population began to migrate to a more healthy spot, and they had not to go above one or two miles beyond the precincts before they found themselves in a different climate. But this indulgence, as it gave the inhabitants a purer air, so it gave them a clearer insight into the resources of the country, and notions of a freer commerce, which, of all things, it was the object of the local government and its officers to limit or suppress.

Necessity might have first determined the choice of the spot for the European capital; but a perseverance in the policy of confining the European population within its walls, after so many direful warnings of its insalubrity, cannot but lead to the inference, that either the monopoly of the trade was considered a greater object to the nation than the lives of the inhabitants, or that the more liberal views of the government were defeated by the weakness or corruption of its agents.

Vegetable kingdom.

Of the vegetable and animal kingdoms, as of the mineral, we shall content ourselves with such an account as may be necessary to convey to the reader a general notion of the nature of the country and its resources, referring the man of science to the intended publication of Dr. Thomas Horsfield, a gentleman whose sole attention has, for the last seven years, been directed to the natural history of Java.

Java is distinguished not only by the abundance of its vegetation, but by its extraordinary variety. Upwards of a thousand plants are already contained in the herbarea of Dr. Horsfield, of which a large proportion are new to the naturalist. Between the tops of the mountains and the sea-shore, Java may be considered as possessing at least six distinct climates, each furnishing a copious indigenous botany, while the productions of every region in the world may find a congenial spot somewhere in the island.

Esculent vegetables.

Vegetable productions, which contribute to the food and sustenance of man, are found in great variety. Of these the most important is rice, which forms the staple grain of the country, and of which there are upwards of a hundred varieties. Maize, or Indian corn, ranks next, and is principally cultivated in the higher regions, or in those tracts where the soil is unfavourable to the rice cultivation. The bean, or *kâchang*, of which there are many varieties, is an important article of food. Of the sugar-cane, which is used by the natives only in its raw state, they distinguish eight varieties, an account of which, as well as of the cultivation of coffee, pepper, indigo, tobacco,

tobacco, &c. will be found in the chapter on agriculture. Anniseed, *múngsi*, cummin-seed, *márícha* (black pepper), *chábi jáwa* (long pepper), *kumúkus* (cubebs), socha dilichos, and *mendéking*, plants of considerable importance, may be considered as indigenous to the island, and are collected for various uses in diet and medicine.

Besides the cocoa-nut and other productions more generally known, there are many trees growing spontaneously, of which the seeds and kernels are used as food; the principal of these are the *peté*, *jéngkol*, and *kómlandíngan*, several species of the mimosa, and the *púchang* and *kamíri*. The bread-fruit tree grows on Java, and is of the same species (although inferior in quality) with that of the South Sea Islands: but the fruit is comparatively very little esteemed or employed as an article of food.

Of tuberous roots, besides those furnished from the principal genera, convolvulus, dioscorea, and arum, are those from the *bangkwang* (dolichos bulbosus), the roots of which are much esteemed by the natives, and the *kéntang jáwa* (ocymum tuberosum) or Java potatoe. Most of the numerous varieties of the convolvulus and dioscorea, which furnish food for the natives, have been enumerated in one of the first volumes of the Batavian Transactions. The jatropha manihot, called *úwi blanda*, or *wúdo*, has been propagated through all parts of Java, and is found growing in the hedges.

The true sago of Amboina and the Eastern Islands, is found only solitary in a few low and marshy situations, and the preparation of it from the pith of the tree is not known to the inhabitants of Java: the leaves only are employed for covering houses; but from the *áren*, or sagurus rumphii, which grows abundantly in every part of the island, and on account of its variously extensive uses, ranks next in importance to the cocoa-nut, a substance is prepared, similar in all respects to the true sago of the Eastern Islands. The tops of various trees of the palm kind, which are sought after in other parts of the east as food, are, on account of the abundance of rice and other esculent vegetables, but little regarded in Java; but the young shoots of many varieties of the *bambu* are used in the diet of the natives. Wheat and potatoes, with almost every species of European vegetables, are cultivated with success. Of the oil-giving plants a particular account will be given when describing the agriculture of the country.

Java, in common with the Malayan islands in general, abounds in indige- Fruits.
nous fruits. "No region of the earth," observes Mr. Marsden, "can boast

" an equal abundance and variety of indigenous fruits." The *mangústin*, which on account of its acknowledged pre-eminence amongst Indian fruits, has been termed the pride of these countries; the *durian*, or *dúren*, to which the natives of these islands are so passionately attached; the *rámbutan*, the *lánseh* or *lánseb*, with an extensive variety of the jack, the mango, the plantain, the guava, the pine-apple, the papaw, the custard-apple, the pomegranate, and almost every species of fruit which grows within the tropics, are here found in the greatest variety. The tamarind tree is general. The island also produces many kinds of oranges, citrons, lemons, and in particular the pumplemoos (known in Bengal under the name of the Batavian lembu, or lime, and in the West Indies as the shaddock), besides the *sáwu*, *klédung*, *pachitan*, and a variety of others, not generally known to Europeans, but well calculated for the table. Of the mango, at least forty varieties are enumerated; the wild raspberry, which is found in the higher regions, is not destitute of flavour: one kind, in particular, with dark violet coloured fruit, approaches in taste to the European species. In some of the mountainous tracts are to be found peaches, Chinese pears, and some other fruits imported from Japan, the Cape of Good Hope, and China.

Ornamental trees and shrubs.

Among innumerable flowers which bloom in perpetual succession throughout the year, and impregnate the air of these countries with their fragrance, those of the *champáka*, *tánjong*, *meláti*, *kanáng'a* and *nágasári*, hold the first rank; they are used by the natives in the ornament of their persons, and are remarkable for their fragrance. The myrtle and rose are found in the gardens of Europeans. A great variety of ornamental trees and shrubs, many of them overlooked in the catalogues of Rhumphius and Van Rheede, have been noticed, as deserving cultivation for their utility as well as beauty.

Medicinal plants.

The medicinal plants of Java have been described in an account published in the Batavian Transactions: among these are many which are employed in the daily practice of the natives, of which a large proportion have not been subjects of investigation or experiment by Europeans, and others which had not previously been botanically described or classed. In a country hitherto imperfectly explored, and abounding in profuse vegetation, it was natural to calculate on the discovery of many useful medicinal plants; and among upwards of sixty, described, for the first time, by Dr. Horsfield, he particularly notices several, as likely to become most valuable articles in general medicinal practice.

Besides,

Vegetable substances used for rope, thread, cloth, &c.

Besides abundance of coir, termed *sepét* by the natives, prepared from the fibres which surround the cocoa-nut, and gamuti (called *duk*), prepared from those of the *áren* tree, both of which are well known, another species of palm, the *gebáng*, also yields valuable ropes, the fibre of which is obtained from the large petioles or stalks of the leaves by pounding and beating. Intelligent natives assert, that ropes prepared from these are particularly valuable, exceeding in strength all other kinds of equal size. The fibres and ropes are called *bas*. The cotton shrub (gossypium herbaceum) is universal; and hemp, though its uses are unknown to the Javans, is found in the gardens of foreign settlers. Besides these, the island affords various kinds of vegetables, the fibrous bark of which is made into thread, rope, cloth, &c.; but they are never cultivated, and when required for use are collected in their wild state. The general denomination, in the Javan language, of the internal bark of all vegetables which can be manufactured into cords, thread, &c. is *lúlub*. This being freed, by beating or maceration, from the adhering particles of the exterior bark, yields the fibrous substance, which is twisted by the most simple process, commonly by the hands alone. The trees which afford the *lúlub* are the *wáru* which is very abundant, and is manufactured into ropes for all common domestic purposes: the *melínju*, the bark of which is called *bágu;* and the *béndo*, which affords ropes of superior strength and durability.

Of the bambusa, the *pring-ápus*, the stem of which may be considered arborescent, furnishes the cheapest ropes. These are made with great expedition, being split into thin strips, which are twisted on the spot into cords fit for all common purposes, although they are serviceable only for a few days. They are uniformly used, in travelling, for securing baggage, &c. Among shrubs principally employed for these purposes are the *werúng*, *urís-urísan*, *dalúmpang*, *che-plákan* and *glúgo;* among plants, the *widúri* and *rámi;* the fibres of the latter afford very strong and durable cords, which are chiefly employed for nets or lines, and used in fishing: they greatly resemble the sunn of western India, and would probably be found to answer the same purpose, as well in furnishing the bags called in India gunny-bags, for the transportation of goods, as for the manufacture of paper in Europe. This remark applies also to the *lúlub* of several of the other shrubs mentioned. Several species of *pisang* or plantain yield the materials for ropes and cords of various fineness, and according to the methods employed in

in preparing them. In the Manilla Islands, cables are made from these fibres; and in the first volume of the Batavian Transactions a mode is described of preparing from them a substance resembling cotton. The leaves of the *'nanas*, or pine-apple, contain also abundance of useful fibres, which are easily separated in a bundle, after scraping off the coriaceous substance. It is very fine, and the separate fibres are employed by the natives in sewing, without any preparation; but it may also be spun, and is made into a kind of stuff resembling silk, gauze, &c.

Vegetable substances used for mats;

Mats are made from several species of pandanus, from a kind of grass called *méndong*, and from the leaves of various palms, particularly the *gebáng*. The latter affords the most common kinds, coarser and less durable than the others, as well as bags (straw sacks) resembling very coarse mats.

—for paper;

The paper in common use with the Javans is manufactured from the *glúgo*, (morus papyrifera).

—for dying.

A variety of vegetable substances are used in dying: the principal of which, however, are the *tom*, or indigo, which is extensively cultivated throughout the island; and the *wong-kúdu*, which affords a lasting scarlet. A black dye is obtained from the bark of several exotic trees, united with the rind of the *mangústin* fruit. A yellow dye is also obtained from an exotic wood, heightened by the addition of the bark of the *nángka* tree, and a variety of the mango.

Forests.

Extensive forests of the *játi*, or teak of India,* are found in almost all the eastern provinces; but the most valuable and important are in the central

* It is remarkable that the teak tree, which, as far as our information yet extends, is not to be found on the peninsula of Malacca, or on Sumatra or the adjacent islands, should grow in abundance on Java and several of the islands which lie east of it; as on Madúra and its dependent islands, Báli, Sumbáwa, and others. Sumbáwa produces a considerable quantity. The whole of the hills on the north-east part of that island under Bíma are covered with it; but from the constant demand for the timber, the trees are seldom allowed to grow to more than a foot in diameter, except in the forests exclusively appropriated to the use of the sovereign. In Dómpo, which occupies the central division of the same island, the teak cannot be used by any but the sovereign, and the trees are in consequence allowed to attain their full size. The timber is here uncommonly fine, and by the natives considered superior to that of Java; but the forests being surrounded by steep hills, and the population but scanty, it cannot be transported to the sea coast without great labour and expence. On Celebes the teak tree is only known in a few spots. The principal forest is in the district of Mario; and this

central districts, situated inland between *Semárang* and *Sidáyu*, and particularly in the districts of *Blóra*, *Jípang*, and *Padáng'an*.

Of the teak tree there is but one species known, the tectona grandis of Linnæus, the tekka of Van Rheede, and the jatus of Rhumphius. Its natural history has been already fully detailed, and all the kinds generally enumerated are merely varieties. These are usually distinguished among the natives of Java by names derived from the quality and colour of the wood. The principal are the *játi káput*, the chalky teak, and a kind varying in colour, and on account of its excellence termed *játi súng'gu*, or the true teak. The former is the most common: its wood is of a whitish hue, and it sometimes contains calcareous concretions in nodules or streaks. This sort is chiefly employed for common domestic purposes, and thongh inferior in quality to many others, from its abundance and comparative cheapness, is perhaps the most generally useful. The *játi súng'gu* is harder, closer, and more ponderous, and particularly selected for ship-building. The colour of the wood is of different shades, from light to intense brown, with a cast of violet verging sometimes to red or black. If the stem is covered with spines, or rather pointed scales, it is called *játi dúri*, but in its texture and quality it agrees with the *játi súng'gu*. Besides these the natives distinguish, as *játi gémbol*, those excrescences or protuberances which are produced from a variety of the *játi*, furnishing materials for handsome cabinet-work. Teak tree.

The teak tree on Java grows at a moderate elevation above the level of the ocean. It is generally conceived, that the timber afforded by forests growing on a soil of which the basis is limestone, and the surface uneven, gravelly, or rocky, is the hardest, the freest from chalky concretions, and in all respects the best; but in laying out a teak plantation, a soil consisting in a great proportion of black vegetable mould, is always selected for the purpose of obtaining a rapid growth. The teak tree is slender and erect. It shoots up with considerable vigour and rapidity, but its expansion is slow. Like all other trees affording useful timber of a close grain, it is many years in arriving at maturity. Under favourable circumstances, a growth of from twenty to twenty-five years affords a tree having about twelve inches diameter at the base. It requires at least a century to attain its perfection, but

this does not appear to be indigenous, as the natives assert that the seed from which the forest has grown, was brought from Java about eighty years ago by one of the sovereigns of Tanété.

but for common purposes, it is usually felled when between thirty and fifty years old.*

Other timber. Notwithstanding the extent to which cultivation has been carried in many districts of the island, large portions of its surface are still covered with primeval forests, affording excellent timber of various descriptions. Besidesthe teak, there are several kinds of wood or timber employed for various domestic purposes, as the *súren* (the tuna of Bengal), of which the wood is very light, stronger, and more durable than all other kinds of similar weight produced on the island: as the grain is not fine, it is not employed in making furniture, but it is useful for chests, trunks, carriages, &c.; its colour is red, and its odour somewhat resembling that of the cedar. Its weight is probably inferior to that of the larch.—The *wúngú* or *ketángi* is often used instead of teak: the grain is somewhat finer: when in full blossom, it is perhaps the most beautiful tree existing.—The *wádang* or *báyur*, a light and tolerably durable wood, is employed for masts and spars of small vessels; but the surface must be well covered with resinous substances to prevent its splitting.—The *gintúngan* is employed in the same manner, but grows to a larger size; the colour of the wood and bark is red.—The *lampéan* or *lában* is light but durable, and affords materials for the handles of the spears or pikes borne by the natives.—The *nángka* abounds in several districts where teak is not found, and is almost exclusively used in the construction of houses, and other domestic purposes: the wood is more close and ponderous than the *súren*, which it otherwise resembles; it takes a tolerable polish, and is sometimes employed for furniture. The colour is yellow; but it is made to receive a brownish hue, by the application of the young teak-leaves in polishing: its bark is used as a yellow dye.—The *lúren* resembles the *nángka*, but is generally of rare occurrence, though in some tracts it furnishes the only timber: its use in the neighbouring islands, particularly on Sumatra, is well known.—The *kusámbi* is uncommonly heavy, hard, and close: it supplies anchors for small vessels, blocks, pestles,

* The Dutch, apprehensive of a failure in the usual supply of teak timber, have long been in the habit of forming extensive plantations of this tree; but whether from a sufficient period not having yet elapsed for the trial, or that the plantations are generally made in soils and situations ill calculated for the purpose, experience, as far as it has yet gone, has shown, that the trees which are left to the operation of nature, attain to greater perfection, even in a comparatively barren soil unfit for any other cultivation, than those which are with great care and trouble reared in a fertile land. Their wood is more firm, more durable, and of a less chalky substance than that of the latter.

pestles, and numerous similar utensils.—The *sáwur* is a very beautiful and useful wood; the colour resembles that of mahogany, but the grain is closer, and it is more ponderous: its chief use is for handles of tools for carpenters and other artificers, for machinery, especially for the teeth of the wheels of mills, and other purposes where a hard and durable wood is required. On account of its scarcity, it is uniformly cut down on Java before it arrives at the necessary size for cabinet-work. Forests of it grow on the hills of *Báli*, opposite the Javan shore, whence it is brought over by boat loads for sale.

The *pílang* is a very hard wood, and employed in the eastern districts, instead of lignum-vitæ, for the construction of ships'-blocks, &c.—The *pung* is equally hard, and uniformly employed by the natives for pegs in constructing their *prahus*.—The *wáli kúkun* is equal to the *kusámbi* in weight, and exceeds it in hardness: it is employed for anchors, naves of wheels, machinery, &c.—The *tang'gulun* is a hard wood of a close grain, and employed by turners for various small works.—The *kelúmpit* is a very large tree: sections are employed by the natives for cart wheels.—The *járan* is a white wood taking the tool easily: the natives prefer it to all others for the construction of their saddles, which consist principally of wood.—The *demóle* affords a light wood, which is made into planks, and employed where durability is not much required.—The wood of the *kedáwung* is whitish and moderately hard.—The *lában* is a yellowish and hard wood: it is employed for the handles of axes and various utensils.—The *jánglot* is considered by the natives as the toughest wood produced in the island, and is always employed for bows when procurable: the tree is of a moderate size.—The *béndo* is a light wood, useful for canoes.—The *séntul* is a light close-grained wood, and easily worked: it resembles the *súren*.

For household furniture, cabinet-ware, &c. are employed—the *sóno kling* of the *Maláyus*, the colour of which is a deep brown, inclining to black:—the *sóno kómbang*, which has some resemblance to the *lingua* wood of the Moluccas:—the *war'm-lot*, dark brown; and *próno-sódo*, resembling the walnut, both scarce:—the *wer'n*, of a brown colour, of a close substance and light, abundant in some districts:—the *mentáus* and *júmberit*, the wood of which is white and fine grained, uniformly used for inlaying:—the *randu kúning*, yellowish and close-grained:—and the *íng'as*, of a brownish red colour, and very brittle.

For the hilts and sheaths of krîses, the natives make use of the *timóko*, of

which the black and white variegated fragments are called *pélet.* These are of various kinds.—The *arúman,* variegated white and black, is also employed for canes, handles, and spears, &c. and is very heavy.—The *tiké,* yellowish, closed and marbled,—the *mángu,*—the *áti áti,*—the *kráminan,*—the *púrwohúning* and several others, are employed for the same purposes.—The *kamúning* is of a brownish colour and very fine grain:—the *tayúman* resembles the last and is very much esteemed:—the *wúni stelágo* affords a reddish wood.

Among the most extensively useful productions ought not to be forgotten the *bámbu,* or *príng,* which abounds on Java, and seems, from the greater luxuriance and variety by which it is here distinguished, to find the soil and climate more congenial to its growth than those of any other country. It blossoms in different parts of the island. The rattans (*rótan*) of Java are on the whole inferior to those of Sumatra and Borneo: the improved state of cultivation is unfavourable to their growth and propagation.

Many woods afford excellent fuel. The charcoal prepared from the *kusámbi* is equal perhaps to that of any other wood with which we are acquainted, and is universally preferred in cooking, and in the other branches of domestic economy. Charcoal, for gunpowder, is uniformly prepared from the celtis orientalis, called *áng'grung.*

Among the useful trees must be noticed: the soap tree, of which the fruit is used to a very great extent in washing linen:—the *kasémak,* from the bark of which is made a varnish for umbrellas:—the *sámpang,* from the resin of which the natives prepare a shining varnish for the wooden sheaths of krîses:—the cotton tree, from which a silky wool is obtained for stuffing pillows and beds:—the wax tree, which though scarce on Java, grows abundantly on some parts of Madúra: (the kernel, by expression produces an oil, which some time after becomes hard and bears a resemblance to wax; it may be burnt in lamps or converted into candles, and affords an agreeable odour):—the *bendúd,* a shrub producing the substance of which the elastic gum, commonly called Indian rubber, is prepared. The art of preparing it in this form is however unknown in Java. Torches are made of it, for the use of those who search for birds'nests in the rocks, and it serves for winding round the stick employed to strike musical instruments, as the *gong,* &c. to soften the sound. The *mínyak kâwon* or *niátu* is a very useful tree, which grows solitary in all, and abundantly in some parts of the island, and produces a kind of tallow.

Dámar,

Dámar, or resin, is distinguished by the inhabitants of these countries into two kinds: *dámar-bátu* or *séla*, and *dámar-púti*, comprising numerous varieties obtained from different trees. None of these are, however, produced on Java. Besides the *rásamála*, which is very limited as to its place of growth, the *Canáram*, and a peculiar resin employed by the natives for varnishing the wooden sheaths of their krîses, called *sámpang*, few odoriferous resins are found. The camphor-tree, which abounds on Sumatra and Borneo, is unknown on Java. The wood oil, distinguished among the Malays by the name of *krúwing* (which in Java is applied to all resinous or oily substances employed in the construction of vessels), is not a native of Java, but it grows abundantly on Banka and Sumatra. Resins.

None of what are called the finer kinds of spices, namely, the nutmeg, clove, and cinnamon, are indigenous to Java; but the few trees which have been planted in the gardens of Europeans have thriven well: and, from the nature of the soil and climate, there seems little doubt that the nutmeg and clove, in particular, might be extensively cultivated throughout the island, did it suit the policy of the European government to admit of their general introduction. Spices.

The vine was once extensively cultivated in some of the eastern provinces of the island, in which the soil and climate appear well calculated for its growth; but an apprehension, on the part of the Dutch East-India Company, that its cultivation on Java might interfere with the wine trade of the Cape of Good Hope, induced them to discourage it, and the preparation of wine from the grape was strictly prohibited. Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie, when noticing the vast quantities of ashes thrown up from the different volcanos, makes the following observation on the eastern part of Java. "The soil of the country is evidently enriched by the ashes and "earth emitted by these eruptions, and there is reason to conclude, what "persons well acquainted with the south of Europe assert, that the vines "of Italy and the Cape would thrive in perfection, in a soil and climate "so well adapted to them." The Vine.

Among the vegetable productions of Java, none has excited more interest than the celebrated *úpas*, or poison-tree. Mr. Marsden, in his History of Sumatra,* has referred to various concurring authorities, in refutation of the very extraordinary tales told of this tree; and, in this general Upas, or poison tree.

* Page 176, third edit.

account of the productions of Java, it may perhaps be sufficient to refer the reader to the particulars contained in the subjoined note.*

Of

* Although a serious refutation of the gross imposition practised on the people of Europe, by the romance of Foersch on the subject of the upas, or celebrated poison-tree of Java, may at this day be in a great measure superfluous, as the world has long ceased to be the dupe of his story, and as regular series of experiments have been instituted, both in France and in England, to ascertain the nature and potency of the poison; yet it may not be altogether displeasing to the reader to see in this place an authentic account of the poison, as drawn out by Dr. Horsfield at my request, and published in the seventh volume of the Batavian Transactions. Almost every one has heard of its fabulous history, which, from its extravagant nature, its susceptibility of poetical ornament, its alliance with the cruelties of a despotic government, and the sparkling genius of Darwin, whose purpose it answered to adopt and personify it as malignant spirit (in his Lives of the Plants), has obtained almost equal currency with the wonders of the Lerna hydra, the Chimera, or any other of the classic fictions of antiquity.

" Although the account published by Foersch, in so far as relates to the situation of the " poison-tree, to its effects on the surrounding country, and to the application said to have " been made of the upas on criminals in different parts of the island, as well as the description " of the poisonous substance itself, and its mode of collection, has been demonstrated to be " an extravagant forgery,—the existence of a tree on Java, from the sap of which a poison " is prepared, equal in fatality, when thrown into the circulation, to the strongest animal poi- " sons hitherto known, is a fact which is at present my object to establish and illustrate. The " tree which produces this poison is the anchar, and grows in the eastern extremity of the " island. The work of Rhumphius contains a long account of the upas, under the denomina- " tion of arbor toxicaria. The tree does not grow on Amboina, and his description was made " from the information he obtained from Makasar. His figure was drawn from a branch of " what is called the male-tree, sent to him from the same place, and establishes the identity of " the poison-tree of Makasar, and the other Eastern Islands, with the anchar of Java. The " simple sap of the arbor toxicaria (according to Rhumphius) is harmless, and requires the ad- " dition of several substances, of the affinity of ginger, to render it active and mortal. In " so far it agrees with the anchar, which, in its simple state, is *supposed* to be inert, and " before being employed as a poison, is subjected to a preparation which will be described " after the history of the tree. Besides the true poison-tree, the upas of the Eastern " Islands, and the anchar of the Javans, this island produces a shrub, which, as far as obser- " vations have hitherto been made, is peculiar to the same, and, by a different mode of " preparation, furnishes a poison far exceeding the upas in violence. Its name is chetik, and " its specific description will succeed to that of the anchar: the genus has not yet been disco- " vered or described.

" DESCRIPTION OF THE ANCHAR.—The anchar belongs to the twenty-first class of Linnæus, " the monoecia. The male and female flowers are produced in catkins (amenta) on the " same branch, at no great distance from each other: the female flowers are in general above " the male. The characters of the genus are :—MALE flower, calix, consisting of several " scales, which are imbricate. Corol; none. Stamens; filaments many, very short, covered

" with

Of the useful or domestic quadrupeds it may be observed, that neither the elephant nor the camel is a native of Java: the former is rarely imported, Quadrupeds.

" with scales at the receptacle. The receptacle, on which the filaments are placed, has a " conical form, abrupt, somewhat rounded above.—FEMALE flower; catkins, ovate. Calix; " consisting of a number of scales (generally more than in the male), containing one flower. " Corol; none. Pistil; germ single, ovate. Styles; two, long, slender, and spreading. " Stigmas; single and acute. Seed-vessel; an oblong drupe, covered with the calix. Seed; " an ovate nut, with one cell.

" SPECIFIC DESCRIPTION.—The anchar is one of the largest trees in the forests of Java. " The stem is cylindrical, perpendicular, and rises completely naked to the height of sixty, " seventy, or eighty feet. Near the surface of the ground it spreads obliquely, dividing into " numerous broad appendages or wings, much like the canarium commune (the canary-tree), and " several other of our large forest trees. It is covered with a whitish bark, slightly bursting " in longitudinal furrows. Near the ground this bark is, in old trees, more than half an inch " thick, and upon being wounded yields plentifully the milky juice from which the celebrated " poison is prepared. A puncture or incision being made into the tree, the juice or sap ap- " pears oozing out, of a yellowish colour (somewhat frothy) from old, paler or nearly white " from young trees; exposed to the air, its surface becomes brown. The consistence " very much resembles milk: it is more thick and viscid. This sap is contained in the " true bark (or cortex), which, when punctured, yields a considerable quantity, so that " in a short time a cup full may be collected from a large tree. The inner bark (or " liber) is of a close fibrous texture, like that of the morus papyrifera, and when separated " from the other bark, and cleansed from the adhering particles, resembles a coarse piece of " linen. It has been worked into ropes, which are very strong; and the poorer class of people " employ the inner bark of the younger trees, which is more easily prepared, for the purpose of " making a coarse stuff which they wear in working the fields. But it requires much bruising, " washing, and a long immersion, before it can be used, and when it appears completely " purified, persons wearing this dress being exposed to rain, are affected with an intolerable " itching, which renders their flimsy covering insupportable. It will appear from the account " of the manner in which the poison is prepared, that the deleterious quality exists in the gum; " a small portion of which still adhering, produces, when exposed to wet, this irritating effect: " and it is singular, that this property of the prepared bark is known to the Javans in all " places where the tree grows, while the preparation of a poison from its juice, which produces " a mortal effect when introduced into the body by pointed weapons, is an exclusive art of " the inhabitants of the eastern extremity of the island. The stem of the anchar having " arrived at the above-mentioned height, sends off a few stout branches, which spreading " nearly horizontally with several irregular curves, divide into smaller branches, and form a " hemispherical, not very regular crown. Previous to the season of flowering, about the " beginning of June, the tree sheds its leaves, which reappear when the male flowers " have completed the office of fecundation. It delights in a fertile, not very elevated, soil, " and is only found in the largest forests. One of the experiments to be related below was " made with the upas prepared by myself. In the collection of the juice I had some difficulty " in inducing the inhabitants to assist me; they feared a cutaneous eruption and inflammation,

" resembling

ported, the latter unknown. Neither the ass nor mule is found; but the island has a fine breed of small horses (*járan*), strong, fleet, and well made. A still

" resembling (according to the account they gave of it) that produced by the ingas of this " island, the rhus vernix of Japan, and the rhus radicans of North America. The anchar, " like the trees in its neighbourhood, is on all sides surrounded by shrubs and plants: in no " instance have I observed the ground naked or barren in its immediate circumference. The " largest tree I met with in Balambangan, was so closely environed by the common trees and " shrubs of the forests in which it grew, that it was with difficulty I could approach it. Several " vines and climbing shrubs, in complete health and vigour, adhered to it, and ascended " to nearly half its height; and, at the time I visited the tree and collected the juice, I " was forcibly struck with the egregious misrepresentation of Foersch. Several young trees " spontaneously sprung from seeds that had fallen from the parent, put me in mind of a line " in Darwin's Botanic Garden:—

" Chain'd at his root two scion demons dwell;

" while in recalling his beautiful description of the upas, my vicinity to the tree gave me reason " to rejoice that it was founded in fiction.

" DESCRIPTION OF THE CHETIK.—The fructification of the chetik is still unknown: after " all possible research in the district where it grows, I have not been able to find it in a " flowering state. It is a large winding shrub. The root extends creeping a considerable " distance parallel to the surface, sending off small fibres at different curves, while the main " root strikes perpendicularly into the gound. The stem, which in general is shrubby, some- " times acquires the size of a small tree. The poison is prepared from the bark of the root. " The chetik grows only in close, shady, almost inaccessible forests, in a deep, black, fertile " vegetable mould. It is very rarely met with even in the wildernesses of Balambangan.

" PREPARATION OF THE POISON FROM THE ANCHAR.—This process was performed for " me by an old Javan, who was celebrated for his superior skill in preparing the poison; about " eight ounces of the juice of the anchar, which had been collected the preceding evening in the " usual manner, and been preserved in the joint of a bambu, was carefully strained into a " bowl. The sap of the following substances, which had been finely grated and bruised, was " carefully expressed and poured into it, viz. arum (nampu), kempferia galanga (kenchur), " anomum (bengli) a variety of zerumbed, common onion and garlic, of each about half a " dram. The same quantity of finely powdered black pepper was then added, and the mixture " stirred. The preparer now took an entire fruit of capsicum fructicosum or Guinea pepper, " and having opened it, he carefully separated a single seed, and placed it on the fluid in the " middle of the bowl. It immediately began to reel round rapidly, now forming a regular " circle, then darting towards the margin of the vessel, with a perceptible commotion on the " surface of the liquor, which continued about one minute. Being completely at rest, the " same quantity of pepper was again added, and another seed of the capsicum laid on as " before. A similar commotion took place in the fluid, but in a less degree, and the seed " was carried round with diminished rapidity. The addition of the same quantity of pepper " was repeated a third time, when a seed of the capsicum being carefully placed in the " centre of the fluid, remained quiet, forming a regular circle about itself in the fluid,

" resembling

A still finer breed is imported from *Bíma*, on the neighbouring island of *Sumbáwa*, which by competent judges has been said to resemble the Arab in every

" resembling the halo of the moon. This is considered as a sign that the preparation of the " poison is complete.

" PREPARATION OF THE POISON FROM THE CHETIK.—The bark of the root is carefully " separated and cleared of all the adherent earth, a proportionate quantity of water is poured " on, and it is boiled about an hour, when the fluid is carefully filtered through a white cloth; " it is then exposed to the fire again, and boiled down to nearly the consistence of an extract: " in this state it much resembles a thick syrup. The following spices, having been prepared as " above described, are added in the same proportion as to the anchar, *viz.* kempferia galanga " (kenchur), (súnti), anomum zingéber (shai), common onion, garlic, and black pepper. " The expressed juice of these is poured into the vessel, which is once more exposed " to the fire for a few minutes, when the preparation is complete. The upas of both kinds " must be preserved in very close vessels.

Dr. H. then details the particulars of twenty experiments made on different animals with these poisons, as well in their simple state as procured from the bark powerfully prepared in the manner as above stated, in which the violence of the poison was manifested; and concludes with some general observations, from which the following are extracted,

" The operation of the two different poisons on the animal system is essentially different. " The first seventeen experiments were made with the anchar. The rapidity of its effect " depends in a great degree upon the size of the vessel wounded, and on the quantity of " poison carried into the circulation. In the first experiment (which is that above quoted), it " induced death in twenty-six minutes: in the second, which was made with the sap collected " at Púgar, in thirteen minutes. The poison from different parts of the island has been found " nearly equal in activity.—The common train of symptoms is; a trembling and shivering of " the extremities, restlessness, erection of the hair, discharges from the bowels, drooping and " faintness, slight spasms and convulsions, hasty breathing, an increased flow of saliva, " spasmodic contractions of the pectoral and abdominal muscles, retching, vomiting, excre- " mentatious vomiting, frothy vomiting, great agony, laborious breathing, repeated con- " vulsions, and death. The effects are nearly the same on quadrupeds, in whatever part of " the body the wound is made. It sometimes acts with so much force, that not all the " symptoms enumerated are observed. In these cases, after the premonitory symptoms " (tremors, twitchings, faintness, an increased flow of saliva), the convulsions come on sud- " denly, and are quickly followed by death. The upas appears to affect quadrupeds with " nearly equal force, proportionate in some degree to their size and disposition. To dogs it " proved mortal in most experiments within an hour; a mouse died in ten minutes; a monkey " in seven; a cat in fifteen; a buffalo, one of the largest quadrupeds of the island, died in " two hours and ten minutes.

" If the simple or unprepared sap is mixed with the extract of tobacco instead of the spices " mentioned, it is rendered equally, perhaps more active. Even the pure juice, unmixed and " unprepared, appears to act with a force equal to that which has undergone the preparative " process. Birds are very differently affected by this poison. Fowls have a peculiar capacity to

" resist

every respect except size. They seldom exceed thirteen hands, and in general are below this standard.

The

" resist its effects: a fowl died in twenty-four hours after the wound; others have recovered " after being partially affected.

" The eighteenth and succeeding experiments were made with the poison prepared from the " chetik. Its operation is far more violent and rapid than that of the anchar, and it affects " the animal system in a different manner. While the anchar operates chiefly on the stomach, " alimentary canal, the respiration and circulation, the chetik is determined to the brain and " nervous system: a relative comparison of the appearances on dissection, demonstrates in a " striking manner the peculiar operation of each. A general view of the effects of the chetik " on quadrupeds is given in these experiments. After the previous symptoms of faintness, " drowsiness, and slight convulsions, it acts by a sudden impulse, which like a violent apo- " plexy prostrates at once the whole nervous system. In two of these experiments this sudden " effect took place in the sixth minute after the wound, in another in the seventh minute: the " animals suddenly started, fell down head foremost, and continued in convulsions until death " ensued. This poison affects fowls in a much more violent manner than that of the anchar. " They are first affected by a heat and itching of the breast and wings, which they shew by " violently pecking those parts; this is followed by a loose discharge from the bowels, when " they are seized with tremors and fluttering of the wings, which having continued a short " time, they fall down head foremost, and continue convulsed till death. In some instances, " particularly young fowls, the poison acts with great rapidity; death has frequently occurred " within the space of a minute after a puncture with a poisoned dart.

" Taken into the stomach of quadrupeds, the chetik acts as a most violent poison; but it " requires about thrice the period to produce the same effect which a wound produces. But " the stomach of fowls can resist its operation. Having mixed about double the quantity " generally adhering to a dart with the food of a fowl, it consumed it without shewing any " marks of indisposition. The poison of the anchar does by no means act as violently on " quadrupeds as that of the chetik. I have given it to a dog: it produced at first nearly the " same symptoms as a puncture; oppression of the head, twitchings, faintness, laborious res- " piration, violent contraction of the pectoral and abdominal muscles, &c., which continued " nearly two hours; but after the complete evacuation of the stomach by vomiting, the " animal gradually recovered.

" I have but little to add concerning the operation of the anchar on the human system. The " only credible information on this subject is contained in the work of Rhumphius, who had " an opportunity of personally observing the effect of the poisoned darts and arrows as they " were used by the natives of Makasar, in their attack on Amboyna about the year 1650. " They were also employed by the inhabitants of Celebes in their former wars with the Dutch. " Speaking of their operation he says, ' the poison touching the warm blood, it is instantly " ' carried through the whole body, so that it may be felt in all the veins, and causes an " ' excessive burning, particularly in the head, which is followed by fainting and death.' " This poison (according to the same author) possesses different degrees of virulence, " according to its age and state of preservation. The most powerful is called upas raja, and

" its

The bull and cow (*sápi* or *lémbu*) are general, but much more so in the central and eastern districts than in the western. The breed has been greatly improved by the species introduced from continental India. But the animal of most essential and general use in the agriculture of the country is the buffalo (*kábu*, *maisa*, or *múnding*), a particular account of which will appear in the chapter on Agriculture. Goats (*wedús*) are numerous and of a small size: sheep (called here European goats) are scarce and small. As in other sultry climates, the latter have a coarse woollen coat, which is employed for stuffing saddles, pillows, &c. but it is in so little request that the inhabitants are rarely at the trouble of shearing for it. The hog (*chéleng*) is reared principally among the Chinese.

Of beasts of prey may be enumerated several species of the tiger, as the *máchan lóreng* (felis tigris), *máchan gógor* (a variety), *máchan tútul* (probably the small leopard of Pennant), *máchan kómbang* and *kúwuk*, the smallest kind, called tiger cats. The jackal, and several varieties of the wild dog; as the *ásu wáwar*, *ásu ájag*, or *ásu kíki*; and among other wild quadrupeds, the rhinoceros, and *bánteng*, or wild Javan ox, the wild hog and the stag: the last, as well as the rib-faced and axis deer, is tamed and fattened for food. The aggregate number of mammalia on Java have been estimated at about fifty. The habits and manners of the larger animals, the tiger, leopard, black tiger, rhinoceros and stag, and two species of deer, the varieties of the wild hog, &c. are sufficiently known; but the *bánteng*, or Javan ox, the Javan buffalo, the varieties of the wild dog, those of the weasel and squirrel, and most of the other smaller quadrupeds, still present curious subjects for the study of the naturalist. Next to the rhinoceros, which sometimes (though rarely at present) injures plantations, the wild hogs are the most destructive animals. They are often poisoned (or intoxicated, according to the quantity they

consume)

" its effects are considered as incurable; the other kinds are distributed among the soldiers on " going to war. After having proved mortal to many of the Dutch soldiers in Amboyna and " Makasar, they finally discovered an almost infallible remedy in the root of the radix toxi- " caria of Rhumphius, which, if timely applied, counteracted, by its violent emetic effect, " the force of the upas. An intelligent Javan of Banyuwangi informed me, that a number of " years ago an inhabitant of that district was wounded in a clandestine manner, by an arrow " thrown from a blow pipe, in the fore arm near the articulation of the elbow. In about " fifteen minutes he became drowsy; after which he was seized with vomiting, became " delirious, and in less than half an hour he died. From the experiments above related, we " may form an analogous estimate of its probable effects on man."

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consume) by the *kálák kámbing*, or by the remains from the preparation of *brom*. The practice of suspending rags impregnated with urine, at small distances around the plantations, is universal over the whole island. These animals are said to have so violent an aversion to this odour, that even this "feeble barrier" is useful in preserving the plantations.

Musk. Musk, called *dedes*, is procured from the *rasé*.

Bezoars. Although the same qualities are ascribed to them here as in other countries, bezoars are comparatively scarce in Java; and those occasionally found in the maritime capitals are uniformly brought from other countries. The hog-deer and Nicobar pigeon are not natives; and although wild hogs, in which bezoars are said to be found, are very abundant, they are never examined or approached by the natives. Every extraordinary concretion, calculus, ossification, &c. found in any part of an animal, is called *mustika*, which corresponds to the bezoar of the Arabs, Persians, &c. A concretion of feathers found in the stomach of a fowl is called *mustika áyam*, and is carefully preserved. A stony concretion, discovered accidentally by the rattling of a human skull exposed for many years to the action of the sun, has been denominated *mustika órang*, and the most salutary virtues ascribed to it. Analogous to the bezoars, must be considered the horns of the rhinoceros, whose virtues are highly prized.

Birds. Among the domestic fowls, or poultry, are the turkey, which is comparatively scarce, and chiefly raised for the tables of Europeans; the goose, which is very common near all the establishments of Europeans; the *bébek*, or duck, abundant in every part of the island; the common fowl and pigeons. Among the birds of prey, the eagle is not found; but there are several varieties of the falcon, of which the *jóko wuru* is the largest; also the carrion crow and the owl. Of the parrot kind, two only, the *bétet* and *selindit*, are found on Java. The peacock (*merák*), is very common in large forests. The number of distinct species of birds has been estimated not greatly to exceed two hundred, of which upwards of one hundred and seventy have been described, and are already contained in the collections made on account of the English East-India Company.

The dorsal feathers of the white heron, and the vent feathers of the *sándang láwé*, are employed as substitutes for ostrich feathers by the natives for plumes, &c. It is very rarely that the feathers of geese, &c. are employed for beds or pillows, the silky cotton of the *kápok* being preferred

preferred on account of its coolness. For ornamenting the arrows of the natives, the feathers of some of the falcon tribe are chiefly employed.

Among the interesting subjects which still remain open for research, are the habits and constitution of the hirundo esculenta, the small swallow which forms the edible nests, annually exported in large quantities from Java and the Eastern Islands for the Chinese market. These birds not only abound among the cliffs and caverns of the south coast of the island, but inhabit the fissures and caverns of several of the mountains and hills in the interior of the country. From every observation which has been made on Java, it has been inferred, that the mucilaginous substance, of which the nests are formed, is not, as has been generally supposed, obtained from the ocean. The birds, it is true, generally inhabit the caverns in the vicinity of the sea, as agreeing best with their habits, and affording them the most convenient retreats for attaching their nests to, but several caverns are found inland, at a distance of forty or fifty miles from the sea, containing nests similar to those on the shore. From many of their retreats along the southern coast they have been observed to take their flight in an inland direction, towards the pools, lakes, and extensive marshes, covered with stagnant water, as affording them abundance of their food, which consists of flies, musquitoes, gnats, and small insects of every description. The sea that washes the foot of the cliffs, where they most abound, is almost always in a state of the most violent agitation, and affords none of those substances which have been supposed to constitute the food of the esculent swallow. Another species of swallow on this island forms a nest, in which grass or moss, &c. are merely agglutinated by a substance, exactly similar to that of which exclusively the edible nests consist. This substance, from whatever part of these regions the nests be derived, is essentially uniform, differing only in the colour, according to the relative age of the nests. It exhibits none of those diversities which might be expected, if it were collected casually (like the mud employed by the martin, and the materials commonly employed in nest-making), and applied to the rocks. If it consisted of the substances usually supposed, it would be putrescent and diversified.

Edible birds' nests.

Dr. Horsfield thinks that it is an animal elaboration, perhaps a kind of secretion; but to determine its nature accurately, it should be carefully analyzed, the anatomy of the bird should be investigated, and its character and habits watched.

Amphibious animals.

The kayman of the Dutch, the *boáya* of the Malays, and the *bóyo* or *bájul* of the Javans, which abounds along the shores and in the principal rivers of the island, resembles more the crocodile of Egypt than that of the Ganges or the American alligator. The character of the lacerta crocodiles, as given in the Systema Naturæ, applies to the Javan crocodile, with this difference, that in the latter the two crests of the tail coalesce towards the extremity, in which respect it agrees with that of the Ganges; but its head and jaws are broad, and rounded. In its manners, habits, and destructive qualities, it resembles the largest animals of this genus. Next to the crocodile in size is the *béwak* of the Malays, or *menyáwak* or *selíra* of the Javans. It sometimes attains the length of six or seven feet, and lives near the banks of rivers and marshes. Its character agrees with those of the lacerta monitor. It is erroneously denominated the guana by Europeans. The eggs of this animal, as well as of the crocodile, are eaten by the natives, and the fat is collected for medical purposes. A small lizard, the *búnglon* of the Javans, is erroneously called the cameleon, in consequence of the property of changing its colour. It has the specific characters of the guana, but is much smaller, seldom exceeding eighteen or twenty inches in length. There are various other lizards.

Turtle, or Tortoise.

Two varieties of the turtle, *pényu* and *pényu kombang*, are found in the seas surrounding Java. Both yield the substance called tortoise-shell, but they are seldom taken of sufficient size to render it valuable: the flesh is excellent. Another kind, of which the species is unknown, renders a thicker shell. *Kúro* is the name of the common land-tortoise, which is found very abundantly in particular districts.

Frogs.

Besides the rana esculenta, green frog (*kódok íjù* of the Javans) which is frequently eaten, and the *kódok benju*, there is the common toad, *kódok*, and the *bánkong* and *kíntel*. The frog fish (rana paradosa), or a variety of it, is also found on the island, and has been exhibited in the same supposed metamorphosis as in other countries. No noxious quality of any of these animals is here known.

Serpents.

It is uncertain whether the boa constrictor be found on Java. The serpent usually called the *úlar sáwa* is a species of coluber, and has been described in one of the volumes of the Batavian Transactions; but several other species are found which arrive at a very large size. One of them, the *úlar lánang*, is very much dreaded by the natives, and said to be poisonous. Of the *úlar sáwa* there are several varieties, one of which,

úlar

úlar sáwa máchan, is most beautifully variegated. Upwards of twenty serpents are enumerated as poisonous. The *úlar lámpe* is found at or near the discharge of large rivers into the ocean, and is more abundant in some districts than in others. This is greatly dreaded by the natives; its bite however is rarely mortal, and the effects are comparatively slow, death seldom occurring within twenty-four hours from the time of its infliction. No remedies which deserve notice are known by the natives: charms and superstitious applications are generally resorted to. The most remarkable serpent is the *úlar kádut*, or *kárang*. The *úlar lánang*, and some of the varieties *úlar sáwa* are slender, and possess considerable agility. According to the account of the natives, they frequently ascend trees, and suspending themselves by the extremity of their tail, seize upon small animals passing below; but the true *úlar sáwa* of the Eastern Javans is slow, thick, and unwieldy. Nothing which could illustrate its supposed power of fascination has been noticed.

Fishes.

Of the fish most commonly used for food by the natives, many of which are excellent and abundant, thirty-four species of river fish, seven found chiefly in pools or stagnant waters, and sixteen sea fish, are already enumerated by Dr. Horsfield. The classes of amphibia and pisces, doubtless, afford many new subjects for investigation. Valentyn enumerates five hundred and twenty-eight uncommon kinds of fish found in the waters of the Eastern Islands.

Insects.

Honey and wax are produced by three species of bees, inhabiting the largest forests, but they are both collected in very inconsiderable quantities. Bees are occasionally domesticated by the Arabs and Indians near the large settlements, but never by the natives. Silk-worms were once introduced by the Dutch near Batavia, but attention to them did not extend among the natives. The chrysalis of the large atlas affords a coarse silk, which is however not collected for use. To the fruit, several insects, and to the corn while in the ear, a peculiar species, generally known by the name of *wálang-sángit*, are most destructive. The latter has in some years destroyed the growth of whole districts, and occasioned partial scarcity. The natives attempt, in some instances, to extirpate it by burning chaff and brimstone in the fields. There are scorpions and centipedes, but their bite is considered of little consequence: the natives generally apply a cataplasm of onions to the wound. The class of insects affords many new objects;

objects: specimens of most of the genus papilio and many of other genera have already been collected.

Java does not afford the same opportunities for beautiful collections of shells as the Moluccas, Papua, and other Islands. Along the northern coast, few shells are found of beauty or variety, and the corallines have mostly lost their integrity by attrition; but the extensive bays in the southern shore contain many of these objects in a state of beauty and perfection.

CHAPTER II.

Origin of the Natives.—Javans compared with Maláyus and Búgis.—Comparative Progress of the three Races.—Foreign Influence.—Persons of the Natives.—Manners.—Population.—Inequality of it accounted for.—Population Tables.—Increase of Population.—Foreign Settlers.—Chinese.—Búgis.—Maláyus.—Moors.—Arabs.—Slaves.—Gradations of Rank among the Javans.—Their Habitations, Dress, and Food.

Origin of the natives.

THE inhabitants of Java seem to owe their origin to the same stock, from which most of the islands lying to the south of the eastern peninsula of Asia appear to have been first peopled. This stock is evidently Tartar, and has, by its numerous and wide spreading branches, not only extended itself over the Indian Archipelago, but over the neighbouring continent. "To judge "from external appearance, that is to say, from shape, size, and feature," observes Dr. Francis Buchanan, in his Notices on the Birman Empire,* "there is one very extensive nation that inhabits the east of Asia. It "includes the eastern and western Tartars of the Chinese authors, the "Calmucs, the Chinese, the Japanese, and other tribes inhabiting what is "called the Peninsula of India beyond the Ganges, and the islands to "the south and east of this, as far at least as New Guinea."—"This "nation," adds the same author, "may be distinguished by a short, squat, "robust, fleshy stature, and by features highly different from those of an "European. The face is somewhat in shape of a lozenge, the forehead "and chin being sharpened, whilst at the cheek bones it is very broad. "The eyebrows, or superciliary ridges, in this nation, project very little, "and the eyes are very narrow, and placed rather obliquely in the head, the "external angles being the highest. The nose is very small, but has not, "like that of the negro, the appearance of being flattened, and the "apertures of the nostrils, which in the European are linear and parallel, in "them are nearly circular and divergent, for the *septum narium* being "much

* Asiatic Researches, vol. v. page 219, octavo edition.

" much thickest towards the face, places them entirely out of the parallel " line. The mouths of this nation are in general well shaped; their hair " is harsh, lank, and black. Those of them that live even in the highest " climates do not obtain the deep hue of the negro or Hindu; nor do such " of them as live in the coldest climates acquire the clear bloom of the " European."

But although the Javans are to be included under this general description, it does not follow that they bear an exact, or very striking resemblance, in person and feature, to the Chinese or Japanese, nor even that they are liable to be confounded with the Birmans or Siamese. From the former, indeed, they are far removed by many obvious characteristics; and though more nearly resembling the latter, they possess many peculiarities, which mark them out to the most careless observer as a race distinct and separate for ages, though still retaining general traces of a common origin. As we approach the limits of savage life, and recur to that inartificial, unimproved state of society, in which the primitive divergence may be supposed to have taken place, we shall find the points of resemblance increased, and the proofs of a common descent multiplied. The less civilized of the tribes inhabiting the islands, approach so nearly, in physical appearance, to that portion of the inhabitants of the peninsula, which has felt least of the Chinese influence on the one side, and of the Birman and Siamese on the other, and exhibit so striking an affinity in their usages and customs, as to warrant the hypothesis that the tide of population originally flowed towards the islands, from that quarter of the continent lying between Siam and China. But at what era this migration commenced; whether, in the first instance, it was purely accidental and subsequently gradual; or whether, originally, it was undertaken from design, and accelerated, at any particular periods, by political convulsions on the continent, we cannot at present determine with any certainty, as we have no data on which to rely with confidence. It is probable, however, that the islands were peopled at a very remote period, and long before the Birman and Siamese nations rose into notice.

Javans compared with Malâyus and Búgis.

Whatever opinion may be formed on the identity of the tribes inhabiting these islands and the neighbouring peninsula, the striking resemblance in person, feature, language, and customs, which prevails throughout the whole Archipelago, justifies the conclusion, that its original population issued from the same source, and that the peculiarities which distinguish the different

different nations and communities into which it is at present distributed, are the result of a long separation, local circumstances, and the intercourse of foreign traders, emigrants, or settlers.

Excluding the Philippines, as distant from the scene of our present observations, it may be noticed, that of the three chief nations in these islands, occupying respectively Java, Sumatra, and Celebes, the first has, especially by its moral habits, by it superior civilization and improvements, obtained a broader and more marked characteristic than the others. Both the Malayan and *Búgis* nations are maritime and commercial, devoted to speculations of gain, animated by a spirit of adventure, and accustomed to distant and hazardous enterprizes; while the Javans, on the contrary, are an agricultural race, attached to the soil, of quiet habits and contented dispositions, almost entirely unacquainted with navigation and foreign trade, and little inclined to engage in either. This difference of character may perhaps be accounted for, by the great superiority of the soil of Java to that of the other two islands.

Maláyus and Búgis.

It is to be regretted, that our information on the state and progress of society in these islands is scanty, as Europeans only became acquainted with them when they were on their decline. The Malayan empire, which once extended over all Sumatra,* and the capital of which is still nominally at *Menáng-kábaù* on that island, had long been dismembered; but its colonies were found established on the coasts of the peninsula and throughout the islands, as far east as the Moluccas. The Mahometan institutions had considerably obliterated their ancient character, and had not only obstructed their improvement, but had accelerated their decline. Traditional history concurs with existing monuments, in proving them to have formerly made considerable advances in those arts, to which their industry and ingenuity were particularly directed, and they still bear marks of that higher state of civilization which they once enjoyed.

What the Malayan empire was on Sumatra, in the western part of the Archipelago, that of *Guah*, or *Mengkásar*, was on Celebes in the east; but the people of this latter nation, whom we may generally designate by the name of *Búgis*, had not been equally influenced by foreign settlers nor exposed to the inroads of the Arab missionaries, and they consequently maintained their ancient worship and their native institutions for a longer period. Like the *Maláyus*, they sent forth numerous colonies, and at one period

* See Marsden's Sumatra.

extended the success of their arms as far west as Acheen on Sumatra, and *Kéddah* on the Malayan peninsula, and in almost every part of the Archipelago, Malayan and *Búgis* settlers and establishments are to be found.

The Javans, on the contrary, being an agricultural people, are seldom met with out of their native island. At one period of their history, indeed, their power seems to have been exerted, in acquiring or perpetuating foreign dominion; and they seem to have sent out colonies to Borneo, the peninsula, Sumatra, and probably Celebes: but when Europeans became acquainted with them, their external influence appears to have been contracted, and their sovereignty nearly confined within the limits of Java itself. Their foreign establishments thus receiving from them no protection, and deriving no advantage from nominal obedience, declared their independence; and, having but little communication with the mother country, soon became assimilated to the character, and merged into the body of the Malayan nation.

Comparative progress of the three races.

The comparative advancement of these three nations in the arts of civilized life, seems to be directly as the fertility of the soil they occupied, or the inducements they held out to foreign intercourse; and inversely, as the indulgence of their own roving, adventurous spirit, and piratical habits. The arts never fix their roots but in a crowded population, and a crowded population is generally created only on a fertile territory. Egypt, from the fertility of soil and the consequent density of its population, led the way in science and refinement among ancient nations; while the sterile tracts contiguous to that favoured land have been inhabited, from primeval times, by dispersed tribes of unimproved barbarians. In like manner, Java having become populous from its natural fertility, and having, by its wealth and the salubrity of its climate, invited the visits of more enlightened strangers, soon made great progress in arts and knowledge; while the *Búgis*, being more deficient in these advantages, have been left considerably behind in the race of improvement. They may lay claim, however, to the most originality of character.

Foreign influence.

It will be the object of another part of this work, to trace the source of that foreign influence, to which these three nations are principally indebted for their civilization: here, therefore, it may not be necessary to advert to the circumstance further, than by generally observing, that from western Asia they received the rudiments and impulse of improvement; an inference abundantly justified by the extensive remains of the arts, institutions, and

and languages of that country, which are still to be found throughout the Archipelago.

Persons of the natives.

The inhabitants of Java and Madúra are in stature rather below the middle size, though not so short as the *Búgis* and many of the other islanders. They are, upon the whole, well shaped, though less remarkably so than the *Maláyus*, and erect in their figures. Their limbs are slender, and the wrists and ankles particularly small. In general, they allow the body to retain its natural shape. The only exceptions to this observation are, an attempt to prevent the growth, or to reduce the size of the waist, by compressing it into the narrowest limits; and the practice still more injurious to female elegance, of drawing too tightly that part of the dress which covers the bosom. Deformity is very rare among them. The forehead is high, the eyebrows well marked and distant from the eyes, which are somewhat Chinese, or rather Tartar, in the formation of the inner angle. The colour of the eye is dark; the nose small and somewhat flat, but less so than that of the islanders in general. The mouth is well formed, but the lips are large, and their beauty generally injured by the practice of filing and dying the teeth black, and by the use of tobacco, *síri*, &c. The cheekbones are usually prominent; the beard very scanty; the hair of the head generally lank and black, but sometimes waving in curls, and partially tinged with a deep reddish brown colour. The countenance is mild, placid, and thoughtful, and easily expresses respect, gaiety, earnestness, indifference, bashfulness, or anxiety.

In complexion, the Javans, as well as the other eastern islanders, may be considered rather as a yellow than a copper-coloured or black race. Their standard of beauty, in this respect, is "a virgin gold colour": except perhaps in some few districts in the mountainous parts of the country, where a ruddy tinge is occasioned by the climate, they want the degree of red requisite to give them a copperish hue. It may be observed, however, that they are generally darker than the tribes of the neighbouring islands; especially the inhabitants of the eastern districts, who may indeed be considered as having more delicate features, and bearing a more distinct impression of Indian colonization, than those of the Western or *Súnda* districts. The *Súndas* exhibit many features of a mountainous race. They are shorter, stouter, hardier, and more active men, than the inhabitants of the coast and eastern districts. In some respects they resemble the Madurese, who display a more martial and

independent air, and move with a bolder carriage than the natives of Java. A considerable difference exists in person and features between the higher and lower classes; more indeed than seems attributable to difference of employment and treatment. The features and limbs of the chiefs are more delicate, and approach more nearly to those of the inhabitants of Western India, while those of the common people retain more marked traces of the stock from which the islands were originally peopled. In colour there are many different shades in different families and different districts, some being much darker than others. Among many of the chiefs a strong mixture of the Chinese is clearly discernible: the Arab features are seldom found, except among the priests, and some few families of the highest rank.

The women, in general, are not so good looking as the men; and to Europeans many of them, particularly when advanced in years, appear hideously ugly. But among the lower orders, much of this deficiency of personal comeliness is doubtless to be attributed to the severe duties which they have to perform in the field, to the hardships they have to undergo in carrying oppressive burdens, and to exposure in a sultry climate. On the neighbouring island of *Báli*, where the condition of the women among the peasantry does not appear by any means so oppressed and degraded, they exhibit considerable personal beauty; and even on Java, the higher orders of them being kept within doors, have a very decided superiority in this respect.

Manners. In manners the Javans are easy and courteous, and respectful even to timidity; they have a great sense of propriety and are never rude or abrupt. In their deportment they are pliant and graceful, the people of condition carrying with them a considerable air of fashion, and receiving the gaze of the curious without being at all disconcerted. In their delivery they are in general very circumspect and even slow, though not deficient in animation when necessary.

Goitres. Here, as on Sumatra, there are certain mountainous districts, in which the people are subject to those large wens in the throat termed in Europe *goitres*. The cause is generally ascribed by the natives to the quality of the water; but there seems good ground for concluding, that it is rather to be traced to the atmosphere. In proof of this it may be mentioned, that there is a village near the foot of the *Teng'gar* mountains, in the eastern part of the island, where every family is afflicted by this malady, while in another village,

village, situated at a greater elevation, and through which the stream descends which serves for the use of both, there exists no such deformity. These wens are considered hereditary in some families, and seem thus independent of situation. A branch of the family of the present *Adipáti* of *Bándung* is subject to them, and it is remarkable that they prevail chiefly among the women in that family. They neither produce positive suffering nor occasion early death, and may be considered rather as deformities than diseases. It is never attempted to remove them.

Population.

The population of Java is very unequally distributed, whether we consider the fertility or the extent of the districts over which it is spread. The great mass of it lies in the eastern and native districts, as will be perceived from the annexed tables.

Population tables.

The table No. I, is compiled from materials collected by a committee appointed on the first establishment of the British government, to enquire and report on the state of the country. It will be found to illustrate, in some degree, the proportionate numbers of the different ranks and classes of society, in the island. Beyond this, however, it cannot be depended upon, as the returns of which it is an abstract were made at a period when the Dutch system of administration provisionally remained in force; and every new enquiry into the state of the country being at that time considered by the people, as a prelude to some new tax or oppression, it became an object with them to conceal the full extent of the population: accordingly, it was found to differ essentially in amount from the results of information subsequently obtained on the introduction of the detailed land revenue settlement, when an agreement with each individual cultivator becoming necessary to the security of his possession, he seldom failed to satisfy the necessary enquiries. The table No. II, here exhibited, at least as far as regards the European provinces, may therefore be considered as faithful a view of the population of the country as could be expected, and as such, notwithstanding the inaccuracies to which all such accounts are liable, it is presented with some confidence to the public.

It was formed in the following manner. A detailed account of the peasantry of each village was first taken, containing the name of each male inhabitant, with other particulars, and from the aggregate of these village lists a general statement was constructed of the inhabitants of each subdivision and district. An abstract was again drawn up from these provincial accounts, exhibiting the state of each residency in which the districts were

respectively

respectively included, and the totals of these last, collected into one tabular view, constitute the present abstract. The labour of this detailed survey was considerable, for as each individual cultivator was to receive a lease corresponding with the register taken, it was necessary that the land he rented should be carefully measured and assessed.*

*. The Javan mode of taking account of population is by the number of chácha, or "families," as it is usually rendered, though the word strictly means "enumeration". When the sovereign assigns lands, it is not usual for him to express the extent of land, but the number of chácha attached to it. But as the population of the land so granted varies, the original expression becomes inaccurate. In the native provinces, the number of chácha reckoned is almost invariably less than the number actually existing, a clear proof, if the original census was correct, that in those provinces population has increased. An account of the number of chácha was taken some few years back by the Sultan of Yúgya-kérta, with a view to a new distribution of the lands; but the measure was very unpopular, and no accurate results were obtained. The Dutch relied entirely upon this loose system of enumeration.

No. I.

ABSTRACT *of a* GENERAL STATISTIC TABLE *of the* POPULATION *of the several* PROVINCES *and* DISTRICTS *under the immediate Direction and Management of the* BRITISH GOVERNMENT *in* JAVA, *as far as the same could be ascertained, for the Year* 1812-13, *under the different Distinctions of Europeans, Natives, Chinese, Descendants of Chinese, &c. &c.*

European Divisions.	Native Divisions or Regencies.	EUROPEANS, and the Descendants of Europeans.	NATIVES. Chiefs. (Including married Females, Children, &c.)	NATIVES. Chiefs. Wives of Chiefs.	NATIVES. Priests.	NATIVES. Common People. Married and able-bodied People. Men.	NATIVES. Common People. Married and able-bodied People. Women.	NATIVES. Common People. Marriageable. Young Men.	NATIVES. Common People. Marriageable. Young Women.	NATIVES. Common People. Children under 10 Years of Age. Boys.	NATIVES. Common People. Children under 10 Years of Age. Girls.	NATIVES. TOTAL Natives.	CHINESE. Chinese.	CHINESE. Descendants of Chinese.	MALAYUS, BUGIS, Other Eastern Mahometans.	ARABS and MOORS.	SLAVES. Men.	SLAVES. Women.	SLAVES. Children.	SLAVES. TOTAL.	TOTAL POPULATION.
Bantam	Bantam	—*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Jakatra	Batavian and Preangen Regencies	34	5,524	6,029	1,909	24,267	24,660	—	—	12,926	15,286	203,042	107	51	177	—	47	45	10	102	203,513
	Environs of Batavia	371	880	—	699	44,875	39,451	13,632	10,869	—	—	193,670	6,285	5,666	7,518	23	2,900	1,699	645	5,244	218,777
	City of Batavia	1,928	149	76	57	1,597	1,399	436	354	—	—	6,486	11,249	605	12,173	403	6,289	6,390	1,560	14,239	47,083
Krawang	Krawang	14	300	—	184	4,438	4,329	—	—	—	—	13,138	20,201	—	23	—	3	2	1	6	13,411
	Kandangsaur	6	62	—	27	1,942	2,342	—	—	—	—	6,158	24	—	22	—	—	—	—	—	6,210
	Indramayu	18	76	—	39	2,602	2,902	—	—	—	—	9,337	35	—	9	—	13	12	2	27	9,425
Cheribon	Cheribon	—	2,368	2,434	698	35,020	41,944	—	—	8,402	8,198	144,405	2,292	304	—	19	70	104	19	193	144,465
Tegal	Brebes	—	235	275	183	3,622	4,229	207	268	410	579	21,591	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	21,591
	Pamalang	—	655	699	222	5,001	4,939	—	—	1,312	1,304	27,488	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	27,488
	Tegal	176	1,352	1,363	177	22,727	26,411	—	—	8,778	9,435	122,037	682	411	251	—	81	109	21	211	123,592
	—— Blandongs	—	87	104	24	700	702	—	—	270	294	3,985	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,985
Pakalong'an	Ulujami	—	169	—	121	2,500	4,000	—	—	—	—	14,586	—	—	—	168	—	—	—	—	} 109,920
	Pakalung'an	154	2,663	—	1,250	—	18,782	—	—	—	—	58,480	1,037	921	192	—	—	—	—	—	
	Batang	—	851	—	351	5,302	10,041	—	—	—	—	34,392	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Semarang	Kandal	—	312	—	189	5,397	5,443	445	711	257	727	19,334	33	17	10	—	—	—	—	—	20,596
	Kaliwung'u	—	875	—	242	5,800	6,967	994	1,070	1,421	1,320	28,362	85	7	8	—	6	12	4	22	28,462
	Semarang	96	3,121	3,519	820	37,004	69,424	—	—	5,123	4,276	153,727	774	17	24	—	—	—	—	—	154,660
	Demak	—	770	—	839	27,250	28,999	3,524	2,910	8,460	6,944	122,406	843	105	12	—	—	—	—	—	122,384
Japara	Japara	151	—	—	—	9,000	15,000	—	—	—	—	53,000	1,443	—	246	—	—	—	—	—	54,840
	Kudus	—	—	—	—	7,019	12,006	—	—	—	—	42,688	1,006	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	43,694
	Pati and Chengkalsewu	—	—	—	—	15,356	20,247	—	—	—	—	82,274	753	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	83,027
	Jawana	50	—	—	—	6,787	7,670	—	—	—	—	29,646	1,091	397	177	8	—	—	—	—	31,296
Rembang	Rembang	179	—	—	—	15,854	32,557	—	—	—	—	103,593	2,895	—	1,042	—	118	142	50	310	108,009
	Lasem																				
Gresik	Tuban	1	446	—	83	7,421	7,625	1,625	1,718	2,925	2,826	38,649	837	261	253	—	—	—	—	—	40,440
	Lamung'an	—	128	—	143	5,224	5,224	1,097	1,051	1,677	1,445	29,618	41	43	—	—	—	—	—	—	30,179
	Sidayu	4	137	—	240	11,943	11,943	1,463	1,149	4,334	3,321	51,754	841	295	44	—	—	—	—	—	53,334
	Gresik	208	119	—	137	10,761	10,990	2,769	2,927	3,395	4,049	51,662	396	35	1,134	—	—	—	—	—	53,431
Surabaya	Surabaya	—	459	—	314	28,808	30,557	7,359	6,956	8,295	8,502	133,057	2,047	190	672	—	—	—	—	—	137,959
Pasuruan	Pasuruan	321	143	—	87	8,665	9,106	1,330	1,382	1,567	1,627	42,630	463	556	128	—	—	—	—	—	44,075
	Bang'il	—	86	—	35	3,174	3,380	670	687	729	732	16,278	143	122	89	—	—	—	—	—	16,371
	Malang	—	29	—	13	1,622	1,300	447	400	450	439	7,490	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7,148
	Antang	—	18	—	3	164	170	71	47	72	61	933	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	912
	Pugar	—	43	—	29	1,500	1,500	167	140	177	154	863	—	—	61	—	—	—	—	—	6,924
Probolingo	Bang'er or Probolingo & Lamajang	—	107	—	58	8,320	8,320	2,425	2,808	3,907	3,293	39,135	529	165	242	—	—	—	—	—	40,162
	Bisuki and Panarukan	—	47	—	52	4,624	4,723	232	329	924	1,370	23,667	149	162	113	—	—	—	—	—	24,109
Banyuwang'i	Banyuwang'i	—	32	—	33	1,668	1,668	303	327	489	471	9,490	107	—	550	—	—	—	—	—	8,070
Island of Bovian or Lubek	Bovian	—	62	—	113	3,569	3,569	869	1,616	1,842	1,796	14,139	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14,139
Madura	Bankalang	—	306	—	16	17,463	17,463	4,521	4,126	4,816	4,562	67,151	1,496	580	112	—	—	—	—	—	69,338
	Pamakasan	—	116	—	10	1,233	1,246	—	—	625	745	10,096	437	540	405	—	—	—	—	—	9,798
	Sumenap	—	220	—	658	27,970	28,040	3,859	4,619	4,416	4,591	105,305	1,040	1,904	247	—	—	—	—	—	109,995
	Islands dependent	—	283	—	752	30,503	30,573	4,364	5,228	4,809	4,977	115,400	1,144	2,402	3,998	—	—	—	—	—	122,944

* At this date no Returns were received from Bantam and the other Divisions where the Columns are left blank.

General Total Population..... 2,565,966

This Table to face page 69, Vol. I.

No. II.

TABLE *exhibiting the* POPULATION *of* JAVA *and* MADURA, *according to a Census taken by the* BRITISH GOVERNMENT, *in the Year* 1815.

DIVISIONS.	Total Population.	Males.	Females.	NATIVES. Total Natives.	NATIVES. Males.	NATIVES. Females.	CHINESE, &c. Total Chinese, &c.	CHINESE, &c. Males.	CHINESE, &c. Females.	Square statute Miles.	Estimated Population to a square Mile.
JAVA.											
European Provinces.											
Bantam	231,604	106,100	125,504	230,976	111,988	118,988	628	352	276	3,428	67½
Batavia and its Environs	332,015	180,768	151,247	279,621	151,064	128,557	52,394	29,704	22,690	2,411	169⅓
Buitenzorg	76,312	38,926	37,386	73,679	37,334	36,345	2,633	1,591	1,042		
Priángen Regencies	243,628	120,649	122,979	243,268	120,289	122,979	180	86	94	10,002	24⅓
Chéribon	216,001	105,451	110,550	213,658	99,837	113,821	2,343	1,193	1,150	1,334	162
Tégal	178,415	81,539	96,876	175,446	80,208	95,238	2,004	915	1,089	1,297	137⅓
Pakalúng'an	115,442	53,187	62,255	113,396	52,007	61,389	2,046	1,180	866	607	190⅙
Semárang	327,610	165,009	162,601	305,910	154,161	151,749	1,700	848	852	1,166	281
Kedú	197,310	97,744	99,566	196,171	97,167	99,004	1,139	577	562	826	238¾
Grobógan and Jípang	66,522	31,693	34,829	66,109	31,423	34,686	403	223	180	1,219	54⅓
Japára and Jawána	103,290	55,124	48,166	101,000	54,000	47,000	2,290	1,124	1,166	1,025	100⅔
Rémbang	158,530	75,204	83,326	154,639	73,373	81,266	3,891	1,831	2,060	1,400	113
Grésik	115,442	58,981	56,461	115,078	58,807	56,271	364	174	190	778	148
Surabáya	154,512	77,260	77,252	152,025	76,038	75,987	2,047	1,010	1,037	1,218	126¾
Pasúruan	108,812	54,177	54,635	107,752	53,665	54,087	1,070	522	548	1,952	58⅛
Probolíng'go	104,359	50,503	53,856	102,927	49,797	53,130	1,430	706	724	2,854	36½
Banyuwángi	8,873	4,463	4,410	8,554	4,297	4,257	319	166	153	1,274	7
Native Provinces.											
Súra-kérta	972,727	471,505	501,222	970,292	470,220	500,072	2,435	1,285	1,150	11,313	147½
Yúgya-kérta *	685,207	332,241	352,966	683,005	331,141	351,864	2,202	1,201	1,001		
MADURA.											
Bankálang and Pamakásan	95,235	47,466	47,769	90,848	45,194	45,654	4,395	2,280	2,115	892	106¾
Súmenap	123,424	60,190	63,234	114,896	55,826	59,070	8,528	4,364	4,164	†728	146
Grand Total	4,615,270	2,268,180	2,347,090	4,499,250	2,207,836	2,291,414	94,441	51,332	43,109	45,724	Average Population rather exceeding 100 to a square mile

MEM.—The Population of the principal European capitals included in the above, is estimated as follows:—

Batavia and its immediate Suburbs	60,000
Semárang	20,000
Surabáya	25,000

The Population of *Súra-kérta*, the principal Native capital, is estimated at 105,000
That of *Yúgya-kérta* at somewhat less.

* This includes the Population of *Pachitan* under the European government, amounting to about 22,000.

† This does not include the dependent islands, on which a considerable portion of the population is scattered.

By the last table, it appears that in some districts the population is in the ratio of two hundred and eighty-one to a square mile, while in others it is not more than twenty-four and three quarters: in the districts of *Banyuwángí* it is even as low as seven. The soil in the eastern districts is generally considered superior to that in the western, and this circumstance, added to the superior facilities which they afford to commerce, may serve to account for their original selection as the chief seat of the native government, and consequently for their denser population at an early period.

Inequality of it accounted for.

This disproportion was also promoted by the policy of the Dutch Company. The Dutch first established themselves in the western division, and having no confidence in the natives, endeavoured to drive them from the vicinity of Batavia, with the view of establishing round their metropolis an extensive and desert barrier. The forced services and forced deliveries, which extended wherever Dutch influence could be felt, and of which more will be said hereafter, contributed to impoverish, and thereby to depopulate the country. The drain also of the surrounding districts, to supply the place of the multitudes who perished by the unhealthy climate of Batavia, must have been enormous; and if to these we add the checks to population, which were created over Bantam, the *Priáng'en* Regencies, and Chéribon, in the pepper and coffee cultivation, of the nature of which an account will be given when treating of the agriculture of the country; we need go no further to account for the existing disproportion. It was only about sixty years ago, that the Dutch government first obtained a decided influence in the eastern districts, and from that moment, the provinces subjected to its authority ceased to improve, and extensive emigrations took place into the dominions of the native princes. Such were the effects of this desolating system, that the population of the province of *Banyuwángi*, which in 1750 is said to have amounted to upwards of eighty thousand souls, was in 1811 reduced to eight thousand.

The *Priáng'en* Regencies, from their inland situation and mountainous character, may probably have at all times been less closely peopled than other parts of the island, and their insufficient population would furnish no proofs of the oppressions of government, did we not observe extensive tracts, nay whole districts, exhibiting the traces of former cultivation, now lying waste, and overgrown with long rank grass. Chéribon and Bantam have shared the same fate. These provinces, according to authentic accounts, were, at the period of the first establishment of the European government, among the

the richest and most populous of the island. In 1811, they were found in a state of extreme poverty, affording little or no revenue, and distracted by all the aggravated miseries of continued insurrections.

If we look at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, the capitals of the British government in India; if we look at the great cities of every nation in Europe; nay, if we even confine ourselves to the capitals of the native princes on Java, we shall find that population has always accumulated in their vicinity. And why was this not the case with the Dutch capital? The climate alone will not explain it. Bad government was the principal cause; a system of policy which secured neither person nor property—selfish, jealous, vexatious, and tyrannical. It is no less true than remarkable, that, wherever the Dutch influence has prevailed in the Eastern Seas, depopulation has followed. The Moluccas particularly have suffered at least as much as any part of Java, and the population of those islands, reduced as it is, has been equally oppressed and degraded.

Internal migrations.

It was fortunate for the interests of humanity, and for the importance of Java, that the native governments were less oppressive than the sway of their European conquerors, and that their states afforded a retreat from a more desolating tyranny. It has been ascertained, that, on the first establishment of the Dutch in the eastern part of the island, the inhabitants of whole districts at once migrated into the Native Provinces. Every new act of rigour, every unexpected exaction, occasioned a further migration, and cultivation was transferred to tracts which had previously scarcely a family on them. This state of things continued down to the latest date of the Dutch government. During the administration of Marshal Daendels, in the years 1808, 1809, and 1810, nearly all the inhabitants of the province of *Demák*, one of the richest in the eastern districts, fled into the Native Provinces; and when an order was given for the rigid enforcement of the coffee monopoly, every district suffered in its population, in proportion to the extent of service levied upon it. Of the sacrifice of lives by thousands and tens of thousands, to fill the ranks of the Dutch native army, and to construct roads and public works, we shall speak more at large hereafter.

Distribution of the population.

The total population of Java and Madúra appears, from the table No. II, to amount to 4,615,270, of which about four millions and a half may be considered as the indigenous population of the country, and the rest as foreign settlers. Itinerants, who are principally found along the coast in the different maritime and commercial capitals, are not included;

neither is the nautical population, which cannot be estimated at less than 30,000 souls; so that the whole population of these two islands may, perhaps, be taken in round numbers at not much less than five millions. Of these not less than three millions are in the provinces immediately subject to European authority, and upwards of a million and a half in the Provinces of the native princes.

Increase of the population.

While the British were in possession of Java, there is reason to believe that the population of the island was rapidly increasing; that of the provinces immediately under the European authority was certainly augmented by the return of numerous families from emigration: but previously to that period, no such authentic registers were kept as might enable us to ascertain with precision the variations in the number of the inhabitants during the Dutch government.

Nothing can more completely shew the vague and defective information formerly attainable on this subject, than the loose and contradictory statements published by those who took most pains to be well informed, and who felt it their duty to collect all the light that could be attained. In some accounts which have met the public eye, the population of Java is placed on a level with that of the most powerful European states, and assumed as high as thirty millions, while in others, where one would expect more accuracy,* it is rated at only a million. The most respectable authorities† state the population about a century ago at three millions; but the slightest reflection will convince us, that such an estimate must have proceeded upon data merely conjectural, for from our knowledge of the Dutch maxims of administration we may safely say, that until very lately, they never thought it an object to prosecute statistic enquiries, and that, if ever they had done so, under the old system, they could have obtained no results deserving of confidence or credit.

About the year 1750, a certain number of families were assigned by the stipulations of a treaty to one of the native princes;‡ and on his death about thirty years afterwards, when an account was taken of this population, it appeared that the number of families had nearly doubled. But this increase cannot be taken as the average increase of the island, for at this period the native provinces received a considerable accession to their numbers, in consequence of the emigrations from the Dutch territories.

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* Colquhoun's Statistical Account of Great Britain. † Valentyn.

‡ The grandfather of the present Prince *Prang Wedóno.*

If any inference can be drawn from this and other corresponding circumstances, it would seem, that notwithstanding the drains on the existing race, and the preventive checks to an increase, which were experienced during the latter years of the Dutch administration, the island was actually more populous in 1811, when it was surrendered to the British, than in 1750, when, at the termination of a destructive war, the Dutch acquired the greatest portion of it from the natives.

To support the opinion of an increase within the last half century (which is every where asserted) we have the assurance, that during that period the greatest internal tranquillity prevailed in the provinces subject to native administration; that no years of scarcity and famine were experienced, and that the island was blessed with genial seasons and abundance of subsistence. But, to place in the opposite scale, we have the government oppressions to which we formerly alluded, and which one would suppose sufficient to counteract the natural tendency of these advantages. As demonstrative of the strength of that principle of population, which could even maintain its stationary amount in conflict with political drains and discouragements, it may be proper to mention cursorily a few of them. Great demands were, at all times, made on the peasantry of the island, to recruit the ranks of the Dutch army, and to supply the many other wants of the public service; the severities and consequent mortality to which the troops were liable, may be calculated, from the reluctance of the unfortunate wretches, selected as victims of military conscription, to engage in the duties of a military life. Confined in unhealthy garrisons, exposed to unnecessary hardships and privations, extraordinary casualties took place among them, and frequent new levies became necessary, while the anticipation of danger and suffering produced an aversion to the service, which was only aggravated by the subsequent measures of cruelty and oppression. The conscripts raised in the provinces were usually sent to the metropolis by water; and though the distance be but short between any two points of the island, a mortality, similar to that of a slave ship in the middle passage, took place on board these receptacles of reluctant recruits. They were generally confined in the stocks till their arrival at Batavia, and it is calculated that for every man that entered the army and performed the duties of a soldier, several lives were lost. Besides the supply of the army, one half of the male population of the country was constantly held in readiness for

other public services; and thus a great portion of the effective hands were taken from their families, and detained at a distance from home, in labours which broke their spirit and exhausted their strength. During the administration of Marshal Daendals, it has been calculated that the construction of public roads alone, destroyed the lives of at least ten thousand workmen. The transport of government stores, and the capricious requisitions of government agents of all classes, perpetually harassed, and frequently carried off numbers of the people. If to these drains we add the waste of life occasioned by insurrections, which tyranny and impolicy excited and fomented in Chéribon, the blighting effects of the coffee monopoly, and forced services in the *Priáng'en* Regencies, and the still more desolating operation of the policy pursued and consequent anarchy produced in the province of Bantam, we shall have some idea of the depopulating causes that existed under the Dutch administration, and the force of that tendency to increase, which could overcome obstacles so powerful.

Most of these drains and checks were removed during the short period of British administration; but it is to be regretted (so far as accurate data on this subject would be desirable) that there was not time to learn satisfactorily the result of a different system, or to institute the proper registers, by which alone questions of population can be determined. The only document of that kind, to which I can venture to refer as authentic, is a statement of the births and deaths that occurred in the given general population of the *Priáng'en* Regencies for one year. From this account it would appear, that even in these Regencies, where, if we except Batavia, the checks to population are allowed to be greater than elsewhere, the births were to the total existing population as 1 to 39, and the deaths as 1 to 40 very nearly; that the births exceed the deaths by 618, or about 1 in 40, in a population of 232,000, and that, at that rate, the population would double itself in three hundred and seventy-five years. A slow increase, certainly, compared with England, where the births, in the three years ending 1800, were to the persons alive as 1 in 36, and the deaths as 1 to 49, and where, consequently, the nation would double itself in one hundred and sixty years (or taking the enumeration of 1811 as more correct, where the population would be doubled in eighty years): but not much slower than that of France, where, according to the statements of numbers in 1700 and 1790, about three hundred years would be required

to

to double the inhabitants. It has been estimated that the population in some more favourable districts would double itself in fifty years. One inference cannot fail to be drawn from the register to which I have referred; that the births and deaths, though they nearly approach each other, are low, compared with the existing numbers; and that, consequently, the climate is healthy, and the marriages not very prolific, as far as this district is concerned.

In the absence of authentic documents, which would have enabled us to resolve many interesting questions regarding the population, such as the number of children to a marriage, the ordinary length of life, the proportion of children that die in infancy and at the other stages of life, the ratio between the births and deaths and the consequent rate of increase, the effect of polygamy and multiplied divorces, the comparative healthiness of the towns and the villages, and several others,—I shall state a few observations on some of these heads, and a few facts tending to shew, that under a better system of government, or by the removal of a few of the checks that previously existed, Java might, in a short time, be expected to be better peopled.

Encouragements to population.

The soil is in general extremely fertile, and can be brought to yield its produce with little labour. Many of the best spots still remain uncultivated, and several districts are almost desert and neglected, which might be the seats of a crowded and happy peasantry. In many places, the land does not require to be cleared, as in America, from the overgrown vegetation of primeval forests, but offers its service to the husbandman, almost free from every obstruction to his immediate labours. The agricultural life in which the mass of the people are engaged, is on Java, as in every other country, the most favourable to health. It not only favours the longevity of the existing race, but conduces to its more rapid renewal, by leading to early marriages and a numerous progeny. The term of life is not much shorter than in the best climates of Europe. A very considerable number of persons of both sexes attain the advanced age of seventy or eighty, and some even live to one hundred and upwards; nearly the same proportion survive forty and fifty, as in other genial climates.

While life is thus healthy and prolonged, there are no restraints upon the formation of family connexions, by the scarcity of subsistence or the labour of supporting children. Both sexes arrive at maturity very early, and

and the customs of the country, as well as the nature of the climate, impel them to marry young; the males at sixteen, and the females at thirteen or fourteen years of age: though frequently the women form connexions at nine or ten, and, as Montesquieu expresses it, "infancy and marriage go "together." The conveniences which the married couple require are few and easily procured. The impulse of nature is seldom checked by the experience of present deficiencies or the fear of future poverty. Subsistence is procured without difficulty, and comforts are not wanting. Children, which are for a very short period a burden to their parents, become early the means of assistance and the source of wealth. To the peasant who labours his field with his own hand, and who has more land than he can bring into cultivation, they grow up into a species of valuable property, a real treasure; while, during their infancy and the season of helplessness, they take little from the fruits of his industry but bare subsistence.

Their education costs him little or nothing; scarcely any clothing is required, his hut needs very little enlargement, and no beds are used. Many of them die in infancy from the small-pox and other distempers, but never from scanty food or criminal neglect of parents. The women of all classes suckle their children, till we ascend to the wives of the regents and of the sovereign, who employ nurses.

Though women soon arrive at maturity, and enter early into the married state, they continue to bear children to an advanced age, and it is no uncommon thing to see a grandmother still making addition to her family. Great families are however rare. Though there are some women who have borne thirteen or fourteen children, the average is rather low than otherwise. A *cháçha*, or family, is generally less numerous than in Europe, both from the circumstance that the young men and women more early leave the houses of their parents to form establishments for themselves, and from an injudicious mode of labouring among women of the lower ranks. Miscarriages among the latter are frequently caused by overstraining themselves in carrying excessive burdens, and performing oppressive field work, during pregnancy. The average number of persons in a family does not exceed four, or four and a half. As the labour of the women is almost equally productive with that of the men, female children become as much objects of solicitude with their parents as male: they are nursed with the same care and viewed with the same pride and tenderness. In no class

of

of society are children of either sex considered as an incumbrance, or the addition to a family as a misfortune; marriage is therefore almost universal. An unmarried man past twenty is seldom to be met with, and an old maid is considered a curiosity. Neither custom, law, or religion, enjoins celibacy on the priesthood or any other order of the community, and by none of them is it practiced. Although no strictness of principle, nor strong sense of moral restraint, prevails in the intercourse of the sexes, prostitution is not common, except in the capitals.

As the Javans are a quiet domestic people, little given to adventure, disinclined to foreign enterprize, not easily roused to violence or bloodshed, and little disposed to irregularities of any kind, there are but few families left destitute, in consequence of hazards incurred or crimes committed by their natural protectors. The character of blood-thirsty revenge, which has been attributed to all the inhabitants of the Indian Archipelago, by no means applies to the people of Java; and though, in all cases where justice is badly administered or absolutely perverted, people may be expected to enforce their rights or redress their grievances, rather by their own passions than by an appeal to the magistrate, comparatively few lives are lost on the island by personal affray or private feuds.

Such are a few of the circumstances that would appear to have encouraged an increase of population on Java. They furnish no precise data on which to estimate its rapidity, or to calculate the period within which it would be doubled, but they allow us, if tranquillity and good government were enjoyed, to anticipate a gradual progress in the augmentation of inhabitants, and the improvements of the soil for a long course of time. Suppose the quantity of land in cultivation to be to the land still in a state of nature as one to seven, which is probably near the truth, and that, in the ordinary circumstances of the country, the population would double itself in a century, it might go on increasing for three hundred years to come. Afterwards the immense tracts of unoccupied or thinly peopled territories on Sumatra, Borneo, and the numerous islands scattered over the Archipelago, may be ready to receive colonies, arts and civilization from the metropolis of the Indian seas. Commercial intercourse, friendly relations, or political institutions, may bind these dispersed communities in one great insular commonwealth. Its trade and navigation might connect the centre of this great empire with Japan, China, and the south-western countries of Asia. New Holland, which the adventurous *Búgis* already frequent,

frequent, and which is not so far distant from Java as Russia is from England, might be included in the circle, and colonies of Javans settled on the north, might meet with the British spreading from the south, over that immense and now uncultivated region. If we could indulge ourselves in such reveries with propriety, we might contemplate the present semi-barbarous condition, ignorance, and poverty of these innumerable islands, exchanged for a state of refinement, prosperity, and happiness.

Checks to population.

I formerly alluded to the oppressions of government, as the principal checks to the increase of population on Java. There are many others, such as the small-pox, and other diseases, which are common to that country with the rest of the world. From the scattered state of the population, any contagious distemper, such as the small-pox, was formerly less destructive on Java, than in countries where the inhabitants are more crowded into large towns, and it is hoped that, from the establishment for vaccine innoculation which the British government erected, and endeavoured to render permanent, its ravages may, in time, be entirely arrested. The diseases most peculiar to the country, and most dangerous at all ages, are fevers and dysenteries: epidemics are rare. There are two moral causes which, on their first mention, will strike every one as powerfully calculated to counteract the principle of population: I mean the facility of obtaining divorces, and the practice of polygamy. A greater weight should not, however, be given them, than they deserve after a consideration of all the circumstances. It is true, that separations often take place on the slightest grounds, and new connexions are formed with equal frivolity and caprice; but in whatever light morality would view this practice, and however detrimental it would be to population in a different state of society, by leaving the children of the marriage so dissolved to neglect and want, it has no such consequences on Java. Considering the age at which marriages are usually contracted, the choice of the parties cannot be always expected to be considerate or judicious. It may be observed also that the women, although they do not appear old at twenty, as Montesquieu remarks, certainly sooner lose that influence over their husbands, which depends upon their beauty and personal attractions, than they do in colder climates. In addition to this, there is little moral restraint among many classes of the community, and the religious maxims and indulgences acted upon by the priesthood, in regulating matrimonial sanctions, have no tendency to produce constancy or to repress inclination. Dissolutions of marriage

are,

are, therefore, very frequent, and obtained upon the slightest pretences; but, as children are always valuable, and as there is very little trouble in rearing or providing for them, no change of mate, in either party, leads to their abandonment or neglect. Indeed, the ease of supporting children, which renders the practice less detrimental to the increase of population, may be one of the paincipal causes why it is generally followed and so little checked. No professed prostitution or promiscuous intercourse is the consequence of this weakness of the nuptial tie. It is rather brittle than loose; it is easily dissolved, but while it remains it generally insures fidelity.

Polygamy, though in all cases it must be injurious to population and happiness, so far as it goes, is permitted on Java, as in other Mahometan countries, by religion and law, but not practiced to any great extent. Perhaps the ease of obtaining matrimonial separations, by admitting of successive changes of wives, diminishes the desire of possessing more than one at a time. Polymagy.

It is plain, likewise, that whatever be the law, the great body of the people must have only one wife; and that, where there is nearly an equality of number between the sexes, inequality of wealth or power alone can create an unequal distribution of women. On Java, accordingly, only the chiefs and the sovereign marry more than one wife. All the chiefs, from the regents downwards, can only, by the custom of the country, have two; the sovereign alone has four. The regents, however, have generally three or four concubines, and the sovereign eight or ten. Some of the chiefs have an extraordinary number of children; the late Regent of *Túban* is reputed to have been the father of no fewer than sixty-eight. Such appropriations of numerous women as wives or concubines, were owing to the political power of native authorities over the inferior classes; and as, by the new system, that power is destroyed, the evil may to a certain extent be checked. If we were to depend upon the statement of a writer whom Montesquieu refers to, that in Bantam there were ten women to one man, we should be led to conclude with him, that here was a case particularly favourable to polygamy, and that such an institution was here an appointment of nature, intended for the multiplication of the species, rather than an abuse contributing to check it. There is not the least foundation, however, for the report. The proportion of males and females born in Bantam, and over the whole of Java, is nearly the same

as in Europe, and as we find generally to exist, wherever accurate statements can be obtained. From the information collected in a very careful survey of one part of the very province in question, the preponderance seemed to be on the side of male children to an extraordinary degree; the male children being about forty-two thousand, and the females only thirty-five thousand five hundred. There were formerly, it is true, great drains on the male population, to which I have before alluded, and which, in the advanced stages of life, might turn the balance on the other side; but as they were never so destructive as to render polygamy a political institution, so that institution was not carried to such an extent, as to render it a peculiar obstacle to the progress of population. Upon the whole, we may conclude that in Java, under a mild government, there is a great tendency to an increase in the number of inhabitants, and to the consequent improvement and importance of the island.

Foreign settlers.

Besides the natives, whose numbers, circumstances, and character I have slightly mentioned, there is on Java a rapidly increasing race of foreigners, who have emigrated from the different surrounding countries. The most

Chinese.

numerous and important class of these is the Chinese, who already do not fall far short of a hundred thousand; and who, with a system of free trade and free cultivation, would soon accumulate tenfold, by natural increase within the island, and gradual accessions of new settlers from home. They reside principally in the three great capitals of Batavia, *Semárang*, and *Surabáya*, but they are to be found in all the smaller capitals, and scattered over most parts of the country. A great proportion of them are descended from families who have been many generations on the island. Additions are gradually making to their numbers. They arrive at Batavia from China, to the amount of a thousand and more annually, in Chinese junks, carrying three, four, and five hundred each, without money or resources; but, by dint of their industry, soon acquire comparative opulence. There are no women on Java who come directly from China; but as the Chinese often marry the daughters of their countrymen by Javan women, there results a numerous mixed race which is often scarcely distinguishable from the native Chinese. The Chinese on their arrival generally marry a Javan woman, or purchase a slave from the other islands. The progeny from this connexion, or what may be termed the cross breed between the Chinese and Javans, are called in the Dutch accounts *pernákans*. Many return to China

China annually in the junks, but by no means in the same numbers as they arrive.

The Chinese, in all matters of inheritance and minor affairs, are governed by their own laws, administered by their own chiefs, a captain and several lieutenants being appointed by government for each society of them. They are distinct from the natives, and are in a high degree more intelligent, more laborious, and more luxurious. They are the life and soul of the commerce of the country. In the native provinces they are still farmers of the revenue, having formerly been so throughout the island.

Although still numerous, they are considered to have much decreased since the civil war in 1742, during which not only a large proportion of the Chinese population was massacred by the Dutch in the town of Batavia, but a decree of extermination was proclaimed against them throughout the island.

Moors.

The natives of the Coromandel and Malabar coast, who reside on Java, are usually termed Moors. They appear to be the remnant of a once extensive class of settlers; but their numbers have considerably decreased, since the establishment of the Dutch monopoly and the absolute extinction of the native trade with India, which we have reason to believe was once very extensive. Trading vessels, in considerable numbers, still continue to proceed from the Coromandel coast to Sumatra, Penang, and Malacca, but they no longer frequent Java.

Búgis and Maláyus.

Búgis and *Maláyus* are established in all the maritime capitals of Java. They have their own quarter of the town allotted to them, in the same manner as the Chinese, and are subject to the immediate authority of their respective captains.

Arabs.

Among the Arabs are many merchants, but the majority are priests. Their principal resort is *Grésik*, the spot where Mahometanism was first extensively planted on Java. They are seldom of genuine Arab birth, but mostly a mixed race, between the Arabs and the natives of the islands.

Slaves

There is another class of inhabitants, either foreigners themselves or the immediate descendants of foreigners, whose peculiar situation and considerable numbers entitle them to some notice in the general sketch of the population: I mean the class of slaves. The native Javans are never reduced to this condition; or if they should happen to be seized and sold by pirates, a satisfactory proof of their origin would be sufficient to procure their

enfranchisement. The slave merchants have therefore been under the necessity of resorting to the neighbouring islands for a supply, and the greatest number have been procured from *Báli* and Celebes. The total amount may be estimated at about thirty thousand. According to the returns obtained in 1814, it appeared that the following were the numbers in the principal divisions of the island.

At Batavia and its environs	18,972
In the Semárang division	4,488
In the Surabáya division	3,682
Total	27,142

These slaves are the property of the Europeans and Chinese alone: the native chiefs never require the services of slaves, or engage in the traffic of slavery. The Mahometan laws, which regulate their civil condition, and permit this abomination in all its extent, are modified by the milder prejudices and more humane temper of the country. The Dutch, who, like us, valued themselves on their political liberty, are here the great promoters of civil servitude, and carried with them into their eastern empire, the Roman law regarding slavery in all its extent and rigour. But although they adopted principles that admitted of the most cruel and wanton treatment of slaves, I would not be understood to say, that they carried these principles into common practice. The contrary was almost universally the case, and the condition of slaves on Java, where they were employed principally in domestic offices, formed a complete contrast to the state of those employed in the West-India plantations. It is remarked by Montesquieu, that "in despotic countries, the condition of a slave is hardly more burden-"some than that of a subject," and such has been the case in Java. The grounds on which the Dutch justified the practice of making slaves, was not that they could not command the services of the natives with a sway sufficiently absolute, and that they were compelled to seek, beyond the limits of the island, for unfortunate agents to perform what the natives shewed a reluctance to undertake, but that they found the class of foreigners more adroit and docile than the Javans in the conduct of household affairs, and that having reduced them to the state of property, they remained in the family for life, and saved the trouble of a new training.

Upon

Upon the conquest of the island by the British in 1811, the condition of this class of its subjects excited the attention of government; and though we could not, consistently with those rights of property which were admitted by the laws that we professed to administer, emancipate them at once from servitude, we enacted regulations, as far as we were authorized, to ameliorate their present lot, and lead to their ultimate freedom. Steps were immediately taken to check further importation, and as soon as it was known that the horrid traffic in slaves was declared a felony by the British parliament, it was not permitted for an instant to disgrace a region to which the British authority extended. The folly and perfect uselessness of slavery on Java has been often pointed out by Dutch commissioners and Dutch authors.*

Having

* It is remarked in the text, that the condition of the slaves on Java is very different from that of the same class in the West Indies. The former are employed rather as administering to the luxuries than the necessities of their proprietors; and, with few exceptions, exclusively for domestic purposes. There are some who having taught their slaves when young to embroider, or exercise some useful handicraft or trade, obtain a livelihood by means of their services, and some few employ their slaves on their estates, or let them out to hire; but the general condition of the slaves is that of domestic servants.

The regulations and colonial statutes respecting slavery seems to have been framed on the principles of humanity, and with attention to the genius of the Christian religion; yet, in consequence of the supplementary force of the Roman law in the Dutch system of legislature, there appeared to be one capital defect in the code, *viz.* that a slave was considered as a real property, incapable of personal rights, from which consideration the ill treatment of a master towards his slave was not so much estimated on the principle of personal injury, as that of a proprietor abusing his own property; and although a slave, under such a system, might obtain a portion of property for himself with the consent of his master, his possession was always precarious, and depended on the discretion of his proprietor, (in the same manner as a *peculium adventitium* with the Romans), becoming only the unlimited property of the slave, if the master allowed him to keep it after his emancipation.

It was conceived, that considering the civil law only as a supplement to the positive law, continued in force on Java under the proclamation of the Earl of Minto of 11th September 1811, the code respecting slavery might, together with the other parts of legislation, be amended and established, on principles more consistent with humanity and good sense, by a declaration, that slaves in future should not be considered as objects of real property, but as objects possessing personal rights, and bound only to unlimited service; and that, in consequence thereof, slaves should never be transferred from one master to another, without their own consent given before witnesses or a notary. That a master should possess no other power over his slave, than to exact service in an equitable manner; that he should inflict no corporal chastisement on him after he had attained a certain age, nor beyond such a degree as would be given to his children or common apprentices; that all personal wrongs done to a slave, either

by

Titles.

Having thus attempted a brief description of the different classes of the Asiatic population of the island, I shall proceed to a short detail of the habitations,

by his master or by others, should be estimated by the common rules of personal injuries, and not by the principle of a proprietor abusing his own property; that the punishment for murder committed by a master on his slave, should be the same as that of murder committed on a free person; that every slave should have a right to acquire property of his own, by his private industry or labour, or by the bounty of others; that this property should never be removeable at the discretion of the master; that by this property the slave should always have a right to redeem his liberty, after having continued with his master for the term of seven years, and on paying the sum which on estimation, subject to the approval of the magistrate, should at the time be thought an adequate equivalent for his personal services.

These fundamental alterations in the code were submitted by the local government to a higher authority, at a period when the principal proprietors evinced a concurrence in the measure; but the provisional tenure of the government, and the expectation of the early transfer of the island to the crown, induced a delay, until the re-establishment of Holland as a kingdom precluded the adoption of so essential a change.

The excuse offered by the colonists for the origin and continuance of slavery on Java is, that on the first establishment of the Dutch in the Eastern Islands, there did not exist, as in Western India, a class of people calculated for domestic service; that they had, in consequence, to create a class of domestic servants, in doing which they adopted the plan of rearing children in their families from other countries, in preference to those in their immediate neighbourhood, who, from their connexions and the habits of their relatives, could never be depended upon. Whether necessity dictated this system in the earlier periods of the Dutch establishment, or not, is at least doubtful; but it is certain that this necessity no longer exists, nor is there the shadow of an excuse for continuing on Java this odious traffic and condition. The Javans, during the residence of the British on Java, have been found perfectly trustworthy, faithful, and industrious; and the demand was alone wanting in this, as in most cases, to create a sufficient supply of competent domestics. The continuance of the traffic for one day longer serves but to lower the European in the eyes of the native, who, gratified with the measures adopted by the British government in its suppression, stands himself pure of the foul sin. To the credit of the Javan character, and the honour of the individual, it should be known, that when the proclamation of the British government was published, requiring the registration of all slaves, and declaring that such as were not registered by a certain day should be entitled to their emancipation, the Panámbahan of Súmenap, who had inherited in his family domestic slaves to the number of not less than fifty, proudly said, "Then I will not "register my slaves—they shall be free: hitherto they have been kept such, because it was "the custom, and the Dutch liked to be attended by slaves when they visited the palace; "but as that is not the case with the British, they shall cease to be slaves: for long have I "felt shame, and my blood has run cold, when I have reflected on what I once saw at Ba-"tavia and Semárang, where human beings were exposed for public sale, placed on a table, "and examined like sheep and oxen."

The short administration of the British government on Java has fortunately given rise to another class of domestic servants. The numerous officers of the army, and others whose funds

did

tions, dress, food, and domestic economy of the natives; but, in order to enable the reader to understand some of the terms in the tables, and likewise in the subsequent observations, it may not be improper simply to state the names and titles expressive of the different gradations of rank, leaving a more particular account of the power and authority with which they are connected to another opportunity. The sovereign, who is either called *Susuhúnan*, *Susúnan*, or *Sultan*, is the fountain of honour and the source of all distinction. His family are called *Pang'érans*, his queen *Rátu*, the heir apparent *Pangéran adipáti*, and the prime minister *Răden adipáti*. Governors of provinces, called by the Dutch *Regents*, are styled by the natives *Bopátis*, *Tumúngungs*, or *Ang'abéis*; and are ranked among the chief nobility of the country. All the inferior chiefs, including those termed *Rádens*, *Mántris*, *Demángs*, *Lúras*, and others, except the heads of villages, termed *Kúwus*, *Búkuls*, *Patíng'gis*, &c. who are elected by the common people out of their own number for the performance of specific duties, may be considered as *petite noblesse*.

Dwellings. The cottage or hut of the peasant, called *úmah limásan*, may be estimated to cost, in its first construction, from two to four rupees, or from five

did not admit, or whose temporary residence did not require a permanent establishment of servants, for the most part usually took Javans into their service; and though these might, in the first instance, not be so well acquainted with European habits, as slaves who had been brought up from their infancy in Dutch families, yet they gradually improved, and were, in the end, for the most part very generally preferred. Let not, therefore, necessity be again urged as a plea for continuing the traffic.

The measures actually adopted by the British government may be summed up in a few words. The importation was, in the first instance, restricted within a limited age, and the duty on importation doubled. An annual registry of all slaves above a certain age was taken, and slaves not registered within a certain time declared free. A fee of one Spanish dollar was demanded for the registry of each slave, the amount of which constituted a fund for the relief of widows and orphans. On the promulgation of the act of the British legislature, declaring the further traffic in slaves to be felony, that act, with all its provisions, was at once made a colonial law. Masters were precluded from sending their slaves to be confined in jail at their pleasure, as had hitherto been the case, and all committals were required to be made through the magistrates, in the same manner as in the case of other offenders.

These general regulations, with the more rigid enforcement of the prohibition of further importations, and of such parts of the code of regulations for ameliorating the condition of the slaves as had become obsolete, were all to which the local government felt itself competent; but it gave its sanction to an institution set on foot by the English, and joined in by many of the Dutch inhabitants, which took for its basis the principles of the African institution, and directed its immediate care to a provision for the numerous slaves restored to liberty.

five to ten shillings English money. It is invariably built on the ground, as on continental India, and in this respect differs from similar structures in the surrounding islands. The sleeping places, however, are generally a little elevated above the level of the floor, and accord in simplicity with the other parts of the dwelling. The sides or walls are generally formed of *bámbus*, flattened and plaited together: partitions, if any, are constructed of the same materials, and the roof is either thatched with long grass, with the leaves of the *nípa*, or with a kind of *bámbu sírap*. The form and size of these cottages, as well as the materials employed in their construction, vary in the different districts of the island, and with the different circumstances of the individuals. In the eastern districts, where the population is most dense and the land most highly cultivated, a greater scarcity is felt of the requisite materials than in the western, and the dwellings of the peasantry are consequently smaller and slighter. In the latter, the frame work of the cottages is generally made of timber, instead of *bámbus*, and the interior of them, as well as the front veranda, is raised about two feet from the ground. The accommodations consist of a room partitioned off for the heads of the family, and an open apartment on the opposite side for the children: there is no window either made or requisite. The light is admitted through the door alone; nor is this deficiency productive of any inconvenience in a climate, where all domestic operations can be carried on in the open air, and where shade from the sun, rather than shelter from the weather, is required. The women perform their usual occupations of spinning or weaving on an elevated veranda in front, where they are protected from the rays of a vertical sun by an extended projection of the pitch of the roof. In some of the mountainous districts, where the rains descend with most violence, the inhabitants frequently provide against their effects, by constructing their roofs of *bámbus* split into halves, and applied to each other by their alternate concave and convex surfaces, all along the pitch of the roof, from the top down to the walls. On the whole, it may be affirmed that the habitations of the peasantry of Java, even those constructed in the most unfavourable situations and inhabited by the lowest of the people, admit of a considerable degree of comfort and convenience, and far exceed, in those respects, what falls to the lot of the peasant in most parts of continental India.

The class of dwellings inhabited by the petty chiefs are termed *úmah chébluk* or *úmah jóglo*. These are distinguished by having eight slopes or roofs,

roofs, four superior and four secondary. Their value is from seven to eight dollars, or from thirty-five to forty shillings.

The largest class of houses, or those in which the chiefs and nobles reside, are termed *úmah túmpang*, and are of the same form as the preceding; they are generally distinguished from them by their greater size, which varies with the means and rank of the possessor, and usually contain five or six rooms. The supports and beams are of wood. The value of such a habitation, calculated to answer the circumstances of an ordinary chief of the rank of a *Páteh*, or assistant to the governor of a province, may be about fifty or sixty dollars, or from ten to fifteen pounds sterling.

In the European provinces, the size and comfort of these dwellings have of late been very essentially contracted, by the rigid enforcement of the monopoly of the teak forests, which were formerly open to the natives of all classes.

Brick dwellings, which are sometimes, though rarely, occupied by the natives, are termed *úmah gedóng*. This kind of building is for the most part occupied by the Chinese, who invariably construct a building of brick and mortar whenever they possess the means. The Chinese *kámpongs* may always be thus distinguished from those of the natives.

The cottages, which I have already described, are never found detached or solitary: they always unite to form villages of greater or less extent, according to the fertility of the neighbouring plain, abundance of a stream, or other accidental circumstances. In some provinces, the usual number of inhabitants in a village is about two hundred, in others less than fifty. In the first establishment or formation of a village on new ground, the intended settlers take care to provide themselves with sufficient garden ground round their huts for their stock, and to supply the ordinary wants of their families. The produce of this plantation is the exclusive property of the peasant, and exempted from contribution or burden; and such is their number and extent in some regencies (as in *Kedú* for instance), that they constitute perhaps a tenth part of the area of the whole district. The spot surrounding his simple habitation, the cottager considers his peculiar patrimony and cultivates with peculiar care. He labours to plant and to rear in it those vegetables that may be most useful to his family, and those shrubs and trees which may at once yield him their fruit and their shade: nor does he waste his efforts on a thankless soil. The cottages, or the assemblage of huts, that compose the

Cottages formed into villages.

village, become thus completely screened from the rays of a scorching sun, and are so buried amid the foilage of a luxuriant vegetation, that at a small distance no appearance of a human dwelling can be discovered, and the residence of a numerous society appears only a verdant grove or a clump of evergreens. Nothing can exceed the beauty or the interest, which such detached masses of verdure, scattered over the face of the country, and indicating each the abode of a collection of happy peasantry, add to scenery otherwise rich, whether viewed on the sides of the mountains, in the narrow vales, or on the extensive plains. In the last case, before the grain is planted, and during the season of irrigation, when the rice fields are inundated, they appear like so many small islands, rising out of the water. As the young plant advances, their deep rich foliage contrasts pleasingly with its lighter tints; and when the full-eared grain, with a luxuriance that exceeds an European harvest, invests the earth with its richest yellow, they give a variety to the prospect, and afford a most refreshing relief to the eye. The clumps of trees, with which art attempts to diversify and adorn the most skilfully arranged park, can bear no comparison with them in rural beauty or picturesque effect.

As the population increases, the extent of individual appropriations is sometimes contracted; but when there is sufficient untenanted ground in the neighbourhood, a new village is thrown out at some distance, which during its infancy remains under the charge, and on the responsibility of the parent village. In time, however, it obtains a constitution of its own, and in its turn becomes the parent of others. These dependent villages are in the eastern districts termed *dúku*, and in the western or *Súnda* districts *chántilan*.

Every village forms a community within itself, having each its village officers and priest, whose habitations are as superior to those of others as their functions are more exalted. To complete the establishment in most large villages, a temple is appropriated for religious worship. Here is found that simple form of patriarchal administration, which so forcibly strikes the imagination of the civilized inhabitants of this quarter of the world, and which has so long been the theme of interest and curiosity to those who have visited the Indian continent.

Towns. In the larger villages, or chief towns of the subdivisions, in which the *Kápala chútag*, or division-officer, resides, a square place, corresponding with the *álun álun* of the capital, is reserved; and, in like manner, the mosque

mosque is found to occupy one side, and the dwelling of the chief another. The villages, whether large or small, are fenced in by strong hedges of *bámbu*, and other quick growing plants. All the large towns and capitals are formed on the same principle, each hut and dwelling being surrounded by a garden exclusively attached to it. In this respect, they are but large villages, although usually divided into separate jurisdictions. A newly-formed village contains but a few families, while in the capitals the population often amounts to several thousand souls. *Súra-kérta*, the capital of the chief native government, though its population is estimated to exceed one hundred thousand, may be termed an assemblage or group of numerous villages, rather than what in European countries would be called a town or city.

In the larger towns, however, and in the capitals, considerable attention is paid to the due preservation of broad streets or roads crossing in different directions. The inland capitals in the *Súnda* districts are distinguished by an extreme neatness and regularity in this respect; and although both these, and the greater native capitals at *Sólo* and *Yúgy'a-kérta*, may have been laid out principally at the suggestion of Europeans, it may be observed, that the same conveniences are also to be found in the extensive capital of *Banyúmas*, the planning of which must be ascribed entirely to the natives.

Palaces.

The dwelling or palace of the prince is distinguished by the terms *kadáton* or *kráton*, being contractions, the former probably from *ka-datu-nan*, and the latter from *ka-ratu-nan*, the place of the *Dátu* or *Rátu* (prince). Those of the Regents, or *Bopátis* (nobles entrusted with the government of provinces), are styled *dálam*; a term which is applied to the inmost hall or chamber of both buildings; and by which also, particularly in the *Súnda* districts, the chiefs themselves are often distinguished.

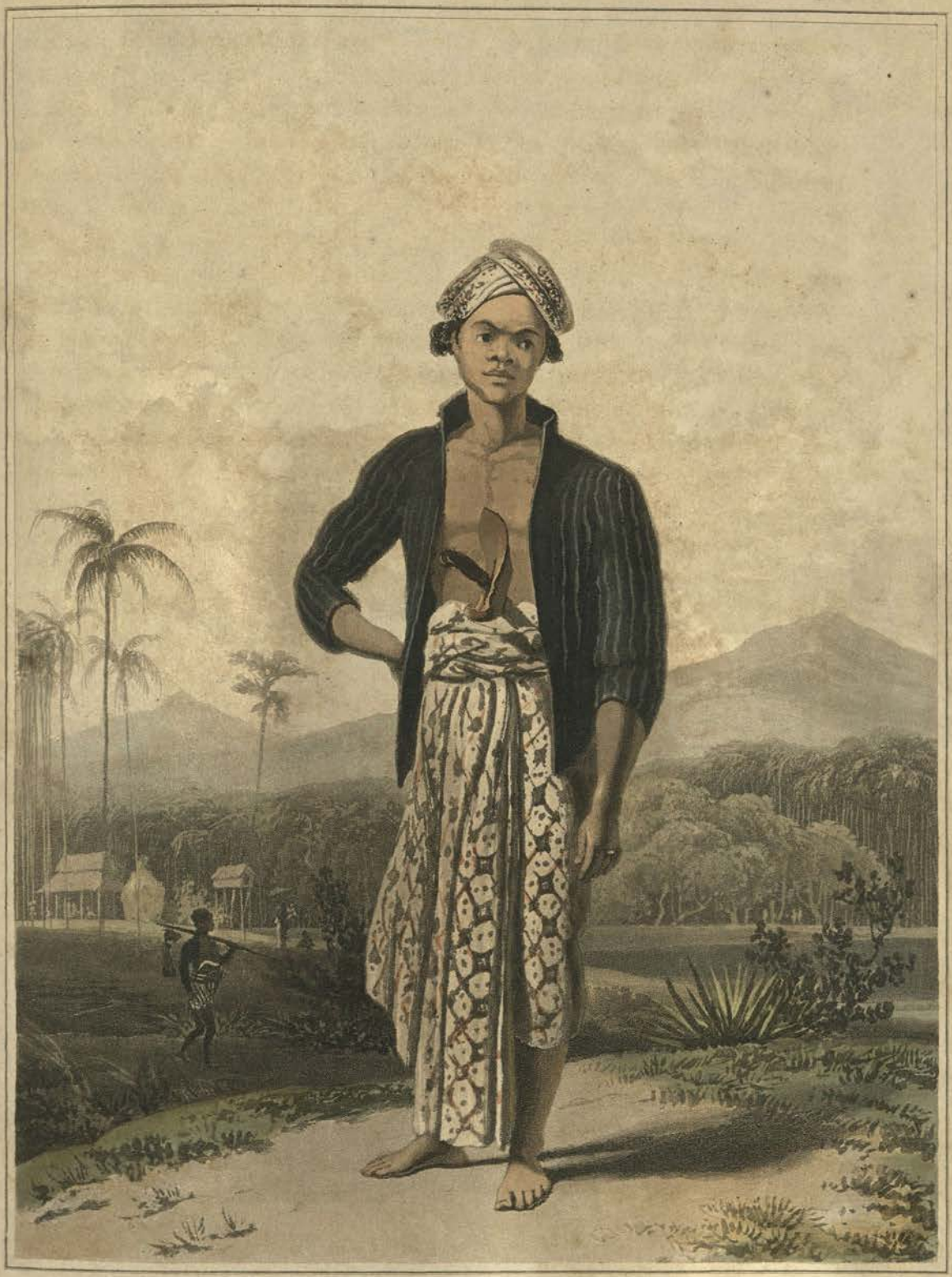
The *kráton*, or palace of the prince, is an extensive square, surrounded by a high wall, without which there is generally a moat or ditch. In the front, and also sometimes in the rear, an extensive open square is reserved, surrounded by a railing, which is termed the *álun álun*. On the wall of the *kráton*, which may be considered as the rampart of a citadel, are usually planted cannon; and within it, the space is divided by various smaller walls, which intersect each other, and form squares and compartments, each having a particular designation, and answering a specific purpose; se-

parate quarters being assigned within the walls to all the families who may be considered as attached to the person of the sovereign, or that of the princes. The circumference of the wall of the *kráton* of *Yúgy'a-kérta* is not less than three miles; and it was estimated that, at the period of the assault in 1812, it did not contain fewer than from ten to fifteen thousand people. That of *Súra-kérta* is neither so extensive, nor so well built. After crossing the *álun álun*, or square in front of the *kráton*, the principal entrance is by a flight of steps, at the top of which it is usual for the new sovereign to be invested with his authority, and on which he is seated on those occasions in which he shews himself in public. This is termed the *setíngel*, from *seti-ingel*, the high ground. On these occasions, the *Pang'érans* and nobles are ranged below. Proceeding into the interior of the building, and after descending a flight of steps, we find the next principal gateway or entrance is called the *brójo nólo*. After passing another court, the next gateway is termed *kámandúngan*; and beyond this again is the last passage, distinguished by the term *s'rímenánti*. Still farther on, in the centre of a square, is the hall, *mendópo* or *bángsal*, of the prince. On one side of the square are two small *mendópos*, or open sheds, called *bángsal peng'ápit*, where the *Pang'érans* assemble to wait the appearance of the sovereign in the principal *mendópo*; and on the opposite side is the dwelling, or *úmah tumpang*, of the prince, termed *próbo yókso*. The *bángsal*, or *mendópo*, is a large open hall, supported by a double row of pillars, and covered with shingles, the interior being richly decorated with paint and gilding. The ceiling of the *mendópo* of *Yúgy'a-kérta* is remarkable for its splendour and richness, being composed according to that peculiar style of architecture frequently observed throughout Java, in which several squares, of gradually decreasing sizes, are arranged one above and within the other; a style which is general among the Hindus, and strongly marks the architecture of the Burmans and Siamese.

In the centre of the *álun álun*, and in front of the *setíngel*, are two *wáringen* trees (the Indian fig or *banyan*), called *wáring'en kúrung*, which have been considered as the sign or mark of the royal residence from the earliest date of Javan history.

In the dwellings of the nobles and governors of provinces, the same form and order, with some slight modifications, are observed. These have likewise the *álun álun* in front. The outer entrance corresponding with the

setíngel



A Javan of the lower class.

London Published by Black, Parbury & Allen, Leadenhall Street 1827.

setingel of the *kráton* is however with them denominated the *láwang sekéting*, the second *pasádong*, and the third *régol*, within which is the *mendópo*, or *dálam*. The mosque forms one side of the *álun álun*.

Furniture.

The furniture of the houses or huts of the lower orders is very simple, and consists of but few articles. Their bed, as with the Sumatrans, is a fine mat with a number of pillows, having some party-coloured cloths generally extended over the head, in the form of a canopy or valance. They neither use tables nor chairs, but their meals are brought on large brass or wooden waiters, with smaller vessels of brass or china-ware for the different articles served up. They sit cross-legged, and, in common with other Mahometans, only use the right hand at their meals. They usually take up their food between the finger and thumb, and throw it into their mouth. Spoons are used only for liquids, and knives and forks very rarely, if at all.

In the dwellings of the higher classes, the articles of furniture are more numerous and expensive. Raised beds, with many pillows piled one above the other, and mats and carpets, are common in all; but, in the European provinces, many of the rooms of the chiefs are furnished with looking-glasses, chairs, tables, &c. Most of these were at first introduced for the accommodation of European visitors, but are now gradually becoming luxuries, in which the chiefs take delight.

They are partial to illuminations, and, on days of festivity, ornament the grounds adjacent to their dwellings with much taste and design, by working the young shoots of the cocoa-nut, the *bámbu*, and various flowers, in festoons and other contrivances. The canopy or valance over the table, bed, or other place selected for any particular purpose, is universal. This canopy is generally of chintz, from Western India.

In all the provinces under the European government, the chiefs have several rooms fitted up in the European style, for the accommodation of the officers of government, and none of them hesitate to sit down at table with their visitors, and join in the entertainment.

Dress.

The natives of Java are in general better clothed than those of Western India. In many provinces of the interior, and in the elevated parts of the island, warm clothing is indispensable. They are for the most part clothed from the produce of their own soil and labour; but there are parts of their dress which they willingly derive from foreign countries. Blue cloths

cloths and chintzes, in particular, have always formed an extensive article of importation from Western India; and the chiefs consume considerable quantities of broadcloths, velvet, and other fabrics, in the jackets, pantaloons, and other articles of dress, in imitation of Europeans. Persons of condition are particular in being what they conceive well-dressed. A sloven is an object of ridicule; and, in point of expensive attire, they may be considered as restricted only by their means. Although the general character of the native costume is preserved, they seem inclined to adopt many of the more convenient parts of the European dress; and, in proof of their having but few prejudices on this score, it may be observed, that, on occasions when the population of the country has been called out in the Native Provinces, the assemblage of the provincials presented themselves habited, many of them in cocked hats and stockings of Europeans, forming a most grotesque appearance. By the institutions of the country, a particular kind of dress is assigned to each different rank; and there are some patterns of cloth, the use of which is prohibited, except to the royal family: but these sumptuary laws are for the most part obsolete in the European provinces, and gradually becoming so in those of the native princes, particularly since those princes have engaged by treaty to discontinue their enforcement. There are also distinctions of rank expressed by the different modes of wearing the krîs, which will be treated of hereafter.

It is part of the domestic economy, that the women of the family should provide the men with the cloths necessary for their apparel, and from the first consort of the sovereign to the wife of the lowest peasant, the same rule is observed. In every cottage there is a spinning-wheel and loom, and in all ranks a man is accustomed to pride himself on the beauty of a cloth woven either by his wife, mistress, or daughter.

The principal article of dress, common to all classes in the Archipelago, is the cloth or *sárong*, which has been described by Mr. Marsden to be "not unlike a Scots highlander's plaid in appearance, being a piece of "party-coloured cloth, about six or eight feet long and three or four feet "wide, sewed together at the ends, forming, as some writers have des-"cribed it, a wide sack without a bottom." With the *Maláyus*, the *sárong* is either worn slung over the shoulders as a sash, or tucked round the waist and descending to the ankles, so as to enclose the legs like a petticoat.

The

A Javan Woman of the lower class.

London Published by Black Parbury & Allen, Leadenhall Street 1817.

The patterns in use among the *Maláyus* and *Búgis* are universally Tartan; but besides these, the Javans pride themselves in a great variety of others, the common people only wearing the Tartan pattern, while others prefer the Javan *bátek*, or painted cloths. On occasions of state they wear, in lieu of the *sárong* or *járit** (the ordinary cloth of the country, which differs from the *sárong* in not being united at the ends), a cloth termed *dódot*, which is made either of cotton or silk, and much larger. This is worn in the same way; but from its size, and the manner of its being tucked up, it falls in a kind of drapery, which is peculiar to Java.

The men of the lowest class generally wear a pair of coarse short drawers, reaching towards the knee, with the *járit* or cloth folded round the waist, and descending below the knees like a short petticoat.† This cloth is always tucked up close round the waist, while the labourer is at work or moving abroad, but loosened, and allowed to descend to its full length, when in the presence of a superior. It is fastened round the waist by a narrow waistband or belt (*sábuk*). In general, the Javans are also provided with a jacket (*kalámbi*), having short sleeves reaching to the elbows. This is either white, or more frequently of light and dark blue stripes. A handkerchief or tie (*ikat*) is always folded round the head. With the *Maláyus* this handkerchief is generally of the Tartan pattern, but among the Javans it is of the *bátek* cloth, and put on more in the manner of a turban than the handkerchief of a *Maláyu* is: the crown of the head is covered with it, and the ends are tucked in.‡ While abroad, they generally wear over it a large hat of leaves or of the split and plaited bambu, which shelters them like an umbrella from the sun and rain. A coarse handkerchief is usually tucked into the waistband, or a small bag is suspended from it, containing tobacco, *síri*, &c. The *krís* or dagger, which is universally worn by all classes, completes the dress. To that of the labourer, according to the work he may be employed upon, is superadded a large knife or hatchet for cutting wood, brushwood, or grass.

The women, in like manner, wear the cloth tucked round their loins, and descending in the form of a petticoat as low as the ankles.‡ It is folded somewhat differently from the cloth worn by the men, and never tucked up as with them. The waistband or girdle by which they fasten it, is termed *údat*. Round the body, passed above the bosom and close under the

* Called by the Maláyus *kain pánjang* or *kain lepás*.

† See plate. ‡ See plate. § See plate.

the arms, descending to the waistband, is rolled a body cloth called *kémban.* They also commonly wear a loose gown reaching to the knees, with long sleeves buttoning at the wrists.* This gown is almost invariably blue, never being of any variegated pattern, and as well as the jacket of the men is usually termed *kalámbi.* The women do not wear any handkerchief on their head, which is ornamented by their hair fastened up in a *glung* or knot, and by an appendage of large studs, either of buffalo horn or brass, which they use for ear-rings. Both men and women, even of the lowest class, wear rings on their fingers. Those worn by the men are either of iron, brass, or copper; those of the women of brass or copper only. The value of a man's dress, as above described, may be estimated at about five rupees, twelve and sixpence; and that of the women at about six rupees, or fifteen shillings.

The children of the lower orders go naked, from the age of fifteen or eighteen months to six or seven years; but the children of persons of condition always wear the *járit* round their loins, together with a jacket.

The higher orders wear a *járit,* of about seven or eight cubits long and about three cubits wide, which with the men is folded once round the loins, and allowed to descend to the ankles in the form of a petticoat, but so as to admit of the leg being occasionally exposed when set forward in the act of walking. The part which is folded in front commonly hangs somewhat lower than the rest of the garment.† The *sábuk* or waistband is generally of silk of the *chíndi* or *patólé* pattern. When at leisure within doors, the men usually wear a loose cotton gown descending as low as the knees; but when abroad, or in attendance on public service, they for the most part wear a jacket of broadcloth, silk, or velvet if procurable, frequently edged with lace and ornamented with filagree buttons. This jacket is called *síkapan,* (from *sikap* ready) as it intimates, when worn, that the party is ready for duty. The jacket used by the Regents or chiefs of provinces, and other officers of distinction, closely resembles the old Friesland jacket, as worn about two centuries ago, and is probably modified, if not entirely taken from it. Under the jacket the men always wear a vest, usually of fine white cloth, with a single row of fillagree buttons, buttoning close to the body and at the neck like a shirt. If the party is upon a journey or without doors in the sun, the *túdang* or shade, which is usually of broad cloth or velvet, is fixed over the face, having much the appearance

* See plate. † See plate.

A Javan Chief in his ordinary dress.

appearance of a large jockey cap. The petty chiefs, particularly in the western districts, instead of this shade wear a large hat, in the form of a wash-hand bason reversed, made of split bambu of various colours, and highly varnished to throw off the rain. This is fastened by a string under the chin, in the same manner as the hat of the common people.

The dress of the women of the higher classes does not in fashion differ essentially from that of the lower orders, but the articles are of finer texture and better quality, and gold studs and rings, ornamented with coloured and precious stones, are substituted for those of copper and brass. Both men and women of condition wear sandals, shoes, or slippers in the house; and in the European districts, the Regent and other chiefs, when in attendance on the public officers, on journeys or otherwise, usually superadd to the native dress tight cloth or nankeen pantaloons, with boots and spurs, according to the European fashion.

It is difficult to estimate with precision the value of the dress of the higher orders. That of an ordinary petty chief and his wife, costs about fifty Spanish dollars, or between twelve and thirteen pounds sterling, including the *siri* box, which is a necessary appendage. The *siri* box of the man is termed *epok*, that of the woman *chepúri*.

Neither men nor women cut their hair, but allow it to grow to its natural length: in this they differ from the *Maláyus* and *Búgis*, who always wear it short. The men, except on particular occasions, gather it up on the crown of the head, twist it round, and fasten it by means of a semicircular tortoiseshell comb fixed in front; but among the higher classes, it is considered a mark of the greatest respect to let it flow in curls in the presence of a superior. The princes and chiefs at the native courts usually confine it on the neck, and allow it to descend down the back in large curls; but in *Chéribon* and the *Súnda* districts, the chiefs, on occasionsof ceremony, let their locks flow in curls and ringlets loose over their shoulders. The women confine their hair by gathering and twisting it into one large *glúng* or knot at the back of the head, in the manner of performing which there are several modes, distinguished by as many names. The short down encircling the forehead is sometimes cut or shaved, to give the brow a better defined appearance when the hair is combed back, and on particular occasions the fine hair in the same place, which is too short to be combed back and gathered in the knot, is turned in small curls like a fringe. All classes, both of men and women, apply oils to their hair. The women

frequently use scents in dressing it, and on state days ornament it with a great variety of flowers, diamond-headed pins, and other jewellery. Both sexes perfume their persons with different species of fragrant oils, as the *láng'a chandána* (sandal-wood oil), *láng'a kanáng'a*, *láng'a gáru*, *l'ang'a gandapúra*, and *láng'a jerú*, and adorn the skin with a variety of powders called *bóré;* as the *bóré kúning* (yellow powder), *bóré érang* (black), *boré sári*, and *boré k'lambak*. To these may be added the general use of musk, termed by them *dédes*. In the houses of the higher orders, *dúpa* or incense of benjamin, and other odoriferous gums, is generally burnt.

The priests generally dress in white, and imitate the turbans of the Arabs.

Such is the ordinary costume of the bulk of the population, as it is usually seen in all that part of the island peculiarly called Java. In the western or *Súnda* districts, the common people are by no means so well supplied with articles of dress as in the eastern. They are often seen with little or no covering, beyond a piece of very coarse cloth tied round the waist. The Regents or chiefs of provinces in these districts generally wear, when on public duty with the officers of the European government, a velvet cap ornamented with gold lace, differing in fashion in each province, but usually calculated to shade the face from the direct rays of the sun. In the eastern districts the chiefs, on similar occasions, wear the cap called *kúluk*, which will be more particularly mentioned as part of the court dress.

Besides what may be thus termed the ordinary dress, two grand distinctions are noticed in the costume of the Javans: these are the war dress and the court dress.* The former consists of *chelána* or pantaloons, buttoned from the hip down to the ancles; *the kátok*, short kilt or petticoat of coloured silk or fine cotton, descending just below the knee; and the *ámben* or girth, rolled tightly round the body seven or eight times, like a military sash, and securing the whole body from below the arms to the hips: this is made either of silk or very fine cotton. Over this is drawn a tight vest without buttons, termed *sángsang*, and over this again the ordinary vest or *kótan* with buttons, buttoning close round the body and neck, the *síkapan* or jacket being worn over the whole. The *túdung*, or shade for the face, is usually worn on this occasion, as well as shoes or sandals. The *ang'ger* or sword belt, which goes round the waist, also forms an essential part

* See Plates.

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A Javan in the War dress.

part of the war dress, in which the *pedáng* or sword is suspended on the left side. Three *kríses* are usually worn in the waist on these occasions, one on each side and the other behind. These consist of the *krís* which the wearer particularly calls his own, the *krís* which has descended to him from his ancestors, and the *krís* which he may have received on his marriage from his wife's father. The latter is often placed on the left side for immediate use. This dress is worn in going into the field of battle, on which occasion it is the custom to appear in the richest attire their means admit, and to wear the rings and the other valuable jewels or trinkets which they possess.

In the court or full dress, the shoulders, arms, and body down to the waist, are entirely bare; the drapery descending from the loins downwards, *chelána*, and what may be worn on the head, being the only covering. When a subject, whatever be his rank or family, approaches his prince, he must wear *chelána* or pantaloons of coloured silk or of fine cotton, without buttons; and instead of the *járit* or ordinary cloth, he must wear the *dódot*, a cloth which is of nearly double the dimensions. This is put on, however, nearly in the same manner as the *járit*, but so as not to descend on the right side further than just below the knee, while on the left it falls in a rich drapery, until it touches the ground in a point. The *sábuk* or waistband must be of gold lace, the fringed ends of which usually hang down a few inches, and the party must only wear one *krís*, which is tucked in the waistband on the right side behind, while on the left he wears a weapon, or rather implement, called a *wédung*, in the shape of a chopper, together with a small knife, indicative of his readiness to cut down trees and grass at the order of his sovereign. On his head he must wear a peculiar kind of cap (*kuluk*), said to have been introduced by the Sultan *Pájang* in imitation of the scull cap of the Arabs; it is made of fine cloth, and either white or light blue, stiffened with rich starch: on more ordinary occasions, and generally, except in full dress, the chiefs prefer a cap of the same form made of black velvet, ornamented with gold, and sometimes a diamond on the crown. The part of the body which is left uncovered is generally rubbed over with white or yellow powder. The sovereign himself is usually habited in the same manner on state occasions, his body and arms being covered with a bright yellow powder. When women approach the sovereign, besides having their hair ornamented with diamonds and flowers, they must wear a *sémbong* or sash round the waist, which is generally of yellow silk

with red at the two ends. It is brought once round the body from behind, and the long ends are allowed to descend towards the ground, one over each hip.

Since the loss of the *makóta*, or golden crown of *Majapáhit*, which disappeared on the banishment of *Susúnan Mangkúrat*, both the *Susúnan* and *Sultan*, on public occasions, when they have to meet the European authorities, wear a velvet hat or cap of a particular fashion, somewhat different at each court; that of the *Susúnan* resembling what is distinguished by the term of the Madúra hat in consequence of its being still worn by the Madúra family, and that of the Sultan having a golden *garúda* affixed at the back, and two wings of gold extending from behind the ears. They both wear breeches, stockings, and buckles, after the European fashion.

The *jámang* or golden plate, which was worn over the forehead, as well as a variety of golden ornaments round the neck and arms, and which formerly formed the most splendid part of the costume, are now disused; except at marriages, or in dramatic or other entertainments, when the ancient costume of the country is exhibited in all its rich and gorgeous variety.

The following picture of a Javan beauty, taken from one of the most popular poems of the country, will serve better than any description of mine, to place before the reader the standard of female elegance and perfection in the island, and to convey an accurate idea of the personal decorations on nuptial occasions, in dances and dramatic exhibitions; it will at the same time afford a representation of what may be considered to have formed the full dress of a female of distinction, before the innovations of Mahometanism and the partial introduction of the European fashions. The extravagant genius of eastern poetry may perhaps be best employed in pourtraying such fantastic images, or celebrating such extraordinary tastes.

"Her face was fair and bright as the moon, and it expressed all that "was lovely. The beauty of *Ráden Pútri* far excelled even that of the "*widadári Dewi Ráti*: she shone bright even in the dark, and she was "without defect or blemish.

"So clear and striking was her brightness, that it flashed to the sky "as she was gazed at: the lustre of the sun was even dimmed in her "presence, for she seemed to have stolen from him his refulgence. So "much did she excel in beauty, that it is impossible to describe it.

"Her

A Javan in the Court dress

" Her shape and form were nothing wanting, and her hair when " loosened hung down to her feet, waving in dark curls: the short " front hairs were turned with regularity as a fringe, her forehead " resembling the *chéndána* stone. Her eyebrows were like two leaves " of the *ímbo* tree; the outer angle of the eye acute and slightly " extended; the ball of the eye full, and the upper eyelash slightly " curling upwards.

" Tears seemed floating in her eye, but started not. Her nose " was sharp and pointed; her teeth black as the *kómbàng*; her lips " the colour of the newly cut *mangústin* shell. Her teeth regular and " brilliant; her cheeks in shape like the fruit of the *dúren*; the " lower part of the cheek slightly protruding. Her ears in beauty " like the *giánti* flowers, and her neck like unto the young and grace- " ful *gádung* leaf.

" Her shoulders even, like the balance of golden scales; her chest " open and full; her breasts like ivory, perfectly round and inclining " to each other. Her arms ductile as a bow; her fingers long and " pliant, and tapering like thorns of the forest. Her nails like " pearls; her skin bright yellow; her waist formed like the *pátram* " when drawn from its sheath; her hips as the reversed *límas* leaf.

" Like unto the *púdak* flower when hanging down its head, was the " shape of her leg; her foot flat with the ground; her gait gentle " and majestic like that of the elephant. Thus beautiful in person, " she was clothed with a *chíndi patóla* of a green colour, fastened " round the waist with a golden *lúlut* or cestus: her outer garment " being of the *méga mendúng* (*dark clouded*) pattern. Her *kémban* " (*upper garment*) was of the pattern *jing'gomosi*, edged with lace of " gold; on her finger she wore a ring, the production of the sea, " and her ear-rings were of the pattern *nóto bróngto*.

" On the front of the ear-studs were displayed the beauties of the " *segára múnchar* pattern (*emeralds encircled by rubies and diamonds*), " and she bound up her hair in the first fashion, fastening it with the " *glúng* (*knot*) *bobokóran*, and decorating it with the green *champáka* " flower, and also with the *gámbir*, *meláti*, and *mínor* flowers; and in " the centre of it she fixed a golden pin, with a red jewel on the top, " and a golden flower ornamented with emeralds. Her necklace was " composed of seven kinds of precious stones, and most brilliant to

" behold;

" behold; and she was highly perfumed, without it being possible to " discover from whence the scent was produced.

" Her *jámang* (*tiara or head ornament*) was of the fashion *sódo sáler* " and richly chased; her bracelets were of the pattern *glang-kána*, " and suited the *jámang*. Thus was the beauty of her person height- " ened and adorned by the splendour of her dress."

To this we may add, from one of the popular versions of the work called *Jáya Langkára*, the notions which the Javans have of the virtues, beauties, and dress, that should adorn a young man of family.

" In a youth of noble birth there are seven points which should " strike the observer, and these are indispensible. In the first place, " he should be of good descent; in the second, he should possess " understanding; in the third, he should know how to conduct him- " self. In the fourth place, he should recollect what he learns in the " *sástras*; in the fifth, his views must be enlarged; in the sixth, he " must be religious; in the seventh, he must exert the qualifications " he possesses unhesitatingly. These are the seven points which must " strike the immediate attention of the observer.

" In his heart and mind he must be quiet and tranquil. He should " be able to repress his inclinations, and to be silent when necessary: " never should he on any account tell a falsehood. He should not " think long concerning property, neither should he fear death: in his " devotions he should be free from pride, and he should relieve the " distressed.

" It should be observed by all, that whatever he undertakes is " quickly executed. He should quietly penetrate other men's thoughts " and intentions; his inquiries should be discreet, intelligent, and " active. Whenever he meets with an able man, he should attach " himself to him as a friend, and never leave him till he has drawn all " his knowledge from him; and in whatever he does, his actions " should be rather what is generally approved, than the result of his " mere will.

" As long as he lives he must continue to thirst after more know- " ledge; and he must constantly guard his own conduct, that men may " not say it is bad. His recollection should be clear and distinct, his

" speech

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A Madurese. of the rank of Mantri.

" speech mild and gentle; so that people's hearts may be softened, and " possessing these qualifications his dependants may praisehim.

" His appearance and stature should not be deficient. The light " of his countenance should be sweet, like that of *Batára Asmára* (*the* " *god of love*) when he descends to the earth. When men look upon " him, they should be struck with the idea, 'how great would he not " 'be in war?' In the form of his body no part should be ill shaped. " His skin should be like unto virgin gold before it has undergone the " process of fire; his head rather large; his hair straight and long. " His eyes watery and ready to overflow; his brows like the *ímbo* leaf; " his eyelash like the *tánjung* flower; his nose sharp and prominent, " with but little hair above the upper lip; his lips like the newly cut " *mangústin* shell; his teeth as if painted, shining and black like the " *kómbang*; his breast and shoulders wide.

" A bright circle should irradiate his face and breast, and he should " stand unrivalled. Whatever he says should make an impression on " all who hear him, and his speech should be playful and agreeable.

" He should wear the *chelána chíndi*, with a dark green *dódot* of the " pattern *gádong-eng'úkup*; his sash of golden lace. His *krís* should " have the sheath of the *sátrian* fashion, and the handle should " be that of *túng'gáksmi*. The *súmping* (*an imitation of flowers or* " *leaves which hang over the ear*) should be of gold, and of the " fashion *súreng páti* (*brave to death*); and on his right thumb (*pal-* " *gúna*) he should at the same time wear a golden ring."

In common with the Sumatrans, and other inhabitants of the Archipelago and southern part of the peninsula, both sexes of all ranks have the custom of filing and blackening the teeth, it being considered as disgraceful to allow them to remain " white like a dog's." The operation is performed when the children are about eight or nine years of age and is a very painful one. The object is to make the front teeth concave, and by filing away the enamel, to render them better adapted for receiving the black dye. This extraordinary and barbarous custom tends to destroy the teeth at an early age, and with the use of tobacco, *síri*, and lime, which are continually chewed, generally greatly disfigures the mouth. The Javans, however, do not file away the teeth so much as is usual with some of the other islanders; nor do they set them in gold, as is the case with the Sumatrans. Neither do

do they distend the lobe of the ear, to that enormous extent practised on *Báli* and elsewhere, and which is observed in the representations of *Búdh*. This has been discontinued since the introduction of Mahometanism.

Food. Compared with the western Asiatics, the Javans have but few prejudices regarding food. They are Mahometans, and consequently abstain rigidly from swine's flesh, and commonly from inebriating liquors; and some few families, from the remains of a superstition which has descended to them from their Hindu ancestors, will not eat of the flesh of the bull or cow; but with these exceptions, there are few articles which come amiss to them. They live principally upon vegetable food, and rice is on Java, what it is throughout Asia, the chief article of subsistence; but fish, flesh, and fowl are likewise daily served up at their meals, according to the circumstances of the parties. With fish they are abundantly supplied; and what cannot be consumed while fresh, is salted, or dried, and conveyed into the inland provinces. They do not eat of the turtle nor other amphibious animals, but none of the fish known to Europeans are objected to by them. The flesh of the buffalo, the ox, the deer, the goat, and various kinds of poultry, are daily exposed for sale in their markets, and are of very general consumption. The flesh of the horse is also highly esteemed by the common people; but the killing of horses for food is generally prohibited, except when maimed or diseased. The hide of the buffalo is cut into slices, soaked, and fried as a favourite dish. The flesh of the deer, dried and smoked, is well known throughout the Malayan Archipelago, under the term *dínding*, and is an article in high request on Java.

The dairy forms no part of domestic economy of Java, neither milk itself nor any preparation from it, being prized or used by the natives: a circumstance very remarkable, considering that they were undoubtedly Hindus at one period of their history; and that, if so essential an article of food had once been introduced, it is probable it would always have been cherished. No good reason seems to be assigned for their indifference to milk; except perhaps the essential one, that the cows of Java afford but a very scanty supply of that secretion. The udder of a Jávan cow is sometimes not larger than that of a sheep, and seems to afford but a bare subsistence for the calf; yet the buffalo gives a larger quantity, and butter or *ghee* might equally be prepared from it. The cows of the Indian breed are distinguished by a hump between the shoulders and a larger udder; and it has been found that the secretion of milk can be increased, as it is observed that where particular

particular care has been taken by Europeans even of the Javan cows, they have in a short time afforded double the usual quantity. It has been conjectured, that on the introduction of the Indian breed by the Hindu colonists, the use of milk was forbidden, in order that the number of cattle might more rapidly increase; but the Javans have no tradition to this effect. It is however remarkable, that an absolute aversion to this aliment exists on that part of the continent of Asia, in which many popular usages are found similar to those of the east insular nations. In a recent publication it is stated of the people between Siam and China, who are not by the by very nice in what they eat, "qu'ils ne se permettent pas le lait des animaux, et "qu'ils ont pour cette boisson la répugnance que peut inspirer la boisson du "sang. Cette répugnance va même jusqu'à exclure du nombre de ses "alimens le beurre et le fromage."*

Salt is obtained in abundance throughout every part of the island, but being manufactured on the coast, is proportionally higher in price in the inland districts. The sugar used by the natives is not prepared from the sugar-cane, but from the *áren* and other palms. It is manufactured by the simple process of boiling down the *tári*, or liquor which exudes from these trees, which are tapped for the purpose.

None of the palms of Java furnish the worms which are employed for food in other eastern countries, but similar worms are found in various kinds of *rótan*, *sólak*, &c. which are considered as dainties, not only by the natives but by the Chinese and by some Europeans: they are called *géndon*. Worms of various species, but all equally esteemed as articles of food, are found in the teak and other trees. White ants, in their different states, are one of the most common articles of food in particular districts: they are collected in different ways, and sold generally in the public markets. Their extensive nests are opened to take out the chrysalis; or they are watched, and swarms of the perfect insect are conducted into basins or trays containing a little water, where they soon perish: they are called *láron*.

The cooking utensils are, as might be supposed, of the most simple kind, and either of coarse pottery or copper. Rice, after several poundings in a trough or mortar, is generally dressed by steam, though not unfrequently boiled in a small quantity of water. In the former case, it is remarkable for its whiteness and consistency when dressed; and in this state it is publicly exposed for sale in the markets and along the high roads. Indian corn is Cooking.

* Exposé Statistique du Tonquin, etc. vol. i, p. 126.

usually roasted in the ear, and offered for sale in the same manner. Other aliments are for the most part prepared in the manner of curry, termed by the *Maláyus gúlai:* of these they have almost an endless variety, distinguished according to the principal ingredients. Besides what may be considered as the principal dishes, they excel in a variety of preparations of pastry and sweetmeats (particularly of the *kétan*), of which many are by no means unpleasant to an European palate. They are fond of colouring their pastry, as well as other articles of their food. They occasionally make their rice yellow and brown, and even turn their boiled eggs red for variety.

Black pepper, as among the *Maláyus*, is scarcely ever used, on account of its supposed heating quality. The most common seasoning employed to give a relish to their insipid food, is the *lombok;* triturated with salt, it is called *sámbel*, both by the *Maláyus* and Javans, and this condiment is indispensible and universal. It is of different kinds, according to the substances added to increase or diversify its strength or pungency; the most common addition is *trási*, denominated by the *Maláyus*, *bláchang*. The name *lálab* is given to various leaves and kernels, mostly eaten raw with rice and *sámbel:* many of these substances possess a pungency and odour intolerable to Europeans. If several vegetables are mixed together, and prepared by boiling, they constitute what is called *jang'an*, or greens for the table, of which there are several distinctions. The various legumes are of great importance in the diet of the natives. *Padomóro*, *pín'dang*, and *semúr*, are dishes to which the flesh of the buffalo or fowls is added, and which resemble the Indian curry. *Rújak* is prepared from unripe mangos and other fruits, which, being grated, receive the addition of capsicum and other spices, and thus constitutes a favourite dish with the natives, though very disagreeable to Europeans.

The Chinese prepare from the *gédelé* a species of soy, somewhat inferior to that brought from Japan. The *káchang-iju* is highly useful as a general article of diet, and is a good substitute for various legumes, which form the common nourishment of the continental Indians: it contains much farinaceous matter. *Trási* or *bláchang* is prepared in many situations along the northern coast, but is mostly required for the consumption of the interior. It is prepared from prawns or shrimps, and extensive fisheries for the purpose are established in many parts of the coast. The shrimps being taken are strewed with salt, and exposed to the sun till dry; they are then pounded

in

in wooden mortars, dressed, and formed into masses resembling large cheeses; in this state they constitute an article of trade, and are distributed through the country. The putrescent fluid remaining after the expression strongly impregnated with the odour of the shrimps, is evaporated to the consistence of a jelly, and affords a favourite sauce called *pétis*. An inferior kind of *trási* is prepared from small fish, and, when made into the form of small balls, is called *blények*. *Trási blúro* is of a reddish colour, and much esteemed at the native capitals. Another kind of *pétis* is prepared from the flesh of the buffalo, chiefly in the interior districts.

Salted eggs are also an important article in the diet of the Javans. The eggs of ducks being most abundant, are chiefly preserved in this way. The eggs are enveloped in a thick covering made of a mixture of salt and ashes in equal parts, or salt and pounded bricks, and being wrapped each in a large leaf, they are placed on one another in a tub, or large earthen vessel. In ten days they are fit for use; but they are generally kept longer in the mixture, and, being thoroughly impregnated with salt, can be kept many months. In some districts, the eggs of the Muscovy duck are particularly employed for the purpose.

In preparing their food, the Javans may be considered to observe the same degree of cleanliness which is usual with Asiatics in general; and in point of indulgence of appetite, they may be, perhaps, placed about midway between the abstemious Hindu and the unscrupulous Chinese. In a country where vegetation is luxuriant, and cultivation is already considerably advanced, it follows that there must be an abundant supply for a people who subsist principally on vegetable productions; and it may be asserted, that, except where the manifest oppressions of government, or the effects of civil discord, for the moment deprive the labourer of his just reward, there are few countries where the mass of the population are so well fed as on Java. There are few of the natives who cannot obtain their *káti*, or pound and a quarter of rice a day, with fish, greens, and salt, if not other articles, to season their meal. Where rice is less abundant, its place is supplied by maize or Indian corn, or the variety of beans which are cultivated; and even should a family be driven into the woods, they would still be able to obtain a bare subsistence from the numerous nutritious roots, shoots, and leaves, with which the forests abound. Famine is unknown; and although partial failures of the crop may occur, they are seldom so extensive as to be generally felt by the whole community. Thus

abundantly supplied, the Javans seem by no means inclined to reject the bounties of Providence: they are always willing to partake of a hearty meal, and seldom have occasion to make a scanty one. Yet among them a glutton is a term of reproach, and to be notoriously fond of good living is sufficient to attach this epithet to any one.

Meals. The Javans, except where respect to Europeans dictates a different practice, eat their meals off the ground. A mat kept for the purpose is laid on the floor, which, when the meal is over, is again carefully rolled up, with the same regularity as the table-cloth in Europe; and a plate of rice being served up to each person present, the whole family or party sit down to partake of the meal in a social manner. A principal dish, containing the *sámbel*, *jángan*, or other more highly seasoned preparation, is then handed round, or placed in the centre of the company, from which each person adds what he thinks proper to the allowance of rice before him.

Water is the principal and almost exclusive beverage, and, among people of condition, it is invariably boiled first, and generally drunk warm. Some are in the habit of flavouring the water with cinnamon and other spices; but tea, when it can be procured, is drunk by all classes at intervals during the day.

On occasions of festivals and parties, when many of the chiefs are assembled, the dishes are extremely numerous and crowded; and hospitality being a virtue which the Javans carry almost to an excess, due care is taken that the dependants and retainers are also duly provided for. These, particularly in the highlands of the *Súnda* districts, where the people are furthest removed from foreign intercourse, and the native manners are consequently better preserved, are arranged in rows at intervals, according to their respective ranks; the first in order sitting at the bottom of the hall, and the lowest at some distance without, where each is carefully supplied with a bountiful proportion of the feast: thus exhibiting, in the mountainous districts of Java, an example of rude hospitality, and union of the different gradations of society in the same company, similar to that which prevailed in the Highlands of Scotland some centuries ago, where, it is said, "those of inferior description were, nevertheless, consi-" dered as guests, and had their share, both of the entertainment and of " the good cheer of the day."

It is at these parties that the chiefs sometimes indulge in intoxicating liquors, but the practice is not general; and the use of wine, which has been

been introduced among them by the Dutch, is in most instances rather resorted to from respect to Europeans, than from any attachment to the bottle.

The Javans have universally two meals in the day; one just before noon, and one between seven and eight o'clock in the evening: the former, which is the principal meal, corresponding with the European dinner, and distinguished by the term *mángán-áwan*, or the day meal; the latter, termed *mángán wéngé*, or evening meal. They have no regular meal corresponding with the European breakfast; but those who go abroad early in the morning, usually partake of a basin of coffee and some rice cakes before they quit their homes, or purchase something of the kind at one of the numerous *wárongs*, or stalls, which line the public roads, and are to the common people as so many coffee or eating-houses would be to the European; rice, coffee, cakes, boiled rice, soups, ready dressed meats and vegetables, being at all times exposed in them. What is thus taken by the Javans in the morning to break the fast, is considered as a whet, and termed *sarap*.

By the custom of the country, good food and lodging are ordered to be provided for all strangers and travellers arriving at a village; and in no country are the rights of hospitality more strictly enjoined by institutions, or more conscientiously and religiously observed by custom and practice. "It is not sufficient," say the Javan institutions, "that a man should place "good food before his guest; he is bound to do more: he should render "the meal palatable by kind words and treatment, to soothe him after his "journey, and to make his heart glad while he partakes of the refreshment." This is called *bójo krómo*, or real hospitality.

The chewing of betel-leaf (*síri*), and the areka-nut (*pínang*), as well as of tobacco (*tambáko*), and *gámbir*, is common to all classes. The *síri* and *pínang* are used much in the same manner as by the natives of India in general. These stimulants are considered nearly as essential to their comfort, as salt is among Europeans. The commonest labourer contrives to procure at least tobacco, and generally *síri*; and if he cannot afford a *síri* box, a small supply will be usually found in the corner of his handkerchief. Cardamums and cloves compose part of the articles in the *síri* box of a person of condition. Siri, or betel.

The inhabitants of Java, as a nation, must be accounted sober; although Europeans, in order to serve their own purposes, by inducing some of the chiefs Fermented liquors.

chiefs to drink wine to excess, have succeeded, to a certain extent, in corrupting the habits of some individuals in this respect. Two kinds of fermented liquor are however prepared by the Javans, called *bádek* and *bróm*: the former from rice; the latter almost exclusively from *kétan* or glutinous rice. In making *bádek*, the rice previously boiled is stewed with a ferment called *rági*, consisting of onions, black pepper, and capsicum, and mixed up into small cakes, which are daily sold in the markets. After frequent stirring, the mixture is rolled into balls, which are piled upon each other in a high earthen vessel, and when fermentation has commenced the *bádek* exudes and is collected at the bottom. The remaining rice, strongly impregnated with the odour of fermentation, has a sweetish taste, and is daily offered for sale in the markets as a dainty, under the name of *tapé*. *Bádek* is, in comparison with *bróm*, a simple liquor, producing only slight intoxication: it is often administered to children to dislodge worms from the intestines. In making *bróm*, the *kétan* is boiled in large quantities, and being stewed with *rági*, remains exposed in open tubs till fermentation takes place, when the liquor is poured off into close earthen vessels. It is generally buried in the earth for several months, by which the process of fermentation is checked and the strength of the liquor increased: sometimes it is concentrated by boiling. The colour is brown, red, or yellow, according to the kind of *kétan* employed. *Bróm*, which has been preserved for several years, is highly esteemed among the natives, constituting a powerful spirit, which causes violent intoxication followed by severe head ache in persons not accustomed to its use. The substance that remains after separation is a deadly poison to fowls, dogs, and various other animals. Arrack is prepared by distillation: an inferior kind, made in a more simple and economical manner, is called *chiu*. Both are prepared by the Chinese, and a particular account of the method employed will be found under another head.* A kind of small beer is made at *Súra-kérta* in a mode similar to the European process of brewing, by exciting fermentation in a solution of Javan sugar, with several spices and the leaves of the *pári* instead of hops. When fresh, the liquor is sprightly, and not unpleasant to the taste; but it cannot be preserved longer than four or five days.

Opium. The use of opium, it must be confessed and lamented, has struck deep into the habits, and extended its malignant influence to the morals of the people, and is likely to perpetuate its power in degrading their character and

* Chap. IV, Manufactures.

and enervating their energies, as long as the European government, overlooking every consideration of policy and humanity, shall allow a paltry addition to their finances to outweigh all regard to the ultimate happiness and prosperity of the country. It is either eaten in its crude state as *mánta*, or smoked as *mádat* or *chándu*. In the preparation of *mádat*, the crude opium is boiled down with the leaves of tobacco, *síri*, or the like, and used in a sticky or somewhat liquid state. In *chándu*, the opium is merely boiled down without any admixture, to a still thicker consistency, and rolled into small balls or pills, in which state, when dry, they are inserted into *bámbus*, and thus smoked. The crude opium is eaten principally by the people in the interior of the country, in the provinces of the native princes: the opium prepared for smoking is used along the coast, and generally in the other islands of the Archipelago; it is prepared by the Chinese. The use of opium, however, though carried to a considerable extent, is still reckoned disgraceful, and persons addicted to it are looked upon as abandoned characters, and despised accordingly. The effects of this poison on the human frame are so well described by the Dutch commissioners who sat at the Hague in 1803, and who much to their honour declared, "that "no consideration of pecuniary advantage ought to weigh with the Euro- "pean government in allowing its use," that together with the opinion of Mr. Hogendorp, who concurred with them, I shall insert their statement here. The wish to do justice to authorities, whose views were so creditable to their country and their own character, and the importance of their opinion to an extensive population, will plead an apology for the length of the extract which I now present.

"The opium trade," observe the Commissioners, "requires likewise "attention. The English in Bengal have assumed an exclusive right to "collect the same, and they dispose of a considerable number of chests "containing that article annually at Calcutta by public auction. It is "much in demand on the Malay coast, at Sumatra, Java, and all the "islands towards the east and north, and particularly in China, although "the use thereof is confined to the lower classes. The effect which it "produces on the constitution is different, and depends on the quantity "that is taken, or on other circumstances. If used with moderation, it "causes a pleasant, yet always somewhat intoxicating sensation, which "absorbs all care and anxiety. If a large quantity is taken, it produces a "kind of madness, of which the effects are dreadful, especially when the

"mind

" mind is troubled by jealousy, or inflamed with a desire of vengeance or " other violent passions. At all times it leaves a slow poison, which under- " mines the faculty of the soul and the constitution of the body, and " renders a person unfit for all kind of labour and an image of the brute " creation. The use of opium is so much more dangerous, because a " person who is once addicted to it can never leave it off. To satisfy that " inclination, he will sacrifice every thing, his own welfare, the subsistence " of his wife and children, and neglect his work. Poverty is the natural " consequence, and then it becomes indifferent to him by what means he " may content his insatiable desire after opium; so that, at last, he no " longer respects either the property or life of his fellow creature.

" If here we were to follow the dictates of our own heart only, and " what moral doctrine and humanity prescribe, no law, however severe, " could be contrived, which we would not propose, to prevent at least that " in future, no subjects of this Republic, or of the Asiatic possessions of " the state, should be disgraced by trading in that abominable poison. " Yet we consider this as absolutely impracticable at present with respect " to those places not subject to the state. Opium is one of the most " profitable articles of eastern commerce: as such it is considered by our " merchants; and if the navigation to those parts is opened to them (which " the interest of the state forcibly urges), it is impossible to oppose " trading in the same. In this situation of affairs, therefore, we are rather " to advise, that general leave be given to import opium at Malacca, and " to allow the exportation from thence to Borneo and all the eastern parts " *not* in the possession of the state."

" Opium," says Mr. Hogendorp, " is a slow though certain poison, " which the Company, in order to gain money, sells to the poor Javans. " Any one who is once enslaved to it, cannot, it is true, give it up without " great difficulty; and if its use were entirely prohibited, some few per- " sons would probably die for want of it, who would otherwise languish " on a little longer: but how many would by that means be saved for " the future. Most of the crimes, particularly murders, that are now " committed, may be imputed to opium as the original cause.

" Large sums of money are every year carried out of the country in " exchange for it, and enrich our competitors, the English. Much of it " is smuggled into the interior, which adds to the evil. In short, the " trade in opium is one of the most injurious and most shameful things

" which

" which disgrace the present government of India. It is therefore neces-
" sary at once, and entirely, to abolish the trade and importation of opium,
" and to prohibit the same, under the severest penalties that the law
" permits, since it is a poison. The smuggling of it will then become
" almost impracticable, and the health, and even the lives of thousands,
" will be preserved. The money alone which will remain in the country
" in lieu of it, is more valuable as being in circulation, than the profit
" which the Company now derives from the sale of it.

" This measure will excite no discontent among the Javans, for the
" princes and regents, with very few exceptions, do not consume any
" opium, but, as well as the most respectable of their subjects, look upon
" it as disgraceful. The use of opium is even adduced as an accusation of
" bad conduct, and considered as sufficient cause for the removal or banish-
" ment of a petty chief."

CHAPTER III.

Importance of Agriculture to Java.—Soil.—State of the Peasantry.—Price of Rice.—Subsistence of the Peasantry.—Dwelling.—Agricultural Stock.—Implements of Farming.—Seasons.—Different Kinds of Land.—Rice Cultivation.—Maize, &c.—Sugar.—Coffee.—Pepper.—Indigo.—Cotton.—Tobacco.—Tenure of landed Property.

Importance of agriculture to Java.

THE island of Java is a great agricultural country; its soil is the grand source of its wealth. In its cultivation the inhabitants exert their chief industry, and upon its produce they rely, not only for their subsistence, but the few articles of foreign luxury or convenience which they purchase. The Javans are a nation of husbandmen, and exhibit that simple structure of society incident to such a stage of its progress. To the crop the mechanic looks immediately for his wages, the soldier for his pay, the magistrate for his salary, the priest for his stipend (or *jákat*), and the government for its tribute. The wealth of a province or village is measured, by the extent and fertility of its land, its facilities for rice irrigation, and the number of its buffaloes.

When government wishes to raise supplies from particular districts, it does not enquire how many rupees or dollars it can yield in taxes, but what contribution of rice or maize it can furnish, and the impost is assessed accordingly: the officer of revenue becomes a surveyor of land or a measurer of produce, and the fruits of the harvest are brought immediately into the ways and means of the treasury. When a chief gives his assistance in the police or the magistracy, he is paid by so much village land, or the rent of so much land realized in produce; and a native prince has no other means of pensioning a favourite or rewarding a useful servant. " Be it " known to the high officers of my palace, to my *Bopátis* (regents), and to " my *Mántris (petite noblesse)*," says a Javan patent of nobility granted by Sultan *Hamángku Búana*, " that I have given this letter to my servant to " raise him from the earth, bestowing upon him, for his subsistence, lands

" to

" to the amount of eleven hundred *cháchas*, the labour of eleven hundred " men." By the population returns, and by the number of leases granted under the late settlement, it appears, that sometimes there is not more than a tenth part of the inhabitants employed in any other branch of industry. Out of a population of 243,268 in the *Priáng'en* regencies, 209,125 are stated as employed in agriculture. In *Surabáya*, the proportion of householders who are cultivators, is to the rest of the inhabitants as 32,618 to 634; in *Semárang*, as 58,206 to 21,404; in *Rembang* it is as 103,230 to 55,300; and in other districts there are considerable variations: but it rarely happens, that the people employed in trade, in manufactures, in handicrafts, or other avocations, amount to a half of those engaged in agriculture, or a third of the whole population. The proportion, on an average, may be stated as three and a half or four to one. In England, it is well known, the ratio is reversed, its agricultural population being to its general population as one to three or two and a half. By the surveys lately made under the orders of the British government, we are enabled to describe the processes of Javan agriculture, and to state its results with more accuracy and in greater detail, than can be attained on many subjects of superior public interest. If we avail ourselves of these means prettly largely, it is not so much in the hope of increasing the stock of agricultural knowledge, as of assisting the reader to form an estimate of the character, habits, wants, and resources of the Javan.

Soil.

The soil of Java, though in many parts much neglected, is remarkable for the abundance and variety of its productions. With very little care or exertion on the part of the cultivator, it yields all that the wants of the island demand, and is capable of supplying resources far above any thing that the indolence or ignorance of the people, either oppressed under the despotism of their own sovereigns, or harrassed by the rapacity of strangers, have yet permitted them to enjoy. Lying under a tropical sun, it produces, as before observed, all the fruits of a tropical climate; while, in many districts, its mountains and eminences make up for the difference of latitude, and give it, though only a few degrees from the line, all the advantages of temperate regions. The *bámbu*, the cocoa-nut tree, the sugar-cane, the cotton tree, and the coffee plant, here flourish in the greatest luxuriance, and yield products of the best quality. Rice, the great staple of subsistence, covers the slopes of mountains and the low fields, and gives a return of thirty, forty, or fifty fold; while maize, or even wheat and rye, and the other plants of Europe, may be cultivated to advantage on

high and inland situations. Such is the fertility of the soil, that in some places after yielding two, and sometimes three crops in the year, it is not necessary even to change the culture. Water, which is so much wanted, and which is seldom found in requisite abundance in tropical regions, here flows in the greatest plenty. The cultivator who has prepared his *sáwah*, or rice field, within its reach, diverts part of it from its channel, spreads it out into numerous canals of irrigation, and thus procures from it, under a scorching sun, the verdure of the rainy season, and in due time a plentiful harvest. Nothing can be conceived more beautiful to the eye, or more gratifying to the imagination, than the prospect of the rich variety of hill and dale, of rice plantations and fruit trees or forests, of natural streams and artificial currents, which presents itself to the eye in several of the eastern and middle provinces, at some distance from the coast. In some parts of *Kedú*, *Banyumás*, *Semárang*, *Pasúruan*, and *Málang*, it is difficult to say whether the admirer of landscape, or the cultivator of the ground, will be most gratified by the view. The whole country, as seen from mountains of considerable elevation, appears a rich, diversified, and well watered garden, animated with villages, interspersed with the most luxuriant fields, and covered with the freshest verdure.

Over far the greater part, seven-eighths of the island, the soil is either entirely neglected or badly cultivated, and the population scanty. It is by the produce of the remaining eighth that the whole of the nation is supported; and it is probable that, if it were all under cultivation, no area of land of the same extent, in any other quarter of the globe, could exceed it, either in quantity, variety, or value of its vegetable productions. The kind of husbandry in different districts (as shall be mentioned afterwards more particularly) depends upon the nature and elevation of the ground, and the facilities for natural or artificial irrigation. The best lands are those situated in the vallies of the higher districts, or on the slopes of mountains, and on the plains stretching from them, as such lands are continually enriched with accessions of new earth washed down from the hills by the periodical rains. The poorest soil is that found on the ranges of low hills, termed *kéndang*, extending along many districts, and particularly in the southern division of the island; but in no part is it so sterile or ungrateful, as not to afford a liberal return for the labour bestowed upon its cultivation, especially if a supply of water can be by any means directed upon it.

But

State of the peasantry.

But when nature does much for a country, its inhabitants are sometimes contented to do little, and, satisfied with its common gifts, neglect to improve them into the means of dignity or comfort. The peasantry of Java, easily procuring the necessaries of life, seldom aim at improvement of their condition. Rice is the principal food of all classes of the people, and the great staple of their agriculture. Of this necessary article, it is calculated that a labourer can, in ordinary circumstances, earn from four to five *kátis* a day; and a *káti* being equivalent to one pound and a quarter avoirdupois, is reckoned a sufficient allowance for the daily subsistence of an adult in these regions. The labour of the women on Java is estimated almost as highly as that of the men, and thus a married couple can maintain eight or ten persons; and as a family seldom exceeds half that number, they have commonly half of their earnings applicable for the purchase of little comforts, for implements of agriculture, for clothing and lodging. The two last articles cannot be expensive in a country where the children generally go naked, and where the simplest structure possible is sufficient to afford the requisite protection against the elements.

Price of rice.

The price of rice, which thus becomes of importance to the labourer, varies in different parts of the island, according to the fertility of the district where it it produced, its situation with regard to a market, or its distance from one of the numerous provincial capitals. As the means of transport, by which the abundance of one district might be conveyed to supply the deficiencies of another, and to equalize the distribution of the general stock, are few and laborious, this variation of price is sometimes very considerable: even in the same district there are great variations, according to the nature of the crop. In the Native Provinces, a *píkul* (weighing 133⅓ lbs. English) sometimes sells below the fourth part of a Spanish dollar, and at other times for more than two Spanish dollars; but in common years, and at an average over the whole island, including the capital, the estimate may be taken at thirty Spanish dollars the *kóyan* of thirty *píkuls*, or three thousand *kátis*. A *káti* of rice, according to this estimate, may be sold to the consumer, after allowing a sufficient profit to the retail merchant, for much less than a penny.

Subsistence of the peasantry.

But though the price of this common article of subsistence may be of some consequence to the Javan labourer, when he wants to make any purchase with his surplus portion, he is rendered independent of the fluctuations of the market for his necessary food, by the mode in which he procures it.

it. He is generally the cultivator of the soil; and while he admits that law of custom, which assigns to the superior a certain share of the produce, he claims an equal right himself to the remainder, which is generally sufficient to support himself and his family: and he sometimes finds in this law of custom, sanctioned by the interest of both parties, a security in the possession of his lands, and a barrier against the arbitrary exactions of his chief, which could scarcely be expected under the capricious despotism of a Mahometan government. In addition to this reserved share, he raises on his own account, if he is industrious, within what may be termed the cottage farm, all the vegetables, fruit, and poultry requisite for his own consumption. His wife invariably manufactures the slight articles of clothing, which, in such a climate, the common people are in the habit of wearing. What can be spared of the fruits of their joint industry, from the supply of their immediate wants, is carried to market, and exchanged for a little salt fish, dried meat, or for other trifling comforts, hoarded as a store for the purchase of an ox or a buffalo, or expended in procuring materials for repairing the hut and mending the implements of husbandry.

Agricultural stock.

The farming stock of the cultivator is as limited as his wants are few and his cottage inartificial: it usually consists of a pair of buffaloes or oxen, and a few rude implements of husbandry. There is a small proportion of sheep and goats on the island; but, with the exception of poultry, no kind of live stock is reared exclusively either for the butcher or the dairy. By the returns made in 1813 of the stock and cattle of the provinces under the British government, containing a population of nearly two millions and a half, it was found that there were only about five thousand sheep and twenty-four thousand goats. The number of buffaloes, by the same return, and in the same space, was stated at 402,054, and of oxen at 122,691. Horses abound in the island, but are principally employed about the capitals, and not in husbandry, further than in the transport of produce from one district to another.

Buffalo.

The buffalo and ox are used for ploughing. The former is of a smaller size than the buffalo of Sumatra and the peninsula, though larger than that of Bengal and of the islands lying eastward of Java. It is a strong tractable animal, capable of long and continued exertion, but it cannot bear the heat of the mid-day sun. It is shy of Europeans, but submits to be managed by the smallest child of the family in which it is domesticated. The buffalo is either black or white: the former is larger and generally considered

considered superior. In the *Súnda*, or western and mountainous districts, nine out of ten are white, which is not at all the case in the low countries: no essential difference in the breed has been discovered to be connected with this remarkable distinction of colour. The usual price of a buffalo in the western districts is about twenty-four rupees for the black, and twenty rupees for the white; in the eastern districts the price varies from twelve to sixteen rupees. The *Súnda* term for a buffalo is *múnding*; the Javan, *máisa* and *kébo*: and in compliment to *Laléan*, the prince who is supposed to have introduced cultivation into the *Súnda* districts, that prince and his successors on the *Súnda* throne are distinguished by the appellation *Múnding* or *Máisa*. The name of the individual sovereigns enters into a compound with these general terms for the dynasty, and they are called *Máisa-laléan*, *Múnding-sári*, and so of others.

The ox of Java derives his origin from the Indian breed. Two varieties are common: that which is called the Javan ox has considerably degenerated; the other, which is termed the Bengal or Surat ox, is distinguished by a lump on the shoulder, and retains in his superior strength other traces of his origin. The bull after castration is used as a beast of burden, for the draught, and sometimes for the stall. Cows are chiefly employed in husbandry, and are particularly useful to the poorer class; but in the *sáwah* and the extensive inundated plantations of the low districts of the island, the superior bulk and strength of the buffalo is almost indispensable. Eastward of *Pasúruan*, however, the lands are ploughed by oxen and cows exclusively. The wild breed, termed *bánteng*, is found principally in the forests of that quarter and in *Báli*, although it occurs also in other parts; a remarkable change takes place in the appearance of this animal after castration, the colour in a few months invariably becoming red. Ox.

The cows on Java, as well as throughout the Archipelago, remarkably degenerate from those properties, for which, in a state of domestication, they are chiefly prized in other quarters of the world, and afford little or no milk beyond what is barely sufficient for the nourishment of the calf: but the draught ox does not partake of a similar change, and in the central and eastern districts, particularly where the pasture is good, becomes a strong active animal. The degenerate domestic cows are sometimes driven into the forests, to couple with the wild *bánteng*, for the sake of improving the breed. A single pair of oxen, or buffaloes, is found sufficient for the yoke both of the plough and harrow; and these form by far the most expensive

expensive part of the cultivator's stock. The price of a draught ox, in the central and eastern districts, in which they are more generally used in agriculture, varies from eight to sixteen rupees, or from twenty to forty shillings English, and a cow may be purchased for about the same price. Either from the luxuriance of the pasture, the greater care of the husbandman, or a more equal climate, both the buffalo and the ox are usually in better condition on Java than in many parts of India: indeed, those miserable half-starved looking animals, with which some of the provinces of Bengal abound, are never seen in this island, except, perhaps, occasionally, in some of the few herds belonging to Europeans, in the vicinity of Batavia.

Buffaloes, however, more than other domestic animals, are subject to an epidemic disease, the symptoms and nature of which have not been hitherto carefully noted, or satisfactorily explained. It prevails throughout the whole island, and generally re-appears after an interval of three, four, or five years: it makes great ravages in the stock of the peasantry, and is checked in its progress by no remedies which have hitherto been discovered or applied: it is of an infectious nature, and excites great alarm when it appears: it bears different names in different parts of the island. As the bull and cow are not liable to this disease; and as, in addition to this advantage, they are less expensive in their original purchase, they are preferred by many of the natives.

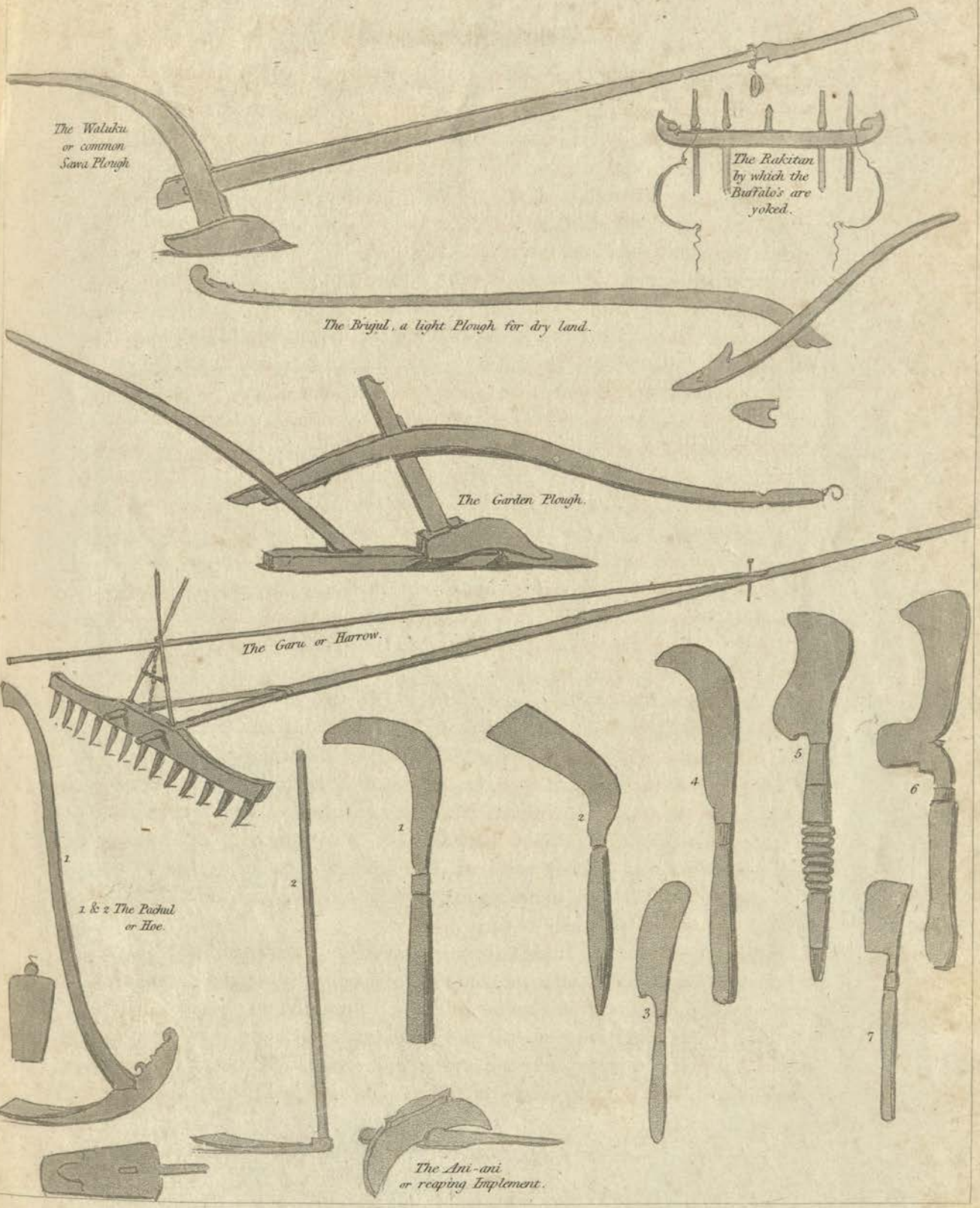
For draught, the buffalo and cow are employed; and for burden, the horse (particularly mares) and the ox. In level districts, and in good roads, the use of the latter is preferred. The usual burden of a horse is rather less than three hundred weight, and that of an ox rather more than four; but in mountainous districts, and where the roads are neglected, one half of this weight is considered as a sufficient, if not an excessive load.

The comparatively higher price of cattle on Java than in Bengal has been accounted for from the demand for them as food, and the absence of extensive commons on which to feed them.

Implements of farming.

When implements of husbandry are mentioned in British agriculture, many expensive instruments and complicated machinery suggest themselves to those acquainted with its practical details. From the preparation of the ground for receiving the seed, till the grain comes into the hands of the miller, labour is economized and produce increased, by many ingenious processes and artful contrivances, of which a Javan could form no conception.

Implements of Husbandry.


The Waluku or common Sawa Plough
The Rakitan by which the Buffalo's are yoked.
The Brujul, a light Plough for dry land.
The Garden Plough.
The Garu or Harrow.
1 & 2 The Pachul or Hoe.
The Ani-ani or reaping Implement.

Knives and reaping Hooks.

1 & 2 Arit.
3 Cayul.
5 Kudi.
6 Luki.

tion. He could form no idea of the fabrication or advantages of our different kinds of ploughs; of our swing ploughs, our wheel ploughs, and our two-furrow ploughs; of our grubbers, cultivators, and other instruments for pulverizing the soil; of our threshing and winnowing machines, and other inventions. A plough of the simplest construction, a harrow, or rather rake, and sometimes a roller, with a *páchul*, or hoe, which answers the purpose of a spade; an *árit*, which serves as a knife or small hatchet; and the *áni áni*, a peculiar instrument used by the reapers, are all the implements employed by him in husbandry;* and the total cost of the whole does not exceed three or four rupees, or from seven to ten shillings.

The plough (*walúku*), in general use for the irrigated land, consists of three parts, the body, beam, and handle. It is generally made of teak wood, where that material can be provided, or otherwise of the most durable that can be found: the yoke only is of *bámbu*. Simple as it is, it appears, both in its construction and durability, superior to the plough of Bengal, as described by Mr. Colebrooke, from which it differs, in having a board cut out of the piece which forms the body, for throwing the earth aside. The point of the body, or sock, is tipped with iron, which in some districts is cast for the purpose. There is another kind, of more simple construction, in use for dry and mountain cultivation: this is termed *brújúl*, and consists of but two parts. Both kinds are so light, that, when the ploughman has performed his morning's work, he throws the plough over his shoulder, and without feeling any inconvenience or fatigue, returns with it to his cottage. For gardens, and for small fields adjoining the villages, the small *lúku china* or Chinese plough, is used with one buffalo: the cost for a good plough seldom exceeds a rupee and a half. The harrow (*gáru*), which is rather a large rake having only a single rough row of teeth, costs about the same sum, and is in like manner made of teak where procurable; except the handle, beam, and yoke, which are of *bámbu*. When used, the person who guides it generally sits upon it, to give it the necessary pressure for levelling or pulverizing the soil.

The *páchul* is a large hoe, which in Java serves every purpose of the spade in Europe, and is consequently, next to the plough, the most important implement in Javan husbandry. The head is of wood tipped with iron; and the handle, which is about two feet and a half long, frequently has a slight curve, which renders it more convenient for use: its price is about half a

 rupee.

* See plate.

rupee. The *árit*, or weeding knife, costs about eight pence; and the *áni áni*, with which the grain is reaped, about three pence. The latter is a small instrument of peculiar shape. The reaper holds it in a particular manner, and crops off with it each separate ear, along with a few inches of the straw. This mode of reaping has been immemorially practised and is universally followed. Some of the most intelligent people being questioned respecting the origin of this operose process answered, that it was reported to have been established in ancient times as a *s'lámat*, or grateful acknowledgment for an abundant harvest; that when his field was covered with the bounty of Ceres, no reaper could refuse her this acknowledgment; and that the religious discharge of this obligation was guarded by the belief, that if he ceased to offer this tribute of his labour at the season of harvest, the field would not continue to yield him the same abundant return.

The lands are ploughed, harrowed, and weeded by the men, who also conduct the whole process of irrigation; but the labour of transplanting, reaping, and (where cattle are not used for the purpose) of transporting the different crops from the field to the village, or from the village to the market, devolves upon the women.

Seasons. Besides the two general divisions of the year, marked out by nature in the great changes of the earth and the atmosphere, there are other periodical distinctions, depending on less obvious or more irregular phenomena. These variations have been ascertained by a reference to the course of the heavenly bodies, or the calculations of the *wúku*, which are described in another part of this work. It is the office of the village priest to keep this reckoning, and to apprize the cultivators when the term approaches for the commencement of the different operations of husbandry. Of these minor seasons of the year, the first, commencing after the rice harvest which falls in August or September, lasts forty-one days. During this season, the leaves fall from the trees, vegetation is interrupted, and the only field labour performed is the burning of grass and vegetables, as a preparation of the *tégal* or *gágas*. In the second season, which lasts twenty-five days, vegetation again resumes its vigour. The third, which lasts twenty-four days, is considered the most proper for planting sweet potatoes, yams, and such other vegetables as usually form the second crop; the wild flowers of the forest are now in blossom, and the period of what is termed dry cultivation commences. The fourth, which lasts also twenty-four days, is the natural season for the pairing of wild animals: high winds now prevail, the rains descend, and the

the rivers begin to rise. During the fifth, which lasts twenty-six days, the implements of husbandry are prepared, and the water courses examined and renewed: this is the commencement of the wet cultivation. In the sixth season the ploughing of the *sáwahs* and sowing of the *bibit* for the great rice crop takes place: this season lasts forty-one days. In the seventh, which also lasts forty-one days, *pári* is transplanted into fields, and the courses of the water properly directed. In the eighth, which lasts twenty-six days, the plants shoot above the water and begin to blossom. In the ninth season, which consists of twenty-five days, the ears of the grain form. In the tenth, also consisting of twenty-five days, they ripen and turn yellow. The eleventh, which lasts twenty-six days, is the period for reaping; and in the twelfth, which consists of forty-one days, the harvest is completed, the produce gathered in, and that dry clear weather prevails, in which the days are the hottest and the nights the coldest of the whole year. The accurate assignment of the number of days by the natives themselves to the different operations of husbandry, affords such complete information on this interesting subject, that any further account would be superfluous. It may, however, be proper to observe, that the periods above described chiefly refer to the progress of the principal rice crop, as influenced by the annual rains; but there are many lands rendered quite independent of these rains, by the vicinity of streams which afford a plentiful supply of water at all times of the year. In many favoured situations, it is even common to observe at one view the rice fields in almost every stage of their cultivation; in one, the women engaged in planting the newly prepared soil, and in another, the reapers employed in collecting the fruits of the harvest.

Different kinds of lands.

Lands in Java are classed under two general divisions; lands which are capable of being inundated directly from streams or rivers, and lands which are not so. The former are termed *sáwah*, the latter *tégal* or *gága*. It is on the *sáwahs* that the great rice cultivation is carried on; and these admit of a subdivision, according to the manner in which the land is irrigated. Those which can be irrigated at pleasure from adjacent springs or rivers, are considered as the proper *sáwah*; those which depend on the periodical rains for the whole or principal part of the water by which they are fertilized, are termed *sáwah tádahan*. The former are by far the most valuable, and lands of this description admit of two heavy crops annually, without regard to any particular time of the year: the fields seldom exceed forty or sixty feet in breadth, and the water is retained in them by means

of a small embankment of about a foot in height. On the slopes of the mountains, where this mode of cultivation is chiefly found, these fields are carried gradually above each other in so many terraces, for the purpose of irrigation; the water admitted in the upper terrace inundating each of them in its descent. The *tégal* lands are appropriated to the culture of less important crops, such as the mountain rice, Indian corn, &c.

The vast superiority of the *sáwah*, or wet cultivation, over that of *tégal*, or dry, is shewn in their relative produce, and may be still further illustrated by a comparison of the rents which the two descriptions of land are calculated to afford. The quantity of *tégal* land, or land fit for maize, as compared with that of *sáwah* land, varies in different districts. In *Chéribon*, the *tégal* land, by the late survey, amounted only to 2,511, while the *sáwah* exceeded 16,000. In *Tégal* the proportions were even more widely varied, the number of *jungs* of the former to the latter being as 891 to 11,445. In *Surabáya* they were as 1,356 to 17,397; in *Kedú* and *Besúki* they were nearly equal, being respectively as 8,295 to 10,757, and as 6,369 to 7,862.

The succession of crops, next to the facility of irrigation, depends upon the quality of the soil, which in the native provinces is divided by the cultivators into three principal kinds, *tána ládu*, *tána línchad*, and *tána pásir*. The first is the best, consisting of rich vegetable mould, and a certain proportion of sand, and exists chiefly near the banks of large rivers; the second is almost pure clay, and is found in the central plains; and the third is alluvial, and covers the maritime districts. The term *pádas péréng* is applied to the oblique tracts enriched with a fertile mould, which form the acclivities of hills, and from which the water readily disappears. *Tána ládu* will bear a constant succession of crops. *Tána línchad* yields only a single annual crop of rice: during the rainy season the soil constitutes a stiff mud, in which the plants find the requisite moisture and display all their luxuriance; when it is afterwards exposed to the rays of the sun, it bursts into extensive fissures, which admitting the scorching heat by which they were produced, become detrimental to every species of vegetation.

Besides the annual crop of rice which is raised on the *sáwah* lands, a variety of plants are raised upon them as a second or light crop within the same year. Among these are several species of *káchang* or bean, the cotton plant, the indigo, and a variety of cucumbers, &c. But the more generally useful and profitable vegetables require nearly the same period as the rice, and only yield their increase once in a season: they mostly grow in situations,

on

on which the supply of water can be regulated, and a continued inundation prevented. Among the most important are the *gúdé*, *káchang pénden*, or *káchang chína*, *káchang íjú*, *kédéle*, *jágung* or Indian corn, *jágung chántel*, *jáwa-wút*, *jáli*, *wíjen*, *járak* or palma christi, *térong*, and *kéntang jáwa*.

In *tégal* lands of high situations a particular method of planting is sometimes practiced, which produces a result similar to a succession of crops. Together with the rice are deposited the seeds of other vegetables, which arrive to maturity at different periods, chiefly after the rice harvest. The most common and useful among these is cotton; and, in some tracts, great quantities of this valuable product is thus obtained, without any exclusive allotment of the soil. Next to this are various leguminous and other plants, which do not interfere with the rice. No less than six or eight kinds of vegetables are sometimes in this manner seen to shoot up promiscuously in a single field.

Rice cultivation.

Rice, however, as has been repeatedly observed, is the grand staple of Javan, as well as Indian cultivation, and to this every other species of husbandry is subordinate. The adjacent islands and states of Sumatra, Malacca, Borneo, Celebes, and the Moluccas, have always in a great measure depended on the Javan cultivator for their supply, and the Dutch were in the habit of transporting an annual quantity of between six and eight thousand tons to Ceylon, to Coromandel, to the Cape, and their other settlements. Even at the low rate at which it generally sells, a revenue of near four millions of rupees, or about half a million sterling, has been estimated as the government portion of its annual produce.

According to the modes of cultivation by which it has been reared, this grain is called *pári sáwah*, or *pári gága*; corresponding, with some exceptions, to the *pádi sáwah* and *pádi ládang* of Sumatra. In the western, and particularly the *Súnda* districts, the term *gága* is changed for *típar*, the term *gága*, in these districts, being only occasionally applied to the grain which is cultivated on newly cleared mountainous spots.

The low land and the mountain rice, or more correctly speaking, the rice raised in dry lands and the rice raised in lands subjected to inundation, are varieties of the same species (the oriza sativa of Linnæus) although both of them are permanent: but the rice planted on the mountainous or dry ground does not thrive on irrigated lands; nor, on the contrary, does the *sáwah* rice succeed on lands beyond the reach of irrigation. The mountain rice is supposed to contain in the same bulk more nourishment than the other, and is more

more palatable; but its use is limited to the less populous districts of the island, the greater proportion of the inhabitants depending exclusively on the produce of the *sáwahs*, or wet cultivation, for their support.

Stavorinus asserts, that the mountain rice is not so good as that of the low lands. Mr. Marsden informs us, on the contrary, that the former brings the higher price, and is considered of superior quality, being whiter, heartier, and better flavoured grain, keeping better, and increasing more in boiling. "The rice of the low lands," he says, "is more prolific from "the seed, and subject to less risk in the culture; and on these accounts, "rather than from its superior quality, is in more common use than the "former." In general, the weightiest and whitest grain is preferred; a preference mentioned by Bontius, who includes in the character of the best rice its whiteness, its clearness of colour, and its preponderating weight, bulk for bulk. Dr. Horsfield conceives that Stavorinus formed his opinion in the low northern maritime districts of Java, and Mr. Marsden from a more extensive observation. Many intelligent natives state, that they prefer the mountain rice when they can procure it, on account of its whiteness, strength, and flavour; and that they are only limited in its use, by the impossibility of raising as much of it as can satisfy the general demand, all the mountain or dry rice not being sufficient to feed one-tenth of the population. In less populous countries, as in many parts of Sumatra, the inhabitants can easily subsist the whole of their numbers exclusively on mountain rice, or that produced on *ládangs*, which are fields reclaimed from ancient forests for the first time, and from which only one crop is demanded. The grain here, as in the mountain rice of Java, is highly flavoured and nutritious; but in countries where the population is crowded, where a scanty crop will not suffice, and where a continued supply of new land cannot be obtained, the peasantry must apply their labour to such grounds as admit of uninterrupted cultivation, and renew their annual fertility by periodical inundations, even although the produce is not so highly prized.

In the *sáwahs* of Java the fields are previously ploughed, inundated, and laboured by animals and hoeing, until the mould is converted into a semi-fluid mire: they then are considered fit to receive the young plants. No manure is ever used. Oil-cakes (*búngkil*), which are by some writers supposed to be used for this purpose generally, are only employed in the gardens about Batavia. One of the chief characteristics of the soil on

Java,

Java, is an exemption from the necessity of requiring manure: on the *sáwah* lands, the annual inundation of the land is sufficient to renovate its vigour and to permit constant cropping for a succession of years, without any observable impoverishment.

In the cultivation of the *sáwahs*, the plants are uniformly transplanted or removed from their first situation. In those of *tégal* or *gága*, they grow to maturity on the same spot where the seed was originally deposited, whether this be on high mountainous districts, or on low lands, the distinction of *sáwah* and *gága* depending exclusively not upon the situation of the field, but in the mode of culture, whether wet or dry.

In raising rice in the *sáwahs*, inundation is indispensible till it is nearly ripe. The seed is first sown on a bed prepared for the purpose, about one month before the season for transplanting it, and the plant is during that time termed *bíbit*. Two methods are in use. According to the first, called *úrit*, the ears of *pári* are carefully disposed on the soft mud of the seed bed; in the second, called *ng'éber*, the separated seeds are thrown after the manner of broadcast in Europe. In by far the greatest portions of the island, the ground is prepared, the seed sown, and the plant removed, during the course of the rainy season, or between the months of November and March. In situations where a constant supply of water can be obtained from springs, rivulets, or rivers, two crops are produced in the course of twelve or fourteen months; but the advantage of double cropping, which exhausts the soil without allowing it time to recover, has been considered as very questionable. If in some situations commanding a supply of water, the earth is allowed to rest after the preceding harvest, during the latter end of the rainy season, and the transplantation made in the months of June and July, it generally yields more profitable crops than the common method of working the *sáwah*. This, which is termed *gádu* by the natives, has been recommended by the experience of European planters.

Irrigation is exclusively effected by conducting the water of rivers and rivulets from the more or less elevated spots in the vicinity, and in this respect, differs materially in its process from that of Bengal, for although considerable labour and ingenuity are exercised in detaining, regulating, and distributing the supply, by means of dams, called *bandáng'ans*, no machinery whatever is employed in raising water for agricultural purposes in any part of the island.

The

The rice grown on *sáwahs*, is of two kinds, *pári génja* and *pári dálam*. In the former, the harvest takes place four months after the transplantation; in the latter, six months. *Pári génja* having the advantage of a quicker growth, is therefore often planted when the rainy season is far advanced. *Pári dálam* is more prolific, and yields a grain of superior quality, comprizing those varieties in which the ears are longer and more compound. The varieties of each kind are distinct and permanent.

The subvarieties are very numerous, amounting, with those of *kétan*, to more than a hundred. *Kétan* is a distinct variety, with very glutinous seeds, seldom employed as an article of food, except in confections, cakes, and the like. Of the varieties of the *pári génsha*, *mentik* and *anchar bántap* are preferred. Of the *pári dálam*, those of *krentúlan* and *súka nándi* are most esteemed, being remarkably well flavoured and fit for keeping. *S'lámat jáwa* yields also rice of good quality. The bearded kinds of *pári* are always preferred for keeping, as the grains do not readily fall off. Near *Súra-kérta*, the principal native capital, close to the site of the former capital *Kérta-súra*, there is a peculiar tract inundated by water from a fountain at *Píng'gíng*, which is said to produce a grain of very superior flavour, from which the table of the *Susuhúnan* is supplied. *Súka nándi* is the kind uniformly preferred for these plantations.

For *pári gága*, whether in high or low situations, the ground is prepared by ploughing and harrowing, and the seed is planted after the manner called setting in some parts of England. The holes are made by pointed sticks, called *pónchos*, and into each hole two seeds are thrown. Only careless husbandmen, or those who cannot procure the requisite assistance in their labour, sow by broadcast. In high situations the earth is prepared before the rains commence: the seed is sown in the months of September or October, and the harvest takes place in January and February following. *Gágas* of low situations are planted about a month after the harvest of the *sáwah* is got in, and frequently receive temporary supplies of water from a neighbouring rivulet. In high situations, to which water cannot be carried, they are sufficiently moistened by the first rains of the season. During their growth, they receive several hoeings from the careful husbandman.

As the grain ripens, an elevated shed is frequently erected in the centre of a plantation, within which a child on the watch touches, from time to time, a series of cords extending from the shed to the extremities of the field,

field, like the radii of a circle, and by this cheap contrivance, and an occasional shout, prevents the ravages of birds, which would otherwise prove highly injurious to the crops. These little elevated sheds in the interior, and particularly in the district of *Bányumás*, are very neatly constructed of matting.

The reapers are uniformly paid, by receiving a portion of the crop which they have reaped: this varies in different parts of the island, from the sixth to the eighth part, depending on the abundance or scarcity of hands; when the harvest is general through a district, one-fifth or one-fourth is demanded by the reaper. In opposition to so exorbitant a claim, the influence of the great is sometimes exerted, and the labourer is obliged to be content with a tenth or a twelfth.

The grain is separated from the husk by pounding several times repeated. The first operation is generally performed in wooden troughs, in the villages near which it grows, and before it is brought to market.* The *pári* being thus converted into *bras* or rice, afterwards receives repeated poundings, according to the condition or taste of the consumer.

Maize.

With the exception of the rice raised in *sáwahs*, all other produce is cultivated on dry grounds, either on the *sáwah* fields during the dry season, or on *tégal* land, at all times exclusively appropriated to dry cultivation. The principal article next to rice, as affording food to man, is maize or Indian corn, termed *jágung*. It is general in every district of Java, but is more particularly an object of attention on *Madúra*, where, for want of mountain streams, the lands do not in general admit of irrigation. In the more populous parts of Java, likewise, where the *sáwahs* do not afford a sufficient supply of rice, the inhabitants have lately had recourse to the cultivation of maize. It is now rapidly increasing in those low ranges of hills, which, on account of the poverty of the soil, had hitherto been neglected, and is becoming more and more a favourite article of food. In the more eastern districts, it is procured from the inhabitants of *Madúra* in exchange for rice. It is generally roasted in the ear, and in that state is exposed while hot for public sale; but it is never reduced to flour, or stored for any considerable time.

The *zea maize*, or common *jágung*, is a hardy plant, and grows on any soil. In common with every other production of Java it thrives there most

* See plate of Javan women of the lower order.

most luxuriantly; nor is there any reason to believe, that the Javan soil is less adapted to it than that of Spanish America, where Humboldt estimates its produce at a hundred and fifty fold. It is planted in fertile low lands in rotation with rice, and in high situations without intercession, often forming in the latter the chief, if not the only support of the inhabitants. There are three different kinds, distinguished from each other by their respective periods of ripening. The first kind requires seven months, and is a large rich grain; the second takes only three, and is of inferior quality; and the third, which seems valuable only on account of its rapid growth, ripens in forty days, but has a poor small grain. They may be planted at all seasons of the year; and of the two inferior kinds, several crops are often raised from the same ground within the year.

Of other cerealia, the *jágung chántel* is raised very partially in particular districts, at no great distance from the capitals of the interior, and mostly for the purpose of preparing from it, by fermentation, a liquor sometimes drunk by the natives; as a general article of food it cannot be enumerated. The *jáwa-wút* and *jáli* are still more confined in their use; although the natives have a tradition, that on the first arrival of the Indian colonists on Java, the former was the only grain found on the island: it yields a pleasant pulp, and is made into several articles of confectionary. As a principal article of food, or a substitute for rice, Indian corn can alone be considered.

In times of scarcity, the natives make use of various kinds of the plaintain (*musa*), also the yam (*ubi* of the Malays, and *uwi* of the Javans), the sweet potatoe, *katélo* (convolvulus batatas), the varieties of which are described in one of the early volumes of the Batavian Transactions, and a number of leguminous vegetables, the various kinds of beans (*káchang*), together with a species of grass with minute yellow seeds, called *túton*, which in ancient times is said to have formed a principal article of food, and the dried leaves of some other plants; but, happily, these times seldom occur, and the use of the *jágung chántel* and *jáwa-wút*, as well as of the various roots and leguminous vegetables to which I have alluded, is too limited to produce any sensible effects on the inhabitants. Those natives who make use of the Indian corn exclusively, inhabit the highest districts, where the purity of the atmosphere counteracts any injury which their health might otherwise sustain from the want of rice.

From

From the *áren* (sagurus rumphii), which grows abundantly in many parts of Java, a substance is prepared, similar in all respects to the true sago of the Eastern Islands. It is particularly useful in times of scarcity, when large numbers of these valuable trees are felled, for the purpose of collecting the pith. The sap yields an excellent sugar of a dark colour, in common use with the natives. The wine or *túwak* (toddy) prepared from it is superior to that obtained from most other palms. The aren-tree.

A very agreeable pulp is prepared from the pith of this tree, pounded with water, and exposed one night to spontaneous evaporation: it is eaten with palm sugar, and found by no means unpleasant by Europeans. The tuberous roots of a species of cucurma, *tému láwak*, grated and infused in water, yields a similar pulp. Both are denominated *pátí*, and daily offered for sale along the roads and in the interior.

All the varieties of the cocoa-nut tree, noticed on Sumatra, are to be found on Java, where its quicker and more luxuriant growth is accounted for by the superiority of soil. The principal varieties of the cocoa-nut are enumerated in one of the early volumes of the Batavian Transactions. Cocoa-nut.

Of the oil-giving plants there are many. The *káchang góring* of the Malay countries, or, as it is indifferently termed by the Javans, *káchang chína, pénden,* or *tána,* is cultivated almost exclusively for the purpose of obtaining its oil, near the capitals of the principal districts, both central and maritime. It requires a very strong soil for its support, and as the cultivation is profitable, the lands which produce it yield high rents. It is never employed as an article of food by itself; but what remains of it after the oil is expressed, forms an ingredient for the seasoning of rice, in one of the common dishes of the natives. The oil is obtained by grinding the seeds between two grooved cylinders, and then separating it either by expression or boiling. The former is chiefly used by the Chinese, and yields as a refuse the oil-cakes, which I formerly observed were employed as manure in some of the gardens near Batavia. Where these cylinders are not in use, the following mode is adopted: the nut having been taken from the ground, is dried by exposure to the sun for a few days; after which the kernel is extracted, and reduced, by successive beatings in the Javan *lésung* or mortar, to a grain sufficiently small to pass through a sieve; it is then boiled by steam, and having been allowed to cool for twenty-four hours, is put into a basket, and in that state placed between two oblong planks, which, being joined together at one extremity, are Oil-giving plants.

forced to meet at the other, on the principle of a lemon-squeezer. The oil exuding from the interstices of the basket is caught on an ox's hide, placed below to convey it to an earthen receiver.

The *járak*, or palma christi, is cultivated in nearly the same manner as maize, and thrives on similar soils: from this plant is obtained most of the oil for burning in lamps. In extracting the oil from this as well as from the cocoa-nut, various processes are employed, most of which tend to accelerate the rancidity of the oil. A pure cold-drawn oil is not known. In the cocoa-nut, if the oil is obtained by expression, the broken nuts from which it is made are exposed till putrefaction commences. In other cases they are grated, and water being poured upon them, the parts mixed with it form *sánten*, a white milky fluid, which is evaporated till the oil alone remains. As this process requires much time and fuel, a more economical method is often resorted to: the milky fluid is left exposed for a night, when the oily parts rise to the top, and being separated from the water are purified by a very short boiling.

Sugar-cane.

Of the sugar-cane, or according to the native term, *tébu* (the name by which it is designated, not only on Java, but throughout the Archipelago), there are several varieties. The dark purple cane, which displays the greatest luxuriance, and shoots to the length of ten feet, is the most highly prized. By the Javans the sugar-cane is only cultivated to be eaten in an unprepared state, as a nourishing sweetmeat. They are unacquainted with any artificial method of expressing from it the saccharine juice, and, consequently, with the first material part of the process by which it is manufactured into sugar. Satisfied with the nourishment or gratification which they procure from the plant as nature presents it, they leave the complicated process to be conducted exclusively by the Chinese.

The cane, as in the West Indies, is propagated by cuttings of about a foot and a half long, which are inserted in the ground in an upright direction, previously to the setting in of the rains. The Chinese occasionally use oil-cake for enriching the lands; but where the plant is only raised for consumption in its fresh state, no manure whatever is thought requisite; and a good soil, without such preparation, will yield three or four crops in succession.

The cane is extensively cultivated for the juice in the vicinity of Batavia, where there are numerous manufactories, principally owned by the Chinese. It is also cultivated for this purpose in considerable tracts at *Japára* and *Pasúruan*,

súruan, and partially in other districts of the eastern provinces, where mills are established for expressing it. Previous to the disturbances in *Chéribon*, sugar likewise was manufactured in that district in considerable quantities, and furnished an important article of export.

The coffee-plant, which is only known on Java by its European appella- Coffee.
tion, and its intimate connexion with European despotism, was first introduced by the Dutch early in the eighteenth century, and has since formed one of the articles of their exclusive monopoly. The labour by which it is planted, and its produce collected, is included among the oppressions or forced services of the natives, and the delivery of it into the government stores, among the forced deliveries at inadequate rates. Previously to the year 1808, the cultivation of coffee was principally confined to the *Súnda* districts. There were but comparatively few plantations in the eastern districts, and the produce which they were capable of yielding did not amount to one-tenth part of the whole; but, under the administration of Marshal Daendels, this shrub usurped the soil destined for yielding the subsistence of the people, every other kind of cultivation was made subservient to it, and the withering effects of a government monopoly extended their influence indiscriminately throughout every province of the island.

In the *Súnda* districts, each family was obliged to take care of one thousand coffee plants; and in the eastern districts, where new and extensive plantations were now to be formed, on soils and in situations in many instances by no means favourable to the cultivation, five hundred plants was the prescribed allotment. No negligence could be practised in the execution of this duty: the whole operations of planting, cleaning, and collecting, continued to be conducted under the immediate superintendance of European officers, who selected the spot on which new gardens were to be laid out, took care that they were preserved from weeds and rank grass, and received the produce into store when gathered.

A black mould intermixed with sand, is considered the best soil for the coffee plant. In selecting a situation for the gardens, the steep declivities of mountains, where the plant would be endangered either by the too powerful heat of the sun or an entire want of it, or where torrents in the rainy season might wash away the rich earth necessary for its growth, are avoided. The best situation for them is usually considered to be in the vales along the foot of the high mountains, or on the gentle declivities of the low range of hills, with which the principal mountains are usually skirted; and it is found

found that, *cæteris paribus*, the greater is the elevation of the garden, the longer is the period of its productiveness, and the finer is the berry.

Having selected a proper spot for the garden, the first operation is to clear the ground of trees, shrubs, and the rank grass or reeds, the latter of which, termed *galága*, are often found in these situations, and generally indicate a rich soil. In clearing the ground, it is the practise to collect together into heaps, and burn the trees, roots, and other rubbish found on it, the ashes of which serve to enrich the soil: when the trees are very large, the heavy labour of rooting them up is avoided, and the trunks being cut about five feet from the ground, are left in that state to rot, and in their gradual decay still further to enrich the land. As soon as the ground is thus cleared, it is levelled by three or four ploughings at short intervals, and laid out to receive the plants. A fence is planted round them, about twelve feet from their outer row, generally of the *járak*, or palma christi, intermixed with either the *dádap*, or the silk cotton tree; and, in low situations, outside of this a ditch is dug to carry off the water. These operations commence in August or September, and by the time the ground is in perfect readiness for planting, the heavy rains are nearly over. It then only remains to select the young plants, and prepare the *dádap* which is intended to shade them.

Of the *dádap* tree there are three kinds; the *seráp*, *dóri*, and *wáru*: but the first is preferred on account of the greater shade it affords. It is propagated by cuttings, and in selecting them for the coffee plantations, care is had that they are taken from trees at least two or three years old, and that they be three or four feet long, of which one foot at least must be buried in the ground. After the *dádaps* are planted, holes are dug, from a foot and a half to two feet deep, for the reception of the coffee plant, which is then removed from the seed place or nursery, and transplanted into the gardens.

In coffee gardens of four or five years old, are found quantities of young plants, that have sprung up spontaneously from the ripe berries dropping off the trees, and when these can be obtained about fourteen inches long, of a strong healthy stem, large leaves, and without branches, they are preferred to others: but as the plants thus procured are seldom found in sufficient quantities, nurseries for rearing them are formed as follows. When the berries are allowed to remain on the shrub after maturity, they become black and dry: in this state they are plucked, and sown in seed-beds lightly covered with earth: as soon as two small leaves appear, the plants are taken from the bed, and transplanted, about a foot asunder, under the cover

cover of sheds prepared for that purpose; in about eighteen months, these plants are fit for removing into the garden or plantation where they are destined to yield their fruit. In taking the young plant up, the greatest care is necessary not to injure the roots, especially the tap root, and with this view it is generally removed with as much earth attached to it as possible. This precaution has the additional advantage of not too suddenly bringing the plant in contact with a new soil.

The plantations are generally laid out in squares. The distance between each plant varies according to the fertility of the soil: in a soil not considered fertile, a distance of six feet is preserved, and in each interval is a *dádap* tree for the purpose of affording shade; but in a rich soil, where the plant grows more luxuriantly, fewer *dádaps* are necessary, and the plants are placed at a greater distance from each other.

On Java a certain degree of shade seems necessary to the health of the coffee-plant, especially in low situations and during its early age; and the *dádap* is found better calculated for affording this protection than any other shrub in the country. It is a common saying, that where the *dádap* flourishes, there also will flourish the coffee: but they are not always constant or necessary companions; for in high lands many of the most flourishing gardens are to be observed with very few *dádaps.* The coffee tree yields fruit for a period of twenty years, yet in the low lands it seldom attains a greater age than nine or ten years (during six or seven of which only it may be said to bear), and the fruit is comparatively large and tasteless.

About the end of the rainy season, such coffee plants and *dádaps* as have not thriven are replaced by others, and the plantations cleaned: this latter operation, in gardens well kept, is generally performed three or four times in the year; but the tree is never cut or pruned, and is universally allowed to grow in all its native luxuriance. In this state, it often in favoured situations attains the height of sixteen feet, and plants of not less than eight inches broad have frequently been procured from the trunk. The general average produce of a coffee tree is not estimated at much more than a *káti,* or a pound and a quarter English, notwithstanding some yield from twenty to thirty *kátis.*

There does not appear to be any fixed or certain season for the coffee to arrive at maturity. In the *Súnda* districts the gathering usually commences in June or July, and it is not till April that the whole crop is delivered into store. The season, however, generally gives what is termed three crops; of

of which the first is but small, the second the most abundant, and the third, being what is left to ripen, may be considered rather as a gleaning. When the berries become of a dark crimson colour, they are plucked one by one, with the assistance of a light *bámbu* ladder or stage, great care being taken not to shake off the blossoms which are still on the tree, or to pluck the unripe fruit. The women and children usually collect the crop, while the husband is elsewhere engaged in harder labour. Attached to every principal village, near which there are coffee plantations of any extent, there is a drying-house, to which the newly gathered coffee is brought: it is there placed on hurdles, about four feet from the floor, under which a slow wood fire is kept up during the night. The roof of the drying-house is opened in the mornings and evenings, to admit the air, and the berries are frequently stirred to prevent fermentation. As the heat of the sun is considered prejudicial, the roof of the house is closed during the day. This operation is repeated till the husk is quite dry. The berries dried in this way are small, and of a sea green or greyish colour, and are supposed to acquire a peculiar flavour from the smoke, although it does not appear that any particular kind of wood is used for fuel. When dried in the sun, the bean becomes of a pale bleached colour, is larger, specifically lighter, and more insipid to the taste than the former. The most common mode of freeing the bean from the husk is, to pound the berries when dry in a bag of buffalo's hide, great care being taken not to bruise the bean. A mill of simple construction is sometimes used, but is not found to answer so well. The coffee being then separated from the husk, is put into bags or baskets, and kept on raised platforms till the season of delivery, when it is carried down to the storehouse, sometimes by men, but generally on the backs of buffaloes and mares, in strings of fifteen hundred or two thousand at a time.

In the *Súnda* districts there have been, for many years past, three principal depôts for receiving the coffee from the cultivators, *viz.* at *Buitenzorg*, *Chikàn*, and *Karang-sámbang*. From *Buitenzorg* it is either sent direct to Batavia by land in carts, or by the way of *Linkong*, whence it is forwarded in boats by the river *Chi-dáni*. From *Chikàn* the coffee is sent in boats dow the river *Chi-táram*, and thence along the sea-coast to Batavia. From *Karang-sámbang* it is sent down the river *Chi-mánok* to *Indra-máyu*, where it is received into extensive warehouses, and whence it is now generally exported for the European market.

Under

Under this system, the *Súnda* districts were estimated to afford an annual produce of one hundred thousand *píkuls* of one hundred and thirty-three pounds and a quarter each, and it was calculated that the young plantations in the eastern districts, when they should come into bearing, would produce an equal quantity; but in this latter quarter, many of the gardens had been fixed on ill-judged spots, and the inhabitants were averse to the new and additional burden which this cultivation imposed upon their labour. Had the system, therefore, even been persevered in, and enforced by a despotic authority, it is questionable, whether the quantity anticipated in the above estimate, or even one half of it, would have been obtained from the eastern districts. The *Súndas* living in an inland and mountainous country, and having been long accustomed to the hardship of the coffee culture, are less sensible of its pressure than the rest of their countrymen: time and habit have reconciled them to what was at first revolting, and what must always be considered as unjust; their modes of life, their arts, their domestic economy, and other social habits, have all adapted themselves to a species of labour, which was at first forced upon them; and a state of servitude, which the philosopher would lament as a degradation, is scarcely felt to be a grievance by them. Instances, however, are not wanting, in which the usual measure of exaction having been surpassed, they have been awakened to a sense of their wretchedness. A government of colonial monopolists, eager only for profit, and heedless of the sources from which it was derived, sometimes subjected its native subjects to distresses and privations, the recital of which would shock the ear of humanity. Suffice it to say, that the coffee culture in the *Súnda* districts has sometimes been so severely exacted, that together with the other constant and heavy demands made by the European authority on the labour of the country, they deprived the unfortunate peasants of the time necessary to rear food for their support. Many have thus perished by famine, while others have fled to the crags of the mountains, where raising a scanty subsistence in patches of *gága*, or oftener dependent for it upon the roots of the forest, they congratulated themselves on their escape from the reach of their oppressors. Many of these people, with their descendants, remain in these haunts to the present time: in their annual migrations from hill to hill, they frequently pass over the richest lands, which still remain uncultivated and invite their return; but they prefer their wild independence

and precarious subsistence, to the horrors of being again subjected to forced services and forced deliveries at inadequate rates.

It is difficult to say what was the recompense received by the cultivator previous to the year 1808. The complicated system of accounts which then prevailed, seemed only calculated to blind the government, and to allow the European commissary to derive an income of from eighty to one hundred thousand dollars (£25,000 per annum), at the expence of the authorities by whom he was employed, and the natives whom he oppressed. This, in common with most of the establishments on the island, underwent a revision in the time of Marshal Daendels; and it was then directed, that the cultivators should receive on delivery at the storehouses, three rixdollars copper for each mountain *pikul* of two hundred and twenty-five pounds Dutch, being little more than one dollar per hundred-weight, or one half-penny per pound. This same coffee was sometimes sold at Batavia, within fifty miles of the spot where it was raised, at twenty Spanish dollars the hundred-weight, and has seldom been known to bring in the European market less than eleven pence the pound. This, however, was deemed a liberal payment by the Dutch, though in some cases it had been transported over sixty miles of an almost impassable country, where two men are required to carry a hundred-weight of coffee, on their shoulders, at an expence of labour which one would suppose at least equal to this remuneration.

Under the administration of the British government, the free cultivation of coffee, in common with that of all other articles, was permitted to the inhabitants of Bantam, *Chéribon*, and all the eastern districts; and at the time when the island was again ceded to the Dutch, arrangements were in progress for extending the same provision throughout the *Súnda* districts, under a conviction, that the quantity produced would not be less under a system of free cultivation and free trade, than under a system in which it was found necessary, as one of the first acts of European authority, to compel the native princes to direct "the total annihi-"lation of the coffee culture within their dominions," and to secure by treaty with them the destruction and confiscation of all coffee found in the hands of the natives.* A considerable portion of the peasantry, as already observed, have long been accustomed to the cultivation, and it is owing to their skill and experience, as much as to any direct superintendence or interference

* See Treaties of the Dutch with the Native Princes.

interference of the European officers (who generally derive their information from the native chiefs, and have little more to do, than occasionally to ride through the garden with a pompous suite, keep the accounts, and examine the coffee as it is received), that the coffee has so long been furnished for the European market; the experience obtained in the eastern districts, during the last three years, proves at least that coercive measures are unnecessary. There are many parts of Java, particularly the *Priang'en* regencies, where the soil is peculiarly and eminently adapted to the cultivation; and although it is difficult yet awhile to fix the exact rate at which the coffee might be produced under a free system, it may be calculated to be raised for exportation at about forty shillings per hundred-weight.

Of the quality of the Javan coffee, in comparison with that of other countries, it may be observed, that during the last years, it has invariably maintained its price in the European market in competition with that of Bourbon, and rather exceeded it, both of them being higher than the produce of the West Indies. During the last years of the British administration on Java, and after the opening of the European market again afforded a demand, about eleven millions of young coffee shrubs were planted out in new gardens.

Pepper, which at one time formed the principal export from Java, has for some time ceased to be cultivated to any considerable extent. It was principally raised in Bantam, and the dependencies of that province in the southern part of Sumatra; and in the flourishing state of the monopoly, these districts furnished the Dutch with the chief supply for the European market. Pepper.

But the system by which it was procured was too oppressive and unprincipled in its nature, and too impolitic in its provisions, to admit of long duration. It was calculated to destroy the energies of the country, and with them, the source from whence the fruits of this monopoly proceeded. In the year 1811, accordingly, neither Bantam or its dependencies furnished the European government with one pound of this article.

That pepper may be produced on Java, and supplied at a rate equally moderate with that at which other productions requiring similar care are furnished, cannot admit of a doubt, and this reasonable price may be estimated at about six or seven Spanish dollars (thirty to thirty-five shillings) the *pikul*. The plant grows luxuriantly in most soils, and when once reared requires infinitely less care and labour than coffee. The cultivation of it on Sumatra

and Prince of Wales's Island having been so accurately and minutely described by Mr. Marsden and Dr. Hunter, it would be unnecessary here to detail the system followed on Java, as it is in most points the same. The only peculiarity regarding it which may deserve notice is, that on this island the plant is allowed to grow to a much greater size, entwining itself round the cotton trees, frequently to the height of fifty and sixty feet.

Indigo. Indigo, called *tom* by the Javans, and by the *Súndas tárum*, is general, and raised in most parts of the island. The indigo prepared by the natives is of an indifferent quality, and in a semi-fluid state, and contains much quick lime; but that prepared by Europeans is of very superior quality.

An inferior variety, denominated *tom-ménir*, having smaller seeds, and being of quicker growth, is usually planted as a second crop in *sáwahs*, on which one rice crop has been raised. In these situations, the plant rises to the height of about three feet and a half. It is then cut, and the cuttings are repeated three, or even four times, till the ground is again required for the annual rice crop. But the superior plant, when cultivated on *tégal* lands, and on a naturally rich soil, not impoverished by a previous heavy crop, rises in height above five feet, and grows with the greatest luxuriance. The plants intended for seeds are raised in favoured spots on the ridges of the rice fields in the neighbourhood of the villages, and the seed of one district is frequently exchanged for that of another. That of the rich mountainous districts being esteemed of best quality, is occasionally introduced into the low lands, and is thought necessary to prevent that degeneration, which would be the consequence of cultivating for a long time the same plant upon the same soil. In the province of *Matárem*, where indigo is most extensively cultivated, it is sold in the market in bundles, as low as eight pence the *pikul* weight; but in the vicinity of *Semárang*, and in districts where it is not produced in great abundance, it bears an advance upon this price of fifty per cent.

The climate, soil, and state of society on Java, seem to offer peculiar advantages to the extensive cultivation of this plant; and under the direction of skilful manufacturers, the dye stuff might form a most valuable and important export for the European market. The periodical draughts and inundations, which confine the cultivation and manufacture in the Bengal provinces to a few months in the year, are unknown in Java, where the plant might, in favoured situations, be cultivated nearly throughout the whole year, and where at least it would be secure of a prolonged period of

that

that kind of weather, necessary for the cutting. The soil is superior, and a command of water affords facilities, seldom to be met with elsewhere; while, from the tenure on which the cultivators hold their land, and the state of society among them, advances on account of the ensuing crop, which in Bengal form so ruinous a part of an indigo concern, are here unnecessary, and would be uncalled for.

The dye (*nila* blue) is prepared by the natives in a liquid state, by infusing the leaves with a quantity of lime: in this state it forms by far the principal dye of the country. Besides the quantity of it consumed within the island, it is sometimes exported to neighbouring countries by native traders, and sold at the rate of from a dollar and a half to three dollars the *pikul*, according as the plant may be in abundance or otherwise.

It is impossible to form any idea of the rate at which this species of dye can reasonably be manufactured for the European market, from the prices paid by the Dutch, both because the article was one of those classed by them under the head of forced deliveries, and because the regents, who were entrusted with its exclusive management, not fully understanding the process of making it, conducted it always in a very expensive way, and were frequently exposed to entire failures.

Cotton. The cotton of the country, distinguished by the name of *kápas jáwa*, is a variety of the gossypium herbaceum; but it is inferior to that generally cultivated on the Indian continent, which is also found on Java, and called by the Javans *kápas múri*. The plant of the former differs from the latter, in having a smaller stem, and in yielding a material, both of coarser fibre and in less quantity. There is a third variety, with a subarborescent stem, called *kápas táhon*, which is very scarce. Trials remain to be made, to determine how far the culture of the Indian cotton might be extended, so as to supersede the Javan cotton. The inferior kind, which forms the principal, and indeed with the mass of the people the only material for clothing, is cultivated in almost every part of the island. The soil, however, is not considered as universally favourable to its growth: many of the low lands, consisting of a clay, which bursts in the dry season, are unfit for it; and on several of the more fertile districts, where the plant itself flourishes, little cotton is obtained from it: the declivities of the hills, in which the mountain rice is raised, yield in general the best and most abundant supply. At present, scarcely a sufficient quantity is produced on the island to employ the female part of the inhabitants; and one district often depends

depends upon another for the principal part of what it uses. The cotton of *Bányumás* is exported to *Bágalen*, to *Tégal*, and the western parts of *Matárem*, where it is manufactured; the environs of *Wong'go*, *Adi-lańgú*, and other places towards the southern hills, supply both the capitals in the interior; *Kedíri*, *Pranarága*, and the vicinity, likewise furnish considerable quantities for other parts of the island. In the *Súnda* districts, the principal supply is received from the east and west *Jámpang*. The culture of cotton, and the manufacture of yarn, are in some degree promoted by an ancient custom, which imposes on every householder or village a certain contingent of cotton yarn for the sovereign, or for the person who holds the land on his account: this custom is called *panyúmpleng*. The chiefs on Java, and particularly on *Báli*, frequently wear a skein of cotton yarn entwined round the handle of the kris; a custom, which sufficiently indicates the respect paid to this species of cultivation.

The Javan cotton is a hardy plant, which grows to about the height of a foot and a half. It is generally planted on the *sáwahs* after the reaping of the rice crop, and yields the cotton in less than three months. The Indian cotton grows to a larger size, and produces a material of an infinitely superior quality; but it is more delicate in its nature, must be watched with greater care, and requires a month longer to attain to maturity. Cotton cultivated on *tégal*, or dry land, is considered as generally better than that raised as a second crop on *sáwah*; and this mode of cultivation has been adduced as the cause of the superiority ascribed to the cotton of *Bâli*, and other more eastern islands.

Tobacco. Tobacco, termed by the natives *tombáku*, or *sáta*, is an article of very general cultivation, but is only extensively raised for exportation in the central districts of *Kedú* and *Bányumás*: as it requires a soil of the richest mould, but at the same time not subject to inundations, these districts hold out peculiar advantages to the tobacco-planter, not to be found on the low lands. For internal consumption, small quantities are raised in convenient spots every where; but the most eastern districts and *Madúra* are principally supplied from *Púgar*. Bantam receives its supply from *Bányumás*, by means of native traders from *Pakalúngan* visiting that port in small craft. The produce of *Kedú* is conveyed by men to *Semárang*, the great port of exportation.

In *Kedú* it forms, after rice, by far the most important article of cultivation; and, in consequence of the fitness of the soil, the plant grows to the height

height of from eight to ten feet, on lands not previously dressed or manured, with a luxuriance seldom witnessed in India. Cultivated here alternately with rice, only one crop of either is obtained within the year; but after the harvest of the rice, or the gathering of the tobacco-leaves, the land is allowed to remain fallow, till the season again arrives for preparing it to receive the other. The young plant is not raised within the district, but procured from the high lands in the vicinity; principally from the district of *Káli-béber*, on the slope of the mountain *Díeng* or *Práhu*, where it is raised and sold by the hundred to the cultivators of the adjoining districts. The transplantation takes place in the month of June, and the plant is at its full growth in October.

Wheat, Potatoes, &c.

Wheat has been introduced by the Europeans, and cultivated with success to the extent required by the European population. It thrives in many parts of the interior of the country: it is sown in May, and reaped in October; and, where the cultivation has been left to the Javans, the grain has been sold at the rate of about seven rupees the *pikul*.

Potatoes have been cultivated during the last forty years, in elevated situations, near all the principal European establishments, and are reckoned of a quality superior to those ordinarily procured in Bengal or China. Few of the natives, however, have as yet adopted them as a common article of food. Besides potatoes, most of the common culinary vegetables of Europe are raised in the gardens of the Europeans and Chinese. It must be confessed, however, that they degenerate, if perpetuated on the soil without change; and that their abundance and quality depends, in a great measure, on the supplies of fresh seed imported from Europe, the Cape, or other quarters.

Agricultural policy.

Having now given an account of the different kinds of produce raised within the island, and the arts of husbandry practised by the natives, I shall conclude this short sketch of Javan agriculture by an account of the tenure of landed property, the rights of the proprietor and tenant, the proportion of the produce paid for rent, the division of farms among the inhabitants of villages, and the causes that have obstructed or promoted agricultural improvements.

The relative situation, rank, and privileges of the village farmer and the native chief in Java, correspond in most instances, with those of the Ryot and Zemindar of Bengal; but the more frequent and more immediate interference of the sovereign, in the former case, with any tendency to established usage

usage or prescriptive claim, has left no room for that difference of opinion, concerning proprietary right, which exercised the ingenuity of the highest authorities in the latter. In Bengal, before the introduction of the permanent revenue settlement, there were usages, institutions, and established modes of proceeding with regard to landed estates, that rendered it doubtful in which of the three parties more immediately interested, the proprietary right should finally and lawfully be settled. The claim of the Ryot to retain the land which he cultivated, so long as he paid the stipulated contribution, seemed to raise his character above that of an ordinary tenant removeable at pleasure, or at the conclusion of a stipulated term. The situation of the Zemindar, as the actual receiver of the rents, standing between the sovereign and the cultivator, although merely for the purpose of paying them over with certain deductions to the sovereign, and his frequently transmitting the office with its emoluments to his children, although held only during pleasure, gave his character some affinity to that of an European landholder. And lastly, the sovereign himself, who ultimately received the rents, and regulated them at his pleasure, and removed both Zemindar and Ryot, in case of negligence or disobedience, was arrayed with the most essential attributes of proprietary right, or at least exercised a power that could render any opposite claims nugatory. Thus the Ryot, the Zemindar, and the sovereign, had each his pretensions to the character of landholder. After much cautious inquiry and deliberate discussion on the part of our Indian government, the claims of the Zemindars, rather perhaps from considerations of policy than a clear conviction of their superior right, were preferred. In Java, however, except in the cases of a few alienated lands and in the *Súnda* districts, of which more will be said hereafter, no such pretensions are heard of, as those which were advocated on the part of the Zemindars of western India; although inquiries to ascertain the equitable and legitimate rights of all classes of the people, were known to be in progress, and a plan was declared to be in contemplation for their permanent adjustment. From every inquiry that was instituted under the British government, and every fact that was presented to the view of its officers, it appeared that, in the greatest part of the island, in the eastern and middle districts, and in short in those provinces where rent to any considerable amount was attainable, there existed no proprietary right between that of the sovereign and that of the cultivator, that the government was the only landholder.

There

There are lands, indeed, which contribute nothing to the state, some on which the cultivator pays no rent whatever, and others of which the rent remains in the hands of his immediate superior; but the manner in which individuals acquire, and the tenure by which they hold such lands, form illustrations and proofs of the proprietory right of the sovereign. As his resources arise almost entirely from the share of produce which he exacts, and as he considers himself invested with an absolute dominion over that share, he burthens certain villages or estates with the salaries of particular officers, allots others for the support of his relatives or favourites, or grants them for the benefit of particular charitable or religious institutions; in the same manner as, before the Consolidation Act in this country, the interest of particular loans were fixed upon the produce of specific imposts. Here the alienation shews the original right: the sovereign renounces the demand to which he was entitled; he makes no claim upon the farmer for a share of the crop himself, but orders it to be paid over to those whom he thus appoints in his place, so far as the gift extends. With the exception of the *Súnda* districts, as already stated, and a comparatively inconsiderable portion of land thus alienated on different conditions, the proprietary right to the soil in Java vests universally in the government, whether exercised by native princes or by colonial authority, and that permanent and hereditary interest in it so necessary to its improvement, those individual rights of property which are created by the laws and protected by the government, are unknown. With these exceptions, neither law nor usage authorizes the oldest occupant of land in Java to consider the ground which he has reclaimed from waste, or the farm on which he has exerted all his industry, as his own, by such a tenure as will enable him, and his successors for ever, to reap the fruits of his labour. He can have gained no title, even to a definite term of occupancy, but from the capricious servant of a capricious despot, who himself is not legally bound by his engagement, and whose successor is not even morally bound by it.

As a matter of convenience, the same cultivator may continue to occupy the same portion of land for life, and his children, after his decease, may inherit the ground which he cultivated, paying the dues to which he was liable. The head of a village, whether called *Búkul*, *Petíng'gi*, or *Lúrah*, may be continued in the collection of the village rents for life, and may be succeeded in office by his heirs; the superior officer, or *Demáng*, with whom he accounts, may likewise hold his situation for a long period, and

transmit it to his family; but none of them can stand in the possession against the will of their immediate superior, or of the sovereign, by any claim of law or custom.

Little of the revenue collected from the occupants is transmitted to the government treasury; the greatest part of that which is raised, and which, in other countries, would come into the hands of government, for subsequent distribution among its servants and the support of its various establishments, is intercepted in its progress by those to whom the sovereign immediately assigns it. The officers of police, of justice, of the prince's household, and, in short, public servants of all classes, from the prime minister down to the lowest menial, are paid with appropriations of the rent of land.

To this general principal of Javan law and usage, that the government is the only landholder, there are exceptions, as I mentioned before, in some districts of the island. These are chiefly in the districts inhabited by the *Súndas*, who occupy the mountainous and woody country in the western division of the island. Among them, private property in the soil is generally established; the cultivator can transmit his possession to his children: among them, it can be subdivided, without any interference on the part of a superior; the possessor can sell his interest in it to others, and transfer it by gift or covenant. He pays to his chief a certain proportion of the produce, in the same manner as the other inhabitants of Java; because, in a country without trade or manufactures, labour or produce is the only shape in which he can contribute to support the necessary establishments of the community. So long as he advances this tribute, which is one-tenth or one-fifth of the gross produce, he has an independent right to the occupancy of his land and the enjoyment of the remainder. The reason why the landed tenure of these districts differs, in so important a particular, from that of the most extensive and valuable part of the island, may perhaps be explained from their nature, without resorting to any original difference in the laws of property or the maxims of government. Where the population is small in proportion to the extent of soil, and much land remains unoccupied, the best only will become the subject of demand and appropriation. The latter alone is valuable, because it yields great returns for little labour, and therefore offers inducements to engage in its cultivation, in spite of many artificial disadvantages: it alone can afford a desirable surplus, after maintaining the hands that call for its fertility, and consequently

tempts

tempts power to reserve unalienated the right to this surplus. On the other hand, when waste ground is to be reclaimed, when forests or jungle are to be cleared, or when a sterile and ungrateful spot is to be cultivated, the government have less interest in reserving the surplus, and must offer superior inducements of immunity, permanency, or exemption, to lead to the cultivation. On this principle, the tenure of land in the *Súnda* districts, and on some parts of the coast, may be accounted for. It may be concluded, that many of these lands were reclaimed from waste by the present occupiers or their immediate predecessors, and their rights to possess them, which is similar to that which the discoverer of an unappropriated field, forest, or mine would have, by nature, to as many of their products as he could realize by his labours, has not been crushed or interfered with by the sovereign; a forbearance, probably, more to be attributed to motives of prudence than to the restraint of law. Nearly coincident with this conclusion is the supposition which assumes, that before the introduction of the Mahometan system and the encroachments of despotic sovereigns, all the lands on the island were considered as the property of those who cultivated them; but that, as the value of the most fertile spots became more apparent, while the labour which had been originally expended in clearing them, and constituted the title to their original occupancy, was gradually forgotten, the government found inducements and facilities to increase its demands, and thus became possessed of the rights of some by violence, while it rendered those of all unworthy of being preserved. The land tenures of the *Súnda* districts, according to this hypothesis, are only wrecks of the general system, which have been protected against encroachment, because they did not so powerfully invite rapacity. Whatever truth there may be in this opinion, the fact is undoubted, that in the mountainous and less fertile districts of Java, and in the island of *Báli*, where the Mahometan sway has not yet extended, individual proprietary right in the soil is fully established, while in that portion of Java where the Mahometan rule has been most felt, and where proprietary right amounts to the greatest value, it vests almost exclusively in the sovereign.

The situation, however, of the cultivator in the Sunda districts, who is a proprietor, is not much more eligible than that of the tenant of the government: he may, it is true, alienate or transfer his lands, but while he retains them, he is liable to imposts almost as great as they can bear; and when he transfers them, he can therefore expect little for sur-

rendering to another the privilege of reaping from his own soil, what is only the average recompense of labour expended on the estate of another. The Revenue Instructions, therefore, bearing date the 11th February 1814, and transmitted from the local government to the officers intrusted with the charge of the several provinces subject to its authority, lay down the following general position. "The nature of the landed tenure throughout the island is "now thoroughly understood. Generally speaking, no proprietary right in "the soil is vested in any between the actual cultivator and the sovereign; "the intermediate classes, who may have at any time enjoyed the revenues "of villages or districts, being deemed merely the executive officers of "government, who received these revenues from the gift of their lord, "and who depended on his will alone for their tenure. Of this actual "proprietary right there can be no doubt that the investiture rested solely "in the sovereign; but it is equally certain, that the first clearers of the "land entitled themselves, as a just reward, to such a real property in the "ground they thus in a manner created, that while a due tribute of a certain "share of its produce was granted to the sovereign power for the protection "it extended, the government, in return, was equally bound not to disturb "them or their heirs in its possession. This disposal of the government "share was thus, therefore, all that could justly depend on the will of the "ruling authority; and consequently, the numerous gifts of land made in "various periods by the several sovereigns, have in no way affected the "rights of the actual cultivators. All that government could alienate was "merely its own revenue or share of the produce. This subject has come "fully under discussion, and the above result, as regarding this island, has "been quite satisfactorily established." It is remarked, in a subsequent paragraph of the same instructions, "that there have been, it is known, in "many parts of the country, grants from the sovereign of lands in per-"petuity, which are regularly inheritable, and relative to which the original "documents still exist. Of these, some have been made for religious pur-"poses, others as rewards or provision for relatives or the higher nobility. "These alienations, as far as it was justly in the power of the sovereign "to make, must certainly be held sacred; but their extent should be "clearly defined, that the rights of others be not compromised by them. "The government share, when granted, will not be reclaimed; but the "rights of the cultivator must not be affected by these grants. Such proprie-"tors of revenue, as they may be termed, shall in short be allowed to act,

"with

" with regard to the cultivators on their estates, as government acts towards " those on its own lands, that is, they shall receive a fixed share of the pro- " duce, but whilst that is duly delivered, they shall neither exact more nor " remove any individual from his land." It is remarked by Major Yule, the British resident, in his Report on Bantam, that there, " all property in " the soil is vested exclusively in the hands of the sovereign power; but in " consequence of its having been long customary to confer grants of land " upon the different branches of the royal family, and other chiefs and " favourites about court, a very small portion was left without some " claimant or other. The *púsákas* granted to the relations of the Sultan " were considered as real property, and sometimes descended to the heirs " of the family, and at others were alienated from it by private sale. To " effect a transfer of this nature the previous sanction of the Sultan was " necessary, after which the party waited on the high priest, or *Mangku-bumi*, " who made the necessary inquiries, and delivered the title deeds to the " purchaser, in which were specified the situation, extent, boundaries, and " price of the land sold. A register of sales was kept by the priests, the " purchaser paying the fees; and it rarely occurred that land sold in this " manner were ever resumed by the crown, without some adequate com- " pensation being made to the purchaser. *Púsákas* given to chiefs for " services performed, were recoverable again at pleasure, and always " reverted to the crown on the demise of the chief to whom they had been " granted: in all other respects, the same privileges were annexed to them " as to the former. The holders of *púsáka* lands were very seldom the " occupants; they generally remained about the court, and on the approach " of the rice harvest deputed agents to collect their share of the crop. " They do not let their lands for specific periods. The cultivators are liable " to be turned out at pleasure, and when ejected, have no claims to " compensation for improvements made while in possession, such as water- " courses, or plantations of fruit trees made by themselves or their " parents."

" We must make a distinction," say the Dutch Commissioners appointed to investigate this subject in 1811, " between the *Príangén* regencies, the " province of *Chéribon*, and the eastern districts. Throughout the whole " extent of the *Príangén* regencies exists a pretended property on uncultivated lands, on which no person can settle without the consent of the " inhabitants of that *désa*, or village. In the *sáwah* fields, or cultivated " lands,

" lands, every inhabitant, from the Regent down to the lowest rank, has a " share, and may act with it in what manner he pleases, either sell, let, or " otherwise dispose of it, and loses that right only by leaving the village in " a clandestine manner.

" In the province of *Chéribon*, according to the ancient constitution, " each district and *désa*, like the *Príangen* regencies, has its own lands; " with the difference, however, that whilst those regencies are con- " sidered as belonging to villages and individuals, here the villages and " lands are altogether the pretended property of the chiefs, or of the " relations or favourites of the Sultans, who even might dispose of the " same, with one exception, however, of that part allotted to the common " people. Sometimes the Sultans themselves were owners of *désas* and " chiefs of the same; in which case the inhabitants were better treated " than in the former instances. If an individual thought himself wronged " by the chief, who either sold, hired out, or otherwise disposed of his " lands, he took his revenge, not on that chief, but on the person who " held possession of the property. To corroborate this statement it may be " mentioned, that the lands in the district of *Chéribon* were for the most " part farmed out to Chinese, who increased their extortions in proportion " as the chief raised his farm or rent, and thus almost deprived the common " people of all their means.

" On the north-east coast of the eastern districts, no person can be called " a proprietor of rice fields or other lands: the whole country belongs to " government, and in this light do all the Regents consider it. The rice " fields of a regency are divided among the whole of the population: in " the division the chiefs have a share, according to their rank, occupations, " or taxes they are paying.

" The chief enjoys his lands as long as he holds his station; the common " people for a year only, when it falls to the share of another inhabitant of " the *désa*, or village, that all may reap a benefit from it in turn. The ideas " of the Javans concerning tenures, thus appear to be of three kinds: in " the *Súnda* division they consist in allotting to the villages of uncultivated, " and to individual persons of certain portions in the cultivated or *sáwah* " fields: in *Chéribon*, the sultans and chiefs, as well as the common people, " assert pretensions to similar allotments: in the eastern districts, on the " contrary, no body pretends to the possession of land; every one is satis- " fied with the regulation laid down, but if a man's share is withheld, he is

" apt

" apt to emigrate. No person considers himself bound to servitude. The " Javans, however, in the *Príang'en* regencies, in *Chéribon*, and in the " eastern districts, pretend to have an unquestionable right to all the fruit " trees and *síri* plants, at or near their *kámpung* or *désa*."

" There is not," says Mr. Knops, another of the Dutch Commissioners, " a single Javan, who supposes that the soil is the property of the Regent, " but they all seem to be sensible that it belongs to government, usually " called the sovereign among them; considering the Regent as a subject like " themselves, who holds his district and authority from the sovereign. His " idea of property is modified by the three kinds of subjects, to which " it is applied: rice fields, *gágas*, and fruit trees. A Javan has no rice " fields he can call his own; those of which he had the use last year will " be exchanged next year for others. They circulate (as in the regency of " *Semárang*) from one person to another, and if any one were excluded, he " would infallibly emigrate. It is different with the *gágas*, or lands where " dry rice is cultivated: the cultivator who clears such lands from trees or " brushwood, and reclaims them from a wilderness, considers himself as " proprietor of the same, and expects to reap its fruits without diminution " or deduction. With regard to fruit trees, the Javan cultivator claims " those he has planted as his legal property, without any imposts: if a " chief were to trespass against this right, the village would soon be deserted. " The Javan, however, has not, in my opinion, any real idea of property " even in his fruit trees, but usage passes with him for a law. All disposi- " tions made by the chief, not contrary to custom or the *ádat*, are consi- " dered as legal, and likewise all that would contribute to ease the people, " by lessening or reducing the capitation tax, the contingent, the feudal " services, in short all the charges imposed upon them. A different system " would be contrary to custom. Whatever favours the people is legal, " whatever oppresses them is an infraction of the custom."

The tenure of land in the native provinces is the same generally as in the eastern districts. Thus stands the question with regard to the proprietary right to the soil in Java; but it is of more consequence in an agricultural point of view, and consequently more to my present purpose, to inquire how that right is generally exercised, than in whom it resides. Though the cultivator had no legal title to his lands, there might still be such a prevalent usage in favour of his perpetual occupancy, as would secure him in

in the enjoyment of his possession, and enable him to reap the fruits of his industry equally with the protection of his positive law.

But unfortunately for the prosperity of the people, this was far from being generally the case. The cultivator had little security for continued occupancy, but the power, on his part, of enduring unlimited oppression without removing from under it, or the interest of his immediate superior in retaining a useful slave; and as he could not expect to reap in safety the fruits of his industry, beyond the bare supply of his necessities, he carried that industry no farther than his necessities demanded. The sovereign knew little about the state of his tenantry or the conduct of his agents, and viewed the former only as instruments to create the resources, which the latter were employed to collect or administer. All his care was to procure as much from the produce of the soil and industry of his subjects as possible, and the complaints of the people, who suffered under the exactions of these chiefs, were intercepted in their way to the throne, and perhaps would have been disregarded had they reached it. The sovereign delegates his authority over a province of greater or less extent, to a high officer called *Adipáti, Tumúng'gung*, or *Ang'ebái*, who is himself paid by the rent of certain portions of land, and is responsible for the revenues of the districts over which he is appointed. He, in his turn, elects an officer, called *Demáng* or *Mántridésa*, to administer the sub-divisions or districts of the province, to appoint the chiefs, and to collect the rents of several villages. The village chief, *Búkul, Lúrah*, or whatever designation he bears in the different parts of the island, thus appointed by his immediate superior, is placed in the administration of the village, required to collect the government share of the crop from the cultivator, and to account for it to the *Demáng*. In some provinces, the village elects its own chief, called *Petíng'gi*, who exercises similar functions with the *Búkul* appointed by government, as will be afterwards more particularly observed in the account of the native administration. As all the officers of government, of whatever rank, are paid their salaries in the produce of the land, the *Búkuls* and the *Demángs* become responsible for the share of the appropriations of villages to this account, as much as if it went into the government treasury. They are themselves paid by the reservation of a certain share of what they collect, and of course are always ready to please their employers, and to increase their own emoluments, by enforcing every practicable exaction. Every officer has unlimited power over

over those below him, and is himself subject to the capricious will of the sovereign or his minister. When the Regent makes any new or exorbitant demand upon those whom he immediately superintends, they must exact it with an increased degree of rigour over the chiefs of villages, who are thus, in their turn, forced to press upon the cultivator, with the accumulated weight of various gradations of despotism.

The *Búkul*, or the *Peting'gi* is the immediate head of the village, and however much his authority is modified in particular districts, has always extensive powers. To the cultivators, he appears in the character of the real landholder, as they have no occasion to look beyond him to the superior, by whom he is controuled. He distributes the lands to the different cultivators in such shares, and on such conditions, as he pleases, or as custom warrants, assesses the rents they have to pay, allots them their village duties, measures the produce of their fields, and receives the government proportion. He sometimes himself cultivates a small portion of land, and in so far is regarded only as a tenant, like the rest of the villagers. He is accountable for all the collections he realizes, with the reservation of a fifth part for his trouble, which share must be viewed merely as the emoluments of office, and not as the rent of the landlord, or the profits of a farmer. He sometimes holds his situation immediately of the sovereign, or by the election of the cultivators; but more generally from the intermediate agent of government, whom I have mentioned above, to whom he is accountable for his receipts. By his superior he may be removed at pleasure; although the local knowledge and accumulated means, which are the consequence of the possession of office, generally insure its duration to his person for a considerable period, or as long as his superior himself retains his power.

The lands which he superintends and apportions range from six or seven to double that number of *jungs*, or from forty or fifty to an hundred acres English, and these are divided among the inhabitants of his village, generally varying from about two acres to half an acre each. That this minute division of land takes place, may be shewn from the surveys made under the British government in the eastern provinces, which nearly resemble those under the dominion of the native princes, and consequently may be taken as indicating the general state of the island. The inhabitants in the agricultural districts of the residency of *Surabáya* amount in all to 129,938: these compose 33,141 families, of which 32,618 belong to the class of cultivators,

and 523 belonging to other professions pay only a ground rent for their houses. The area of the province contains about twelve hundred square miles, or 34,955 *jungs*, about 20,000 only of which are cultivated, so as to become of any consequence in the division of lands among the villages, the number of which amount to 2,770. By a calculation founded on these data, it would appear, that each village averages about twelve families, that a family falls considerably short of the average of four, and that a little more than seven *jungs* are allotted to a village. In *Kedú* the population amounts to 197,310, the number of villages to 3,879, and the quantity of cultivated land to 19,052 *jungs*; so that in this province there are about five *jungs* attached to a village; and a village is inhabited by fifty-one souls, or about twelve or thirteen families. In *Grésik*, the number of villages amount to 1,396, the quantity of cultivated land to 17,018 *jungs*, and the population to 115,442 souls. In *Probolíng'o* and *Besúki*, the numbers are, of inhabitants, 104,359; of villages, 827; of cultivated land, 13,432 *jungs*. In these two last the proportions vary, the number of *jungs* to a village in the former being more than twelve, and of inhabitants more than eighty, or about twenty families; and in the latter, the proportion is more than one hundred and twenty souls to a village possessed of more than sixteen *jungs* of land. It would be superfluous to state any more examples. In different parts of the island, there are variations within certain limits; but the quantity of land occupied by one cultivator seldom exceeds a *báhu*, (or the quarter of *jung*), although the quantity occupied by a village, as will be seen by the above instances, varies from five to sixteen, according to the extent of the population.

The land allotted to each separate cultivator is managed by himself exclusively; and the practice of labouring in common, which is usual among the inhabitants of the same village on continental India, is here unknown. Every one, generally speaking, has his own field, his own plough, his own buffaloes or oxen; prepares his farm with his own hand, or the assistance of his family at seed-time, and reaps it by the same means at harvest. By the recent surveys, when every thing concerning the wealth and the resources of the country became the subject of inquiry, and means were employed to obtain the most accurate information, it was ascertained, that the number of buffaloes on that part of the island to which these surveys extended, was nearly in the proportion of one to a family, or a pair to two families; and that, including the yokes of oxen, which are to those of buffaloes

buffaloes as one to three, this proportion would be very much exceeded. In some provinces, more exclusively devoted to grain cultivation, the number of ploughs, and of course oxen or buffaloes, nearly amounts to one to a family. In other cases, where they fall much short of this proportion, a considerable part of the inhabitants must be engaged in labours unconnected with agriculture, or the cultivators must be engaged in rearing produce, where the assistance of those animals is not required. Thus in *Japára* and *Jawána*, where the number of inhabitants is 103,290, or about twenty-six thousand families, the number of ploughs amount to 20,730, and of buffaloes to 43,511; while in the Batavian Regencies, where the coffee culture employs a considerable part of the inhabitants, the number of families is about sixty thousand, and of ploughs only 17,366. The lands on Java are so minutely divided among the inhabitants of the villages, that each receives just as much as can maintain his family and employ his individual industry.

" A time there was, ere England's griefs began,
" When ev'ry rood of ground maintain'd its man;
" For him light labour spread her wholesome store,
" Just gave what life requir'd, and gave no more:
" His best companions, innocence and health;
" And his best riches, ignorance of wealth."

But situated as the Javan peasantry are, there is but little inducement to invest capital in agriculture, and much labour must be unprofitably wasted: as property is insecure, there can be no desire of accumulation; as food is easily procured, there can be no necessity for vigorous labour. There exists, as a consequence of this state of nature and of the laws, few examples of great affluence or abject distress among the peasantry; no rich men, and no common beggars. Under the native governments and the Regents of the Dutch Company, there were no written leases or engagements binding for a term of years; nor could such contracts well be expected to be formed with an officer, who held his own place by so unstable a tenure as the will of a despot. The cultivator bargained with the *Búkul* or *Petíng'gi* for a season or for two crops, had his land measured off by the latter, and paid a stipulated portion of the produce either in money or in kind. When the crop had arrived at maturity, the cultivator, if his engagement was for so much of the produce in kind, cut down his own share, and left that of the landlord on the ground.

Rent of land.

The proportion of the crop paid as rent varied with the kind of land, or produce, and the labour employed by the cultivator. In the *sáwah*

lands, the share demanded by the landlord rarely exceeded one-half, and might fall as low as one-fourth, according as the quality of the soil was good or bad, or the labour employed in irrigating or otherwise preparing it was greater or less. In *tégal* lands, the rent paid varied from one-third to one-fifth of the produce; a diminution to be attributed to the uncertainty of the crop, and the necessity of employing more labour to realize an equal produce than on the other species of cultivation. In cases where there was a second crop of less value than the principal rice or maize crop, no additional demand was made upon the additional grain reaped by the farmer.

If such rates had been equitably fixed, after a deliberate estimate of the proportion between the labour of the cultivator and his produce, and if from the best kind of *sáwah* no more than the half had been required, with a scale of rents diminishing as labour increased or the soil deteriorated, the peasant could have had no reason to complain of the exactions of government. A *jung* of the best *sáwah* lands will produce between forty and fifty *ámats* of *pári*, each *ámat* weighing about one thousand pounds. Suppose a cultivator occupied a quarter of a *jung* of such land, he would reap ten *ámats*, or ten thousand pounds of *pári*, and allowing a half for the government deduction, would still retain five thousand pounds, which is equal to about eight quarters of wheat. The best *sáwah* lands return about forty-fold; *sáwah* lands of the second quality yield from thirty to forty *ámats* the *jung*; and they are considered of inferior quality when they yield less than thirty. From these last, two-fifths or one-third was required as the landlord's share. *Tégal* lands were assessed at one-third, one-fourth, or one-fifth of their produce, according to their quality, and their produce in value is about a fourth of *sáwah* lands of the same relative degree in the scale. In Bengal, according to Mr. Colebrooke's excellent account of its husbandry, "the landlord's proportion of the crop was one-half, two-fifths, and a "third, according to the difference of circumstances." The value in money of a crop of rice grown on a *jung* of the best land under the wet cultivation, may amount to one hundred and sixty Spanish dollars; and on a *báhu* (the space occupied by an individual cultivator), forty dollars. I formerly stated the price of the implements of husbandry, the price of buffaloes or oxen, the expence of building a house, and providing it with the necessary furniture. The whole farming stock of a villager may be purchased for about fifteen or sixteen dollars, or for little more than a third part of the produce of his land in one year. The price of labour, the price

price of cattle and of grain, as well as the fertility of the soil, varies in different parts of the island; but, in general, it may be laid down as an indisputable proposition, that from the natural bounty of the soil, the peasantry might derive all the means of subsistence and comfort, without any great exertion of ingenuity, or any severity of toil, if their government made no greater demand than the shares stated above.

But besides the rent which the cultivator paid for his land, he was liable to many more grievous burdens. The great objection to a tax levied on land, and consisting in a certain share of its produce, arises from the effect that it has in obstructing improvements; but there were other imposts and contributions exacted from the peasantry, which were positively and immediately oppressive. A ground-rent for houses, called *pachúmplang*, was prevalent over many parts of the island, amounting, in the provinces subject to the native princes, to one-sixth or seventh of a dollar for each dwelling or cottage. The cultivator, in some parts of the country, instead of paying this tax, was obliged to pay for his fruit trees. In some districts there was a capitation tax; arbitrary fines were levied in others, and contributions on the birth or marriage of the children of the superior, regent, or the prince. There were several charges made on the villages, that had a more immediate reference to their own advantage, but which nevertheless were felt as burdens; such as contributions for the repair of roads, of bridges, for the making or repair of water-courses, dams, and other works necessary for irrigation. Demands on the inhabitants for charitable and religious objects or institutions are universal, though not very oppressive. Every village has its priest, who depends upon the contributions of the peasantry for his support, receiving so much rice or *pári* as his salary. The taxes on the internal trade of the country extended to every article of manufacture, produce, or consumption, and being invariably farmed out to Chinese, who employed every mode of extortion that their ingenuity could invent, or the passive disposition of the people would allow them to practice, constituted an inexhaustible source of oppression: to these we may add the feudal services and forced deliveries required under the Dutch government.

The following observations extracted from two reports, the one on *Bantam*, at the western side of the island, and the other on *Pasúruan*, almost at its other extremity, were unhappily by no means inapplicable to the greatest part of the intermediate space, and contain by no means an exaggerated

gerated representation. " The holders of *púsaka* lands in *Bantam* were " very seldom the occupants; they generally remained about court, and " on the approach of the *pári* harvest deputed agents to collect their share " of the crop. But what proportion their share would bear to the whole " produce does not appear to be well defined: it is by one stated at a fifth, " and by some (which I suspect to be nearest the truth) at as much as the " cultivator could afford to pay, the agents of the proprietors being the " judges of the quantity. The proprietors of the *púsakas* have also a claim " to the services of the cultivators: a certain number of them are always " in attendance at the houses of their chiefs, and on journies are employed " in carrying their persons and baggage. The lands not *púsaka* used to pay " the same proportion of produce to the Sultan as the others did to the " proprietors; but the cultivators of the royal dominions laboured under " greater disadvantages than the others. Every chief or favourite about " court had authority to employ them in the most menial offices; and " chiefs possessing *púsakas*, often spared their own people and employed " the others. The Sultan always had a right to enforce the culture of any " article which he thought proper to direct; and, in such cases, a price " was paid upon the produce, which was generally very inadequate to the " expences."

" It may be very desirable, says Mr. Jourdan, in his report on the completion of the settlement of *Pasúruan*, " that I should mention a few of the " oppressions from which it is the object of the present system to relieve the " people. I cannot but consider the greatest of these, the extent of the personal service demanded, not only by the *Tumúng'gung* and his family, but the " *Mántris* and all the petty chiefs, who had trains of followers that received " no stipendiary recompence. These added to the individuals employed in the " coffee plantations (to which they appear peculiarly averse), in beating out " the rice for the contingent, in cutting grass for and attending the *jáyang* " *sekárs*, post carriage and letter carriers, may be calculated to have " employed one-fifth of the male population of the working men. Another " great source of exaction was the large unwieldy establishment of *jayang* " *sekárs*, and police officers: the former were liberally paid, the latter had " no regular emoluments. Both these classes, however, quartered themselves freely in whatever part of the country their functions demanded " their attendance. This was equally the case with any of the Regent's " family or petty chiefs who travelled for pleasure or on duty. Whatever

" was

" was required for themselves and their followers, was taken from the poor " inhabitants, who have now been so long accustomed to such practices, " that they never dare to complain or to remonstrate. The European " authority did not escape the taint of corruption. Monopolies, unpaid " services, licences, forced or at least expected presents, were but too " common even in the best times, and must have contributed to estrange " the affections and respect of the natives from that power which should " have afforded them protection. From this faint sketch it will be deduced, " that while the men of rank were living in pampered luxury, the poor " provincials were suffering penury and distress."

The Dutch Company, actuated solely by the spirit of gain, and viewing their Javan subjects with less regard or consideration than a West-India planter formerly viewed the gang upon his estate, because the latter had paid the purchase-money of human property which the other had not, employed all the pre-existing machinery of despotism, to squeeze from the people their utmost mite of contribution, the last dregs of their labour, and thus aggravated the evils of a capricious and semi-barbarous government, by working it with all the practised ingenuity of politicians and all the monopolising selfishness of traders.

Can it therefore be a subject of surprise, that the arts of agriculture, and the improvement of society, have made no greater advances in Java? Need it excite wonder, that the implements of husbandry are simple; that the cultivation is unskilful and inartificial; that the state of the roads, where European convenience is not consulted, is bad; that the natural advantages of the country are neglected; that so little enterprize is displayed or capital employed; that the peasant's cottage is mean, and that so little wealth and knowledge are among the agricultural population; when it is considered, that the occupant of land enjoys no security for reaping the fruits of his industry; when his possession is liable to be taken away from him every season, or to suffer such an enhancement of rent as will drive him from it; when such a small quantity of land only is allowed him as will yield him bare subsistence, and every ear of grain that can be spared from the supply of his immediate wants is extorted from him in the shape of tribute; when his personal services are required unpaid for, in the train of luxury or in the culture of articles of monopoly; and when, in addition to all these discouragements, he is subject to other heavy imposts and impolitic restraints? No man will exert himself, when acting for another, with so much zeal as when

when stimulated by his own immediate interest; and under a system of government, where every thing but the bare means of subsistence is liable to be seized, nothing but the means of subsistence will be sought to be attained. The Dutch accuse the Javans of indolent habits and fraudulent dispositions; but surely the oppressor has no right to be surprized, that the oppressed appear reluctant in his service, that they meet his exactions with evasion, and answer his call to labour with sluggish indifference.

The mode of dividing land into minute portions is decidedly favourable to population, and nothing but those checks to the progress of agriculture, to which I have referred, could have limited the population of Java to numbers so disproportioned to its fertility, or confined the labours of the peasantry to so small a space of what would reward their industry with abundance. The cultivated ground on the island has already been estimated at an eighth part of the whole area. In *Probolíng'o* and *Besúki*, the total number of *jungs* of land amount to 775,483, the total of land capable of superior cultivation 174,675 *jungs*, while the space actually cultivated amounts only to 13,432 *jungs*. In *Rembáng*, the land belonging to villages is about 40,000 *jungs*, and not the half of that quantity is under cultivation. In *Pasúruan*, the same appearances are exhibited. From this last district the Resident's report on the settlement states, as a reason for his assessing the same rent on all the land, "that the cultivated part bearing so "small a proportion to the cultivated, the inhabitants have been enabled to "select the most fruitful spots exclusively: hence arises the little variety I "have discovered in the produce." *Chéribon*, Bantam, the *Príang'en* regencies, the eastern corner of the island, the provinces under the native governments, and in short the greatest and most fertile districts, furnish striking illustrations of this disproportion between the bounty of nature and the inefficient exertions of man to render her gifts available, to extend population, and to promote human happiness; or rather they supply an example of unwise institutions and despotic government, counteracting the natural progress of both.

Measures of the British government.

When the British arms prevailed in 1811, the attention of government was immediately turned to the state and the interests of its new subjects. It saw at once the natural advantages of the island and the causes which obstructed its prosperity, and it determined to effect those changes which, having succeeded in Western India, and being sanctioned by justice and expediency, were likely to improve those advantages and to remove those obstructions.

obstructions. In consequence of the instructions of Lord Minto, the Governor General, who was present at the conquest and took a great interest in the settlement of the island, no time was lost to institute inquiries and to collect information on the state of the peasantry, and the other points, the knowledge of which was necessary, before any attempt to legislate could be wisely or rationally made. The following principles, laid down by his Lordship, were those on which the local government acted.

"Contingents of rice, and indeed of other productions, have been "hitherto required of the cultivators by government at an arbitrary rate: "this also is a vicious system, to be abandoned as soon as possible. The "system of contingents did not arise from the mere solicitude for the "supply of the people, but was a measure alone of finance and control, "to enable government to derive a revenue from a high price imposed on "the consumer, and to keep the whole body of the people dependent on its "pleasure for subsistence. I recommend a radical reform in this branch to "the serious and early attention of government. The principle of encou- "raging industry in the cultivation and improvements of lands, by creating "an interest in the effort and fruits of that industry, can be expected in "Java only by a fundamental change of the whole system of landed pro- "perty and tenure. A wide field, but a somewhat distant one, is open to "this great and interesting improvement; the discussion of the subject, "however, must necessarily be delayed till the investigation it requires is "more complete. I shall transmit such thoughts as I have entertained, and "such hopes as I have indulged in this grand object of amelioration; but "I am to request the aid of all the information, and all the lights, that this "island can afford. On this branch, nothing must be done that is not "mature, because the exchange is too extensive to be suddenly or ignorantly "attempted. But fixed and immutable principles of the human character "and of human association, assure me of ultimate, and I hope not remote "success, in views that are consonant with every motion of action that "operate on man, and are justified by the practice and experience of every "flourishing country of the world."

In compliance with these instructions, the object of which was embraced with zeal by the local government, to whom his lordship entrusted the administration of the island, a commission was appointed, under the able direction of Colonel Mackenzie, to prosecute statistic inquiries; the results of which, as corrected and extended by subsequent surveys, will frequently

appear in the tables and statistic accounts of this work. The nature of the landed tenure, and the demand made upon agriculture, in all the shapes of rent and taxes, were ascertained; the extortions practiced by the Dutch officers, the native princes, the regents, and the Chinese, were disclosed; the rights of all classes, by law or usage, investigated; the state of the population, the quantity and value of cultivated land, of forests, of plantations of cotton and coffee, the quantity of live stock, and other resources of the country subject to colonial administration, inquired into and made known. The result of these inquiries, with regard to landed tenure, I have given above; and, as it will be seen, it was such as opposed the rights of no intermediate class between the local government and the beneficial changes it contemplated in behalf of the great body of the people. After attaining the requisite information, the course which expediency, justice, and political wisdom pointed out was not doubtful, and coincided (as in most cases it will be found to do) with the track which enlightened benevolence and a zealous desire to promote the happiness of the people would dictate.

The peasant was subject to gross oppression and undefined exaction: our object was to remove his oppressor, and to limit demand to a fixed and reasonable rate of contribution. He was liable to restraints on the freedom of inland trade, to personal services and forced contingents: our object was to commute them all for a fixed and well-known contribution. The exertions of his industry were reluctant and languid, because he had little or no interest in its fruits: our object was to encourage that industry, by connecting its exertions with the promotion of his own individual welfare and prosperity. Capital could not be immediately created, nor agricultural skill acquired; but by giving the cultivator a security, that whatever he accumulated would be for his own benefit, and whatever improvement he made, he or his family might enjoy it, a motive was held out to him to exert himself in the road to attain both. Leases, or contracts for fixed rents for terms of years, in the commencement, and eventually in perpetuity, seemed to be the only mode of satisfying the cultivator, that he would not be liable, as formerly, to yearly undefined demands; while freedom from all taxes but an assessment on his crop, or rather a fixed sum in commutation thereof, would leave him at full liberty to devote the whole of his attention and labour to render his land as productive as possible.

In conformity with these views, an entire revolution was effected in the mode of levying the revenue, and assessing the taxes upon agriculture. The

The foundation of the amended system was, 1st. The entire abolition of forced deliveries at inadequate rates, and of all feudal services, with the establishment of a perfect freedom in cultivation and trade: 2d. The assumption, on the part of government, of the immediate superintendance of the lands, with the collection of the resources and rents thereof: 3d. The renting out of the lands so assumed to the actual occupants, in large or small estates according to local circumstances, on leases for a moderate term. In the course of the following years (1814 and 1815) these measures were carried into execution in most of the districts under our government, with a view to the eventual establishment of a perpetual settlement, on the principle of the *ryotwar*, or as it has been termed on Java, the *tiáng-álit* system.

The principles of land rental and detailed settlement were few and simple.* After mature inquiry, no obstacle appeared to exist, either in

 law

* These principles were contemplated as just and practicable by a Dutch authority (Van Hogendorp) who resided on Java, and criticized freely the measures of administration, as will appear from the following extracts from a work, which only came into my possession subsequently to the introduction of the new system by the British government. "Property of the "soil must be introduced by granting all the cultivated lands to those who have hitherto culti- "vated them, or, in other words, to the common Javans. All the rice fields belonging to each "*désa* should be distributed among its inhabitants, and the gardens or spots of ground, in "which their cottages stand, should also, in future, be their personal property. Correct "registers hereof should be kept, and certificates given to the different owners. Who can "produce a better and nearer right to the personal possession of the land, than he who has "cultivated and made it productive? And is there a country in the world, where the natives "are happy, free, and well settled, without having a property in the soil? Our own country, "and all the kingdoms of Europe, afford the most direct proofs of this: they flourish in pro- "portion as property is more or less secure and equally divided among the inhabitants of "each. All Europe groaned under the feudal system of government: all Europe has freed "itself from it; but by various means and in different degrees. Why, therefore, can similar "changes not be brought about on Java? Every thing urges us to make them, and the results "must be important and most advantageous to us. Java is alone able to relieve our com- "monwealth from all its difficulties.

"In order to collect a land-tax properly, a general and correct survey should, in the first "instance, be effected in all the districts belonging to us, according to an established land "measure, to be introduced generally throughout Java; for this is, at present, very irregular. "All the lands should then be divided into three classes, first, second, and third class, "according to the proportionate fertility of the soil, and according to the same proportion the "land tax should be established. I am very ready to admit, that this will naturally be difficult "and troublesome; but what system of government is exempt from these inconveniences?

"and

law or usage, to the interference of government, in regulating the condition of the peasantry; and it was resolved, therefore, that it should take into its own hands the management of that share of the land produce which was allowed to be its due, and protect the cultivator in the enjoyment and free disposal of the remainder. The undue power of the chiefs was to be removed, and so far as they had a claim for support, founded either on former services or deprivation of expected employment, they were to be remunerated in another way. The lands, after being surveyed and estimated, were to be parcelled out among the inhabitants of the villages, in the proportions established by custom or recommended by expediency. Contracts were to be entered into with each individual cultivator, who was to become the tenant of government, and leases specifying the extent and situation of their land, with the conditions of their tenure, were to be granted for one or more years, with a view to permanency, if at the end of the stipulated term, the arrangement should be found to combine the interest of the public revenue with the welfare and increasing prosperity of the

" and particularly in this country, where it is necessary to effect a radical change and reform " in order to produce any beneficial results? But with diligence, zeal, and deliberation, " all difficulties may be overcome; and even should the survey not be exactly correct in the " first instance, it might be improved from year to year. The word *jung* is now used by the " Javans for a certain measure of land; but this differs so much in different districts, that it " is impossible to ascertain how many square roods of land a *jung* ought to contain. The " name might be retained, however, and after having found by experience how many square " roods, in general or on an average, are contained in a *jung*, the proportion might be once " for all established, introduced throughout the island, and fixed as the regular land measure " of the country. It would be difficult, and as yet unnecessary, to calculate how many *jungs* " of land our territories on Java contain, and how much might be collected as a land-tax " from each *jung*, in order to ascertain what this tax would amount to. I think it should be " taken as a principle, that the land-tax can and ought to produce as much as the head-" money, (namely, a rix-dollar per head): the land-tax would then yield an annual and " certain income of at least two millions and a half of rix-dollars. Every spot of cultivated " ground being measured and settled to which class it belongs, every owner will correctly " know, how much he must pay for land-tax annually, and be completely at liberty to plant " his land with whatever he may prefer, and may conceive most conducive to his advantage. " I am of opinion, that during the first years it would be difficult, on account of the scarcity " of specie, or rather its absence from circulation, to collect the land-tax; but, in the " same way as with the head-money, it would be expedient, in the first years, to be somewhat " indulgent in the collection, or else to receive produce in lieu of money, which might be " done in this tax better than the capitation. But after five years of good administration, I " am certain that the land-tax would be fully and without difficulty collected."

the occupant. If that was not the case, room was thus left for a new adjustment, for a reduction of rate, or for any change in the system which might adapt it more to the interests and wishes of the people, without prejudice to the rights of government.

This experiment hazarded nothing, and held out every prospect of success; it committed no injustice, and compromized no claim. The peasantry could not suffer, because an assessment less in amount, and levied in a less oppressive manner than formerly (all rents, taxes, and services included), was required of them: the chiefs could not complain, because they were allowed the fair emoluments of office, and only restrained from oppressions which did not so much benefit themselves as injure their inferiors. Most of the latter were not only allowed an equivalent for their former income, but employed in services allied to their former duties,—the collection of the revenue, and the superintendance of the police. As the cultivator had acquired rights which the chief could not violate, as the former held in his possession a lease with the conditions on which he cultivated his farm, no infringement of which could be attempted on the part of the latter with impunity, no evil could result from employing the chiefs in collecting the revenue of districts, while, from their practical knowledge of the habits and individual concerns of the peasantry, of the nature of the seasons and the crops, they were the fittest persons for the office. For these services it seemed most expedient to pay them, either by allowing them a certain per-centage on their collections, or by allotting them portions of land rent free. The village constitution (which will be more particularly noticed in treating of the institutions of the country) was preserved inviolate; and the chiefs or head men of the villages, in many instances elected by the free will of the villagers, were invariably continued in office as the immediate collectors of the rents, and with sufficient authority to preserve the police, and adjust the petty disputes that might arise within them; the government scrupulously avoiding all unnecessary interference in the customs, usages, and details of these societies.

In looking at the condition of the peasantry, and in estimating the fertility of the soil, the wants of the people, and the proportion of produce and industry that they formerly were accustomed to pay for supporting the establishments of government, it was thought reasonable to commute all former burdens into a land rent on a fixed principle; all *sáwah* lands being estimated by the *pári*, or unhusked rice, they could produce, and all

tégal

tegál lands by their produce in maize. The following (as stated in the eighty-third article of the Revenue Instructions) was considered as the fairest scale for fixing the government share, and directed to be referred to, as much as possible, as the general standard:

For *Sáwah* Lands.

1st sort	One-half	of the estimated produce.
2d do.	Two-fifths	ditto.
3d do.	One-third	ditto.

For *Tégal* Lands.

1st sort	Two-fifths	of the estimated produce.
2d do.	One-third	ditto.
3d do.	One-fourth	ditto.

"Government," it is said in the eighty-fifth section, "think it necessary "to declare explicitly, that they will be satisfied when the land revenue "shall be productive to them in these proportions, determining at no "future period to raise the scale; so that the inhabitants, being thus "exactly acquainted with what will form the utmost demand on them, and "resting in full confidence that government will not exact any thing "further, may in that security enjoy their possessions in undisturbed hap-"piness, and apply their utmost industry to the improvement of their "lands; assured that, while they conduct themselves well, that land will "never be taken from them, and that the more productive they can ren-"der it, the more beneficial it will be for themselves."

The government share might either be received in money or in kind from the *sáwah* lands; but the *tégal* produce, though estimated in maize, was always, if possible, to be commuted into money at the lowest price in the market; and as cultivators generally held portions of both, this rule, it was conceived, could not be considered generally as a hardhip.

In the first settlement, leases were only granted for a year, or at the utmost three years, and were given to intermediate renters; but in the more detailed settlement of 1814, after sufficient information had been collected on the state of the country, government determined to act directly with the individual cultivator, and to lay the foundation of a permanent system. By this latter period, the experiments had been tried to a certain extent,

extent, and had succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectation. Difficulties met us in the way, but they were by no means insurmountable: there were at first imperfections in the system, but they did not affect its principle and were easily removed. By the zeal, the ability, and industry of the various officers entrusted with the execution of the duty, whatever was practicable in furtherance of the object in which they felt deeply interested, was accomplished. In the course of the years 1814 and 1815, the new system was introduced into *Bantam*, *Chéribon*, and the eastern districts, over a population of a million and half of cultivators, not only without disturbance and opposition, but to the satisfaction of all classes of the natives, and to the manifest increase of the public revenue derivable from land. In several journies which I undertook into the different provinces, for the purposes of examining in person the effect of the progressive system of reform which I had the happiness to introduce, and of lending the sanction of official authority to such modifications of it as local circumstances might render advisable, I was a pleased spectator of its beneficial tendency, and of the security and satisfaction it universally diffused. The cultivator, protected against all vexatious exactions, and no longer at the beck of a tyrannical chief who made unlimited demands upon his personal services, was beginning to feel additional stimulants to his industry, to acquire a superior relish for property, and to acknowledge that government and power were not always the enemies of the lower ranks of society, or as they modestly call themselves, *the little people* (*tiang-halit*). The British administration of Java, with all its agents, having watched the progress of the amended system at first with vigilant anxiety, at last saw it nearly completed with success, and rejoiced in its beneficial operation on the prosperity, improvement, and happiness of the people. During the two years that we retained possession of the island, after the greatest part of its arrangements were carried into effect, we had daily proofs of the amelioration they were producing. The cultivation was extending, the influence of the chiefs appeared to be progressively weakening, and the number of crimes, both from the superior industry of the people now become interested in the result of their labours, and from the contented tranquillity produced by an increase of the means of subsistence, as well as from the amended system of police (mentioned in another part of this work), was gradually diminishing. Without troubling the reader with further details, I may mention that, in the beginning of December 1815, a few months before I left the island, not satisfied with my own observation

or

or the vague report of others, I circulated specific queries to the different residents, on the comparative state of cultivation in the different provinces, before the introduction of the detailed settlement and at the latest date to which an answer could be returned, and on the comparative number of crimes at the same two periods, and the return was as gratifying to humanity and benevolence as it was corroborative of the opinions previously formed. I shall quote a few extracts from these reports. The Resident at *Chéribon* " cannot, from certain data, tell what progress has been made in extending " the cultivation of that province, but thinks it has been considerable;" and adds, " I have no doubt but that a few years of the amended system " of government would render the district of *Chéribon*, so notorious for " crimes, one of the most flourishing and valuable in any part of the " island." The Resident of *Tégal* is nearly in similar circumstances with regard to authentic documents, but gives a very favourable opinion, both with regard to the increase of industry and the reduction of crimes. The return from *Kedú* is more definite: it states a positive increase of *tégal* land to the amount of thirty-six *jungs*, but a much greater increase of produce from improved culture. The revenue afforded a sufficient proof of the latter fact. The same favourable account is given of the state of police and the diminution of crime. No data are given in the report from *Pakalúng'an* to ascertain the additional quantity of rice lands brought into cultivation; but an opinion is expressed, that it has increased; and an assurance is afforded, that the culture of indigo and tobacco has sensibly extended. As an evidence that the means of subsistence are raised in greater abundance than formerly, their price has very considerably diminished.

A commission which was appointed to inquire into the state of the revenue, report from *Japára* the great facility there was in collecting the revenue under the amended system, and certify its beneficial effects in extending cultivation, securing tranquillity, promoting industry, and diminishing crimes. The same commission conclude their report of *Grésik* with similar assurances of the happy results of the revenue, and judicial arrangements for the prosperity of that province. The Resident of *Rembáng* gives an increase of cultivation of fifty-two *jungs* of *sáwah* and about thirteen of *tégal* land, and accounts for the smallness of this increase from the comparative sterility of the soil and the precarious supply of water. Indigo had not increased, but tobacco had to a great degree. The vigilance of the police, and the ameliorating effects of the revenue settlement, are seen, it is said, in the improved state of morals. In *Surabáya* it is stated, that during the time the amended system

system had been in action, there had been an increase of three hundred and twenty government *jungs*, making upwards of two thousand English acres. In the residency of *Pasúruan* there is an increase of cultivation to the amount of three hundred and six *jungs*: this, however, does not comprehend the whole advantage that the new system produced in that province, for industry had been so much promoted by it, as to obtain two crops within the year, on many of the lands where the cultivator was formerly content with one. It is needless to enter into any further particulars, to shew the advantages of the regulations adopted with regard to the settlement of the landed revenue.

By a steady adherence to a system which, even in its origin, was productive of such fruits, by continuing to the peasant the protection of laws made for his benefit, by allowing full scope to his industry, and encouraging his natural propensity to accumulate, agriculture on Java would soon acquire a different character: it would soon become active and enterprizing; there would soon be created a difference in farms and in the circumstances of individuals; capital would be fixed and augmented in the hands of the skilful and the industrious among the cultivators; the idle and the indifferent would relinquish their possessions in their favour; roads, intercourse, and markets would be increased, the organisation of society would be changed, and an improved race would shew themselves, in some measure, worthy of the most fertile region of the globe. What Egypt and Sicily were in different ages to the south of Europe, Java might become to the south of Asia and the Indian Archipelago. From the exertion with which the British government endeavoured to lay the foundation of such improvements, at first amid the embarrassments of a recent conquest, and latterly with the prospect of only an intermediate possession; from the attachment it cherished for a people whose gratitude it deserved and acquired, and from the interest that every friend of humanity must feel in the anticipation of seeing this highly favoured island, the metropolis, the granary, and the centre of civilisation to the vast regions between the coast of China and the Bay of Bengal, it might have been expected, that those who were instrumental in introducing the late arrangements, should watch with peculiar anxiety the first movements of the power to which the colony was transferred, and should look into the regulations for its Indian empire for the support, or the death-blow, of the most animating hopes. It must therefore be with peculiar satisfaction that we see, with regard to the freedom of cultivation, the Dutch government sanctions what we had done, and gives our regulations

permanency by embodying them in its colonial policy. In articles seventy-eight and seventy-nine of the fundamental laws for the civil, judicial, and mercantile administration of India,* we find the following enactments. "The free cultivation of all articles of produce which may be raised in the "possessions of the state in India, is granted to the inhabitants of these "possessions; with the exception of cloves, nutmegs, and opium, and "without prejudice to the regulations which might be adopted concerning "the contingents and forced deliveries, which on a resumption of these "possessions out of the hands of the English, will be found to be continued "in force. All the fruits of cultivation raised within the possessions of the "states beyond the forced deliveries, and every kind of produce not com-"prehended under the exceptions mentioned above, are to be the lawful "property of the cultivator. The free unrestrained disposal thereof belongs "to him of right, as soon as the land rent assessed thereon, either in kind "or money, shall be paid. It is the duty of the Indian administration to "maintain him in these rights." Let him be maintained in those rights, and the Dutch government will realise a revenue far beyond the amount of their former assessments, without, as formerly, disgracing the Europeans in the eyes of the Asiatic, by their weakness, corruption, and injustice.

* Dated 1815.

CHAPTER IV.

Manufactures.—Handicrafts.—Bricks.—Thatch.—Mats.—Cotton Cloths.—Dyes.—Tanning.—Ropes.—Metals.—Boat and Ship-building.—Paper.—Salt.—Saltpetre Works.—Gunpowder, &c.—Felling and transporting of Teak Timber.—Fisheries.

General considerations.

IT is here proposed to state the progress made by the Javans in a few of the common arts and handicrafts, and in one or two of the more extensive manufactures; their docility in working under European direction, and some other observations, which could not be so appropriately placed in any other part of this work. I have already had occasion to notice the limited skill and simple contrivances with which they carry on the labours of agriculture, and prepare the produce of the soil for consumption, in the various ways that their taste or their habits require. In a country like Java, where the structure of society is simple, and the wants of the people are few; where there is no accumulation of capital and little division of professions, it cannot be expected, that manufacturing skill should be acquired, or manufacturing enterprize encouraged, to any great extent. The family of a Javan peasant is almost independent of any labour, but that of its own members. The furniture, the clothing, and almost every article required for a family, being prepared within its own precincts, no extensive market of manufactured commodities is necessary for the supply of the island itself; and for foreign trade, the produce of their soil is more in demand than the fruits of their skill or industry. In a country where nature is bountiful, and where so much of her bounty can be collected with so little labour to pay for manufactures from abroad, there is but little encouragement to withdraw the natives from the rice field, the forest, or the coffee-garden, to the loom, the forge, or the workship; and it is not in this respect, certainly, that a change of their habits would be beneficial. This short notice of Javan manufactures, therefore, must be very limited, both in the number of the articles that it embraces, and in the importance that Europeans may attach

to them: for Java can neither send us porcelain, like China; nor silks, shawls, and cottons, like Western India. To a nation, however, so much accustomed as we are to the exertions of manufacturing skill and perfection of manufacturing machinery, it may not be uninteresting to see the simple means, by which a half-civilized people accomplish the objects which we attain by such expeditious and ingenious processes. The most experienced naval architect may be interested by the manner in which a savage scoops his canoe.

Names of handicrafts.

The Javans have names in their language for most of the handicrafts. The following enumeration of terms applied to trades and professions will shew the extent to which the division of labour is sometimes carried, while the foreign extraction of some of them may, perhaps, serve to point out the source whence they were derived.

1. *Pándi* or *émpu* ..... Iron-smith and cutler.
2. *Túkang-káyu*, or *mergóngso* ..... Carpenter.
3. *Meráng'gi* or *túkang-weróngko* ..... Kris-sheath maker.
4. *Túkang úkir* ..... Carver.
5. ——— *déder* ..... Spear-shaft maker
6. ——— *lámpet* ..... Mat maker.
7. ——— *bábot* ..... Turner.
8. ——— *bôto* ..... Brush maker.
9. ——— *wátú* or *jelog'ro* ..... Stone-cutter.
10. ——— *lábur* ..... Lime maker.
11. ——— *nátah wáyang* ..... Wayang maker.
12. ——— *génding* ..... Musical instrument maker.
13. ——— *keming'an* ..... Brazier.
14. *Sayáng*, or *túkung-tambógo* ..... Coppersmith.
15. *Kemásan*, or *tukáng-mas* ..... Goldsmith.
16. *Kúndi* ..... Potter.
17. *Túkang árá* ..... Distiller.
18. ——— *jílid* ..... Bookbinder.
19. ——— *ténun* ..... Weaver.
20. ——— *bátik* ..... Cotton printer.
21. ——— *médal* ..... Dyer.
22. ——— *léng'o* ..... Oil maker.
23. ——— *nióro-wédi* ..... Diamond cutter.
24. ——— *delúwang* ..... Paper manufacturer.

25. *Túkang*

25. *Túkang pándom*, or *gírji* ..... Tailor.
26. ——— *súlam* ..... Embroiderer.
27. ——— *jáit* ..... Semstress.
28. ——— *súng'ging* ..... Draftsman.
29. ——— *chát* ..... Painter.
30. ——— *pásah* ..... Tooth filer.

I shall proceed to describe a few of the manufactures of the island, without attending much to the order in which it might be proper to arrange them. The construction of a habitation is among the first and most necessary arts of uncivilized man, as the perfection of architecture is one of the most convincing proofs and striking illustrations of a high state of refinement. I have already described the hut of the peasant, and have mentioned that it is generally constructed of wood. Such structures suit the climate of the country, and save the labour of the people; but they are not rendered necessary by an ignorance of more durable materials.

Bricks are manufactured in almost every part of the island, being generally employed in the better sort of buildings, not only by Europeans and Chinese, but by the natives of rank. The quality of the clay varies greatly in different districts. It is all obtained from the decomposition of the basaltic stones, and possesses different degrees of purity, according to the proportion and nature of the other earths which are adventitiously mixed with it. In some parts of the island it is very pure, and might be advantageously employed in the manufacture of porcelain; but the natives are unacquainted with the principles of this art: some instruction in the glazing of their pottery would be of very general benefit. They are unacquainted with the process of making glass. Bricks.

Cut stones are, at present, but rarely used by the Javans, and stone-cutting is almost exclusively performed by the Chinese. But although the Javans do not, at present, possess or practice any considerable skill in this art, the extensive remains of edifices constructed in stone, and of idols carved from the same materials, afford abundant testimony that the arts of architecture, sculpture, and statuary in stone, at one period reached to a very high pitch on Java. As, however, these arts have long been lost to the Javans, the consideration of them rather falls within the department of antiquities than that which we are now upon.

In

In the vicinity of *Grésik* there are several hills composed of a soft white stone, which hardens on exposure to the air. Stones are here cut in the quarry into regular squares of various sizes, from that of a brick to the largest tomb-stone. They are principally required for the latter purpose, and in the cymetries of *Grésik* and *Madúra* the inscriptions upon them are very neatly executed. Beyond this, the skill of the natives in stone-cutting does not at present pretend.

Thatch. The covering of the native houses is generally of thatch. In the maritime districts, *átap*, or thatch, is made almost exclusively from the leaves of the *nípa* or *búyu*. In the preparation, the leaflets separated from the common petiol are employed. Being doubled, they are attached close to each other on a stick of three feet in length, and when thus arranged are placed on the roof, like shingles or tiles. The leaves of the *gébang*, on account of their fan-like form, are differently arranged: they constitute large mats, which are chiefly employed for sides of houses or for composing temporary sheds, but they are too large and brittle to form durable *átap*. In the interior districts, where *nípa* does not grow, the houses are almost uniformly thatched with a species of long grass called *alang-alang* (the *lálang* of the Malay countries). Near large forests, where *bámbu* abounds, the natives cover their houses with this reed. The leaflets of the cocoa-nut cannot be made into thatch, but wherever the sago and *nípa* grow, it is made from their leaflets.

Mats. An article of household furniture in use among all classes, and displaying in some cases considerable beauty and delicacy of execution, is matting. Mats are made from several species of pandanus, from a kind of grass called *méndong*, and from the leaves of various palms. A species of the latter affords the most common kinds, coarser and less durable than others, as well as bags (straw sacks) resembling coarse mats: the leaves being divided into laminæ, about one line in breadth, are woven in the same manner and on the same frames as coarse linen. These fibres, called *ágel*, are sometimes manufactured into twine, which possesses but little strength. The mats or bags, called *károng*, are much inferior to the gunny-bags of India.

The coarsest kinds of mats, employed chiefly by the lower class, are called in the central districts *klóso bóngko*; those prepared from grass, *klóso méndong*; and the others, *klóso psántrem* (from the place where they are made). The materials of all these are plaited by hand. The *klóso psántrem* are of superior quality, and in use through the central and eastern parts of the

the island; especially among the natives of the first class, with whom they constitute the principal furniture of the dwelling-house. A person of the highest rank aspires to no luxury, more delicate or expensive in this way, than the possession of a bed composed of mats from *psántrem*.

A kind of umbrella hat worn by the common people, and universal in the *Súnda* districts denominated *chápeng*, is also manufactured in this manner, principally from *bámbu*, dyed of various colours, which being shaped in the form and of the size of a large wash-hand basin worn reversed, is rendered impervious to the wet by one or more coverings of varnish.

A great part of the manufacturing ingenuity of every people must be displayed in collecting the materials, or arranging the fabrics of those articles of clothing, required for protection, decency, or ornament. Whether these materials are derived from the fleece, the fur, or the feathers of the larger animals, from the covering of an insect, the bark of a tree, or the down of a shrub, they have to undergo several laborious and expensive processes before they are fit for use; and in conducting these processes, or forming machinery for rendering them more expeditious, complete, and easy, the superior manufacturing skill of one nation over another is chiefly evinced. The sheep on Java, as in all tropical climates, loses its fleece before it can be used with advantage. The silkworm has never succeeded, although no reason can be given why it should not, and therefore the chief material of Javan clothing is cotton. Dress.

Cotton, in its rough state, is called *kápas*, and when cleaned *kápok*. The process of separating the seeds is performed by means of a *giling'an*, which is a roller, consisting of two wooden cylinders revolving in opposite directions, between which the fibre is made to pass. This operation is very tedious, two days being necessary for one person to clean a *káti*, equivalent to a pound and a quarter English. After the separation of the seed, it is *géblek*, or beaten with a rattan, and *píndi* or picked. The finer sort is then bowed after the Indian manner; this operation is called *wusóni*. The cotton thus prepared is afterwards pulled out and drawn round a stick. when it is called *púsuh*. To perform the process upon a single *káti* will employ one person about two days. The cotton is now ready for spinning (*'ngánti*), and requires ten additional days' labour of one person, to convert the small quantity above mentioned into yarn, when the result is found to be three *tukal*, or hanks, of the ordinary kind. Cotton.

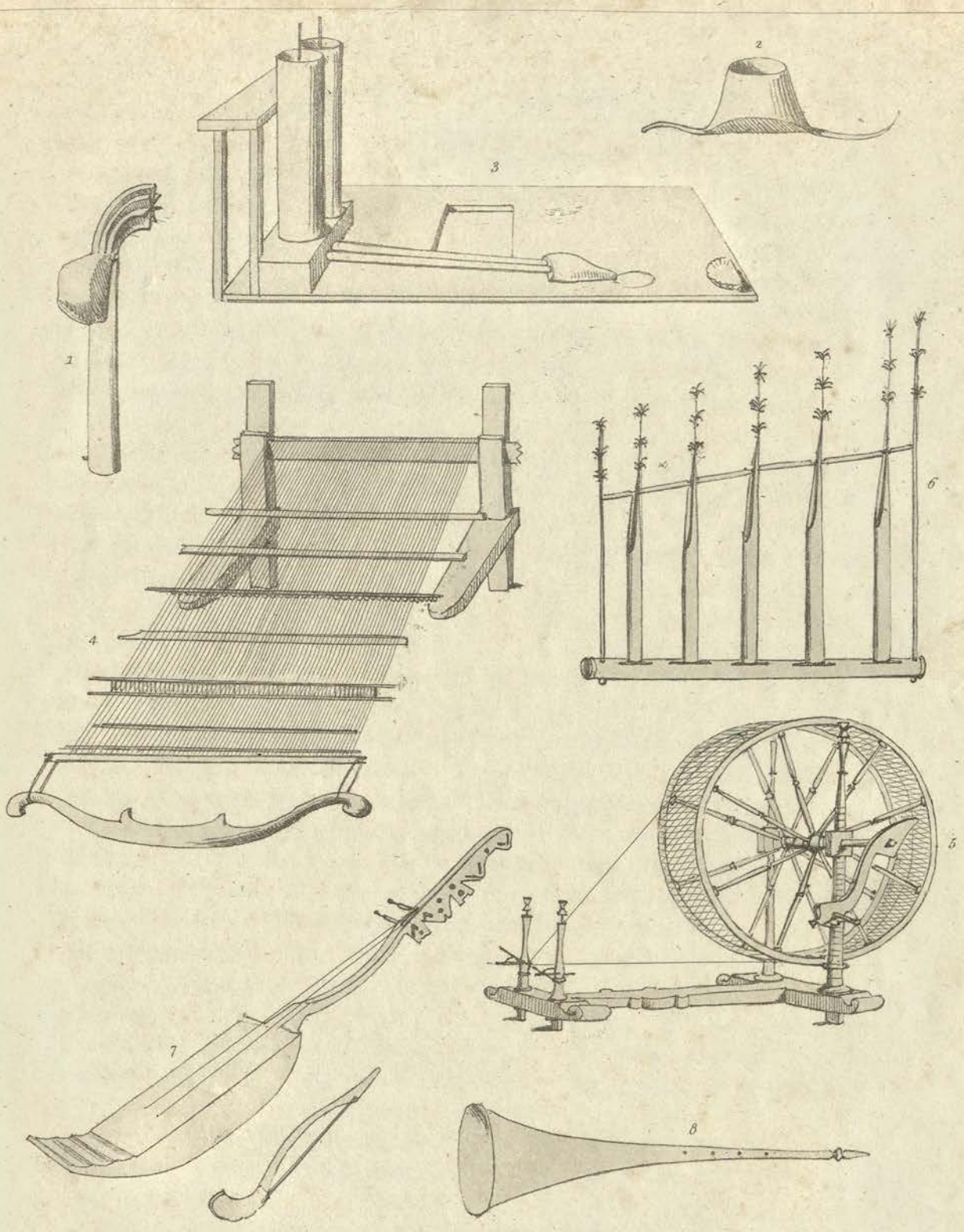
Previous to the operation of weaving, the yarn is boiled, and afterwards dressed and combed with rice-water. When dry, it is wound round a sort of reel, termed *'ingan*, and prepared for weaving. These are the last operations it undergoes till it is put into the hands of the weaver, and requires, in ordinary circumstances, three days for its completion. Four days are required even by an expert weaver, and five or six by an ordinary one, to manufacture a *sárong*, or piece of cloth, a fathom and a half long and five spans broad (equal to three square handkerchiefs of the ordinary size worn on the head). The cloths thus prepared, while uncoloured, are distinguished by the term *láwon*.

The spinning-wheel is termed *jántra*, and the spindle *kísi*. The loom, with all its apparatus, is called *ábah ábah tenún*, the shuttle *trópong*, the woof *máni*, and the warp *pákan*.* Both machines resemble those described onthe continent of India, but are neater and much better made: the loom especially is more perfect: the weaver, instead of sitting in holes dug in the ground, invariably sits on a raised flooring, generally in front of the house, her legs being stretched out horizontally under the loom. The price of the spinning-wheel varies from less than half a rupee to a rupee, and that of the loom from a rupee to a Spanish dollar. The operations of spinning and weaving are confined exclusively to the women, who from the highest to the lowest rank, prepare the cloths of their husbands and their families.

Cotton cloths. Coloured cottons (*járit*) are distinguished into *lúri* or *lúri ging'gang*, those in which the yarn is dyed previously to weaving; and *bátik*, those which are dyed subsequently. The process of weaving the former is similar to that of the gingham, which it resembles, and need not therefore be detailed; but the latter, being peculiar to Java, may deserve a more particular description.

Bátik. The cloths termed *bátik* are distinguished into *bátik látur púti*, *bátik látur irang*, or *bátik látur bang*, as the ground may be either white, black, or red. The white cloth is first steeped in rice water, in order to prevent the colour with which the patterns are intended to be drawn, from running, and when they are dried and smoothed (calendered), commences the process of the *bátik*, which gives its name. This is performed with hot wax in a liquid state, contained in a small and light vessel, either of copper or silver, called *chánting*,

* See Plate.



1 Stamp used in making the Batek Cloths.
2 Copper Vessel & Tube used in Dº
3 Ububan or Bellowes.
4 Teninan or Loom.
6 Angklung a rude Musical Instrument of Bambu.
7 Trawangsa a Musical Instrument of the Sundas.

chánting,* holding about an ounce, and having a small tube of about two inches long, through which the liquid wax runs out in a small stream.† This tube, with the vessel to which it is attached, being fixed on a stick about five inches long, is held in the hand, and answers the purpose of a pencil, the different patterns being traced out on both sides of the cloth with the running wax. When the outline of the pattern is thus finished, such parts of the cloth as are intended to be preserved white, or to receive any other colour than the general field or ground, are carefully covered in like manner with the liquid wax, and then the piece is immersed in whatever coloured dye may be intended for the ground of the pattern. To render the colour deeper, cloths are occasionally twice dipped. The parts covered with wax resist the operation of the dye, and when the wax is removed, by being steeped in hot water till it melts, are found to remain in their original condition. If the pattern is only intended to consist of one colour besides white, the operation is here completed; if another colour is to be added, the whole of the first ground, which is not intended to receive an additional shade, is covered with wax, and a similar process is repeated.

In order to render the dye fixed and permanent for the scarlet or blood-red colour, the cloth is previously steeped in oil, and after five days washed in hot water, and prepared in the usual way for the *bátik*. In the ordinary course, the process of the *bátik* occupies about ten days for common patterns, and from fifteen to seventeen for the finer and more variegated.

A very coarse kind of cloth, which serves for curtains or hangings, is variously clouded, and covered sometimes with rude figures, by the art of colouring the yarn, so as to produce this effect when woven. For this purpose, the strands of the yarn being distributed in lengths equal to the intended size of the cloth, are folded into a bundle, and the parts intended to remain white are so tightly twisted round and round, that the dye cannot penetrate or affect them. From this party-coloured yarn the designed pattern appears on weaving. The cloths so dyed are called *gebér*.

The sashes of silk, called *chíndi*, are dyed in this manner, as well as an imitation of them in cotton, called *jóng'grong*.

Of the several kinds of coloured cottons and silks there is a very great diversity of patterns, particularly of the *bátik*, of which not less than

* These vessels for large patterns are sometimes made of the cocoa-nut shell, and then hold a proportionally larger quantity.

† See Plate.

an hundred are distinguished by their appropriate names. Among these are the patterns exclusively worn by the sovereign, termed *bátik párang rúsa*, and *bátik sáwat*, and others which designate the wearer, and are more or less esteemed, as well on this account as their comparative beauty of design and execution.

Dyes. With the exception of blue and scarlet or blood-red, all the dyes of the inhabitants are liable to fade, and the processes offer nothing worthy of investigation or remark.

In dying blue, indigo, the palm wine of the *áren*, and various vegetable acids are employed.

Black is obtained from an exotic bark called *tíng'i*, and the rind of the *mangustin* fruit. In making the inferior infusion for this and for various other dyes, the chaff of rice, called *meráng*, is employed.

In dying green, a light blue is first induced, which is afterwards converted into the requisite hue, by infusion in a decoction of *tegráng* (an exotic wood), to which blue vitriol is added.

Tegráng alone affords a yellow colour, and generally is qualified by receiving the addition of some bark of the *nángka* and *plem-dodól*.

A beautiful and lasting scarlet and blood-red is obtained from the roots of the *wóng-kudu*. The yarn or cloth is first boiled in the oil of *wijen* or *kamíri*: being washed in a decoction of *meráng* or burnt *pári* chaff, it is dried, and subsequently immersed in an infusion of the roots of *wóng-kudu*, the strength of which is increased by the addition of the bark *jírak*, a variety of the fruit *kepúndung*. In the preparation of this dye, the roots of the *wóng-kudu* are bruised and well mixed with water, which is then boiled until it is reduced to one third, when it is fit for use. No light red or rose colour of durability is produced by the Javans: they employ for this purpose the *kasomba kling*.

In several of the maritime districts, the *Maláyus* impart a beautiful crimson colour to silk, by means of the *gúmlak tembálu* or *embálu*, but with this the Javans are unacquainted.

The *kápas jáwa*, or Java cotton, in its raw and uncleaned state costs from about three halfpence to three pence the *káti*, according to its quality, and the *kápas múri* from six to eight pence. The price of each advances sometimes fifty per cent. beyond this, when the production is scarce or out of season.

A *káti*

A *kâti* of uncleaned Java cotton is calculated to produce two and a half *túkal* or hanks of coarse, and three and a half hanks of fine yarn; and a *kâti* of *kápas múri*, five hanks of the latter. The value of the former is from three to four pence, and of the latter from seven to ten.

Three hanks and a half of coarse yarn, and from five to nine of fine, make one *sárong*, or three head handkerchiefs, the price of which, undyed, is from half a rupee to four Spanish dollars; if dyed, the *ging'ams* bring from one rupee to four Spanish dollars, and the *bátik* from a rupee and a half to six Spanish dollars for the same quantity.

Another kind of coloured cottons, in imitation of the Indian chintz, is also prepared; but it is not held in much estimation, on account of the superiority of the foreign chintzes imported, and the uncertainty of the colours, which the natives allege will not stand in the same manner as those which have undergone the process of the *bátik*, frequently fading in the second washing. In these cloths, the patterns being carved on small wooden blocks are stamped as in India. They serve as coverlids, and are employed as a substitute for the Indian palempore, when the latter is not procurable. The price is about four rupees.

Tanning. The natives of Java, like those of every other country, must have been, from the earliest times, in the habit of manufacturing various articles of leather; but the art of rendering it more compact, more tough, and more durable, by the application of the tanning principle, has been acquired only by their connexion with Europeans. They now practice it with considerable success, and prepare tolerable leather in several districts. There are two trees of which the bark is particularly preferred for tanning; one in the maritime districts, the other in the interior. These, with some others which are occasionally added, contain very large quantities of the tanning principle, which makes excellent leather in a short space of time. Of this native article, boots, shoes, saddles, harness, &c. are made in several parts of the island; but in the greatest perfection at *Súra-kérta*, where the prices are moderate, and the manufacture extensive and improving. Neither the leather nor the workmanship of these articles is considered much inferior to what is procured at Madras and Bengal. The prices are moderate: for a pair of shoes half a crown, for boots ten shillings, for a saddle from thirty to forty shillings, and for a set of harness for four horses from ten to twelve pounds.

Thread, ropes, &c.

Neither flax nor hemp is cultivated for the purposes of manufacture. The latter is sometimes found in the gardens of the natives of continental India, particularly at Batavia, who employ it only to excite intoxication; but the island affords various productions, the fibrous bark of which is made into thread, ropes, and other similar articles. These are, with one or two exceptions, never cultivated, and when required for use, may be collected in sufficient quantity on spots where they are of spontaneous growth. A particular account of these has already been given in the first chapter, when describing the vegetable productions of the island.

To enable rope or cord which is often exposed to water or moisture, as fishing-nets, cables, and the like, to resist its influence, the sap exuding from various trees is employed.

Metallurgy.

No manufactures are calculated to show more clearly the extent to which the arts of life are carried in a country, than those in which the metals are used. Without the knowledge of iron, our dominion over nature would be very limited; as may be seen in the case of the Americans at the discovery of the western hemisphere. The manufacture and use of iron and steel has been known over the Eastern Islands, as well as in the western world, from time immemorial. The various iron implements of husbandry, the common implements and tools, the instruments and military weapons now in use among the natives of these regions, are fabricated by themselves. The importance and difficulty of the art may be gathered from the distinction which the knowledge and practice of it conferred.

The profession of a smith is still considered honorable among the Javans, and in the early parts of their history, such artisans held a high rank, and were largely endowed with lands. The first mention made of them is during the reign of the chiefs of *Pajajáran*, in the eleventh century. On the decline of that empire they went over, to the number of eight hundred families, to *Majapáhit*, where they were kindly received, and a record is preserved of the names of the head master-smiths. On the destruction of that empire in the fifteenth century, they were dispersed, and settled in different districts of the island, where their descendants are still discoverable. They are distinguished by the term *Pándi*.

Iron is cast in small quantities of a few ounces, and used occasionally for the point of the ploughshare. The metal is rendered fluid in about half an hour: charcoal is invariably used, and the operation is termed *sing'i* or *chitak*.

The

The bellows,* which is peculiar, and believed to have been in use at the time of *Pajajáran* and *Majapáhit*, and of which a representation sculptured in stone was found in the recently discovered ruins at *Suku* (which bear date in the fourteenth century of the Javan æra), appears to be the same as that described by Dampier,† in his account of *Majindánao* and the neighbouring islands. "Their bellows," says this faithful and intelligent traveller, "are much different from ours. They are made of a wooden "cylinder, the trunk of a tree, about three feet long, bored hollow like "a pump and set upright on the ground, on which the fire itself is made. "Near the lower end there is a small hole in the side of the trunk next "the fire, made to receive a pipe, through which the wind is driven by a "great bunch of fine feathers fastened to one end of the stick, which closing "up the inside of the cylinder, drives the air out of the cylinder through "the pipe. Two of these trunks or cylinders are placed so nigh together, "that a man standing between them may work them both at once, alternately, one with each hand." This account so exactly corresponds with the Javan bellows, that no further description is necessary. The Chinese bellows are partially used. The wages of a man skilled in iron-work are sometimes as high as a rupee a day.

Cutlery of every description is made by the smith. The most important manufacture of this kind is the *kris*, or dagger, of the peculiar form well known to be worn by all the more civilized inhabitants of the Eastern Islands.

The price of a *kris* blade, newly manufactured, varies from half a rupee to fifty dollars; but the same *kris*, if it is of good character, and if its descent can be traced for three or four generations, is frequently prized at ten times that sum. A *pándi* employed to manufacture a good *kris* blade, if the materials are furnished, is paid three dollars for the job.

The manufacture of sheaths or scabbards (*sárong*) for the *kris* constitute an exclusive profession; and the manufacturers are called *túkang meráng'gi*, or *mergóngso*. These men attend at the public market, where they occupy a particular quarter, in which may be seen people employed in the finishing or repair of every part of the mounting necessary for this instrument; some upon the handle, others upon the sheath; some in applying the paint and lacquer, others attending with a preparation of acids and arsenic for cleaning the blade, and bringing out the appearance of the *pámur*, a white metal obtained

* See Plate.

† Dampier's Voyage, vol. ii.

obtained from *Biliton* and Celebes, which is worked up with the iron, in order to produce the damasked appearance of the blade.

Copper is manufactured into the kettles and pots employed by the natives for cooking; most of the other domestic vessels are of brass, which is manufactured into various other articles, from the smallest, such as buttons, ear-studs, and other ornaments, in imitation of the gold patterns, to brass guns of considerable calibre, employed for the defence of small vessels. A very extensive foundery of this kind is established at *Grésik*. From the specimen of the casts in brass, copper, &c., which are occasionally dug up near many of the ruinous temples sacred to the ancient worship of the country, we may assert, that great proficiency was once attained in this art: like that, however, of stone-cutting, it has very much declined.

Gold and silver, as is well known, are wrought by the natives of the Eastern Islands into exquisite ornaments; and the Javans are by no means behind their neighbours, the Sumatrans, in the knowledge of this manufacture. They do not, however, usually work the gold into those beautiful filigree patterns described as common among the *Maláyus* on Sumatra, nor is their work generally so fine.

Jewellery. Diamond-cutters, and persons skilled in the knowledge of cutting precious stones, are also to be found in the principal capitals.

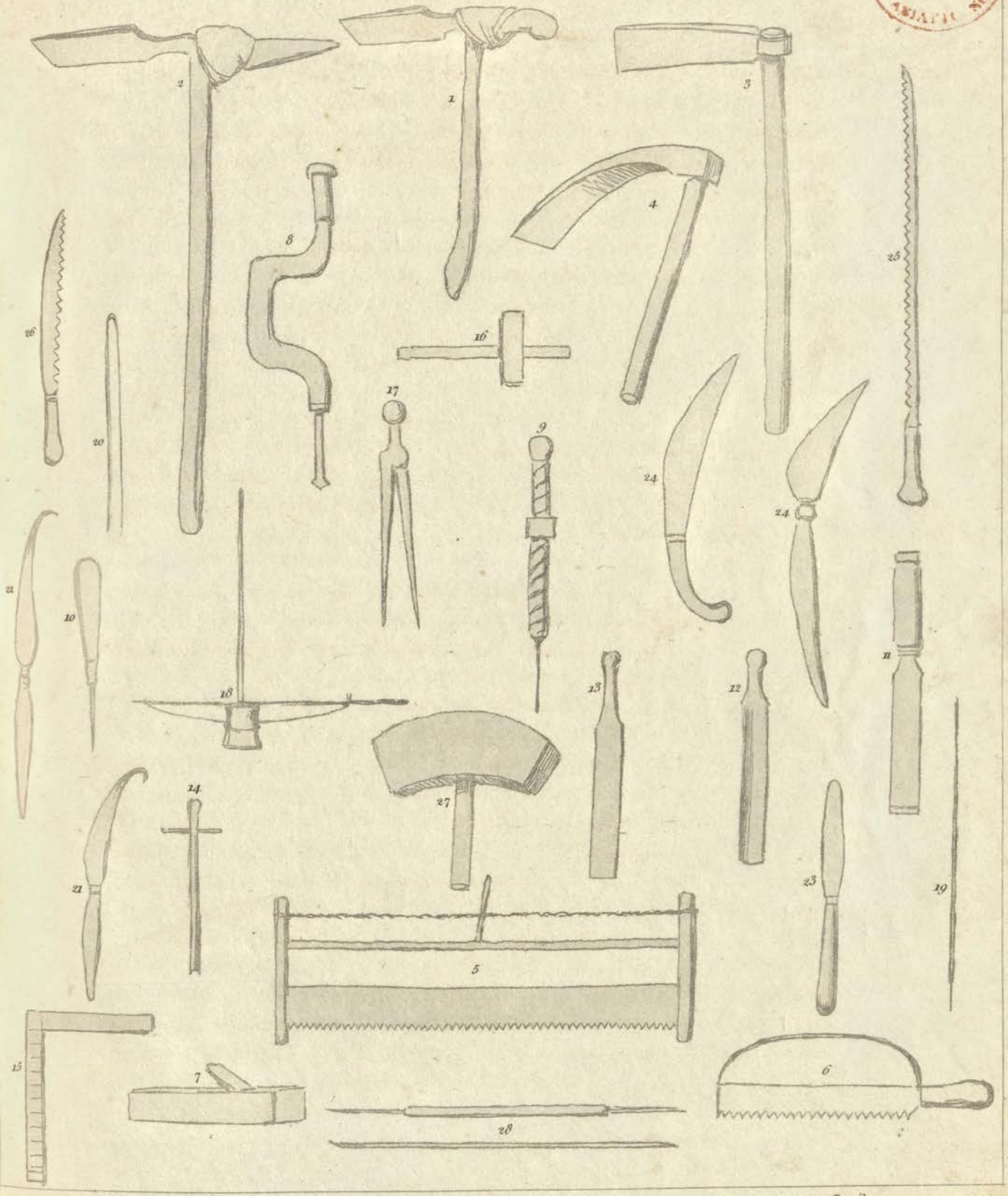
Carpentry. Carving in wood is followed as a particular profession, and the Javans may be considered as expert in all kinds of carpenter's work, but more particularly in cabinet-work. They imitate any pattern, and the furniture used by the Europeans in the eastern part of the island is almost exclusively of their workmanship. The annexed plate exhibits the various tools employed by them.* Carriages and other vehicles are also manufactured by the natives after the European fashion.

Boat and Ship-building. Boat and ship-building is an art in which the Javans are tolerably well versed, particularly the former. The latter is confined principally to those districts in which the Europeans have built ships, for the Javans have seldom attempted the construction of square-rigged vessels on their own account. The best carpenters for ship-building are found in the districts of *Rembáng* and *Grésik*, but small native vessels and boats are continually constructed by the natives in almost every district along the north coast.

When the quantity of teak timber, and the advantages of Java in respect of ports and harbours, are considered, the most flattering prospects are held out,

* See Plate.

Carpenters Tools.



1 Petel.
2 Wadung.
3 Prakul or Kampak.
4 Sang'luk.
5 } Graji.
6 }
8 Bur.
9 Joro.
10 Unchak.
11 Tata.
12 Tata-pang'uku.
15 Sikon.
16 Palisut.
17 Jongko.
18 Dendo.
19 Inchar.
22 Pang'lu.
23 Pang'ruk.
24 Pang'ot.
25 Undur-undur.
26 Segrek.

out, that this island may, in time, be able to supply shipping to an increasing commerce of its own, and perhaps aid the dockyards of other states.

Paper. Among the articles, the making of which may be interesting to Europeans, from the difference of the materials used or the process employed, is that of paper. The paper in common use with the Javans is prepared from the *glúga* (morus papyrifera) which is cultivated for this purpose, and generally called the *delúwang*, or paper tree. Having arrived at the age of two or three years, the young trees are cut while the bark easily peels off, and the fragments are portioned about twelve or eighteen inches in length, according to the intended size of the paper. These fragments are first immersed in water about twenty-four hours, in order that the epidermes may be separated; this being effected, the fibrous tissue of the inner bark is rendered soft and tractable by soaking in water, and by long and repeated beating with a piece of wood. During the intervals of this process, the fragments of the bark are piled in heaps in wooden troughs, and the affusion of fresh water is repeated till all impurities are carried off. The separate portions, which are about two or three inches broad, are then attached to each other on a plane surface, generally formed by the trunk of a plantain tree, and the union of the fibres is finally effected by continued beating. The quality of the paper depends upon the care employed in the preparation, and on the frequent affusion of fresh water. By applying successive layers to the spots which are bare from the defect of the fibres, and beating them till they unite, an uniform thickness is attained The paper which is intended for writing is momentarily immersed in a decoction of rice, and rendered smooth and equal, by being rubbed to a polish on a plane surface. Such paper as is intended for common domestic purposes, for packing goods, &c. does not require this operation: in this the fibrous contexture of the bark is quite obvious; it much resembles a species of paper brought from Japan, and manufactured from the same tree, and was formerly employed instead of cloth by the poorer inhabitants. The process of manufacturing it is strikingly that in use among the inhabitants of the South Sea islands for the preparation of their cloth. The culture of this plant, as well as the manufacture of paper, is chiefly confined to particular districts, where it forms the principal occupation of the priests, who gain a livelihood by it.

Javan Sugar. Large quantities of a coarse and homely sugar, distinguished by the name of Javan sugar, are prepared from the cocoa-nut, *áren*, and other palms. The average quantity of liquor extracted from one of these trees during a day

day and night, is about two quarts, and this is estimated to give from three to four ounces of sugar. The trees begin to yield it at about six or seven years of age, and continue to do so for ten or twelve years. The process of preparing the sugar is extremely simple: it consists merely in boiling the liquor in an earthen pot for a few hours, and afterwards pouring it into small cases made of leaves and prepared for the purpose, in which, when cool, it attains a due consistence.

Sugar from the cane.

Sugar from the cane is manufactured by the Chinese alone; the process followed resembles that of the West Indies. The juice is expressed between two rollers, sometimes turned by a water-wheel, but in all cases the machinery is rude and imperfect. The quality of the sugar made on Java is considered to be equal to that of Manilla and the West Indies: it contains as much of the saccharine principle as the latter, and is brought to a drier state. It differs from the sugar of Bengal, as much in its quality as in the mode of preparing it, but can be brought to market at about the same price. Considerable quantities are sent to the Malabar coast, but the principal exportation is to Japan and Europe.

Arrack.

The manufactory of Batavian arrack, the superior quality of which is well known, is also conducted by the Chinese: the process is as follows. About seventy pounds of *kétan* (glutinous rice) is heaped up in a small vat; round this heap or pile one hundred cans of water are poured, and on the top twenty cans of molasses. After remaining two days in this vat, the ingredients are shifted to a larger vat adjoining, when they receive the addition of four hundred cans of water and one hundred cans of molasses.

Thus far the process is carried on in the open air. In a separate vat within doors, forty cans of palm wine or toddy from the cocoa-nut tree, are immediately mixed with nine hundred cans of water and one hundred and fifty cans of molasses. Both preparations being allowed to remain in this state for two days, the former of these preparations is carried to a still larger vat within doors, and the latter being in a vat placed above, is poured upon it, through a hole bored for the purpose near the bottom. In this state the preparation is allowed to ferment for two days, when it is poured into small earthern jars, containing about twenty cans each, in which it remains for the further period of two days: it is then distilled.

The liquor drops into a tin vessel under ground, from whence it is ladled into receiving vessels. This is the third or common sort of arrack, which by a second distillation in a smaller still, with the addition of a small quantity

tity of water, becomes the second sort, and by a third distillation, what is called the first sort. The third or common sort is called by the Chinese *sichew*, the second *tánpo*, and the first *kiji*, the two latter being distinguished as arrack *ápi*. When cooled, it is poured into large vats in the storehouses, where it remains till it is convenient to put it into casks.

The whole process, therefore, to the completion of the first sort, does not require more than ten days, six hours being sufficient for the original preparation to pass through the first still. The receivers of the stills are of copper, and the worm consists of about nine turns of Banka tin.

The proof of sufficient fermentation is obtained by placing a lighted taper about six inches above the surface of the liquor in the fermenting vat; if the process is sufficiently advanced, the fixed air rises and extinguishes the light.

To ascertain the strength of the spirit, a small quantity of it is burnt in a saucer, and the residuum measured. The difference between the original quantity and the residuum gives the measure of the alcahol lost.

Among the most important manufactures of Java, both viewed in its relation to the comforts of the inhabitants and the interests of the revenue, is that of salt. In almost every country it is an indispensible commodity, but particularly where the people subsist on a vegetable diet, as in India and the Eastern Islands; and wherever government has seen its necessary, it has been converted into a source of taxation. Salt.

Nearly the whole of the north-east coast of Java and *Madúra* abounds with places well calculated for its manufacture, and unfit for any other useful purpose. The quantity already manufactured has for many years exceeded the demand, both for home consumption and exportation, and might be increased almost *ad libitum*.

On Java the principal salt-pans are situated at *Pákis*, in the vicinity of Batavia; at *Bantam*, *Chéribon*, *Tégal*; at *Wédong* and *Bráhang*, in the *Semárang* districts; at *Paradési*, in *Rembáng*; at *Sedáyu*, *Grésik*, and *Simámi*; on *Madúra*, at *Sámpang*, *Pamákasan*, and *Súmenap*. Salt is also manufactured at several places along the south-coast, but of inferior quality, and by a different process. About two hundred tons are annually procured in the interior, from the *Blédegs*, as already described. The principal supply, however, is from the north coast, where the quality of the salt, and the facility with which it can be manufactured, give it a decided advantage in demand and cheapness.

The process of manufacturing the salt on the north coast is very simple, and depending on evaporation by the heat of the sun alone, may be favourably contrasted with the comparatively expensive process adopted in the Bengal provinces. Reservoirs are filled from the sea at high tide, and in them the water is allowed to remain for several days; this being found necessary to prevent the salt from being bitter. It is then conveyed by means of canals and sluices to the pans, which are distributed in compartments and banked in, so as to contain the sea water, much in the same manner as the rice fields. If the weather be dry and the sun clear, five days are found sufficient for the process of evaporation in the pans; after which the salt is collected together in heaps, where it usually remains five days longer before it is brought into store.

Under the Dutch government, the manufacture of salt was farmed out to Chinese as an exclusive privilege; and to these farms, under the plea of enabling the farmer to command a sufficient number of hands for conducting his undertaking, and enabling him to make his advances to government, extensive tracts of rice land were attached, over the population of which the farmer was allowed unlimited authority. By a continued extension of these tracts, a population far more numerous than the work at the salt-pans required was wrested from the administration of the regents and transferred to the Chinese: as they found their advantage in renting out the rice fields, and employing the people in the transport of goods and other laborious offices of the country, the farms of course sold for more money. Under this system, it is difficult to say what was the actual cost of the salt to the farmer: the manufacturers were partly remunerated in land and partly in money, and the mode varied in every district; but this remuneration seldom amounted to more than a bare subsistence.

It was the practice of these farmers-general to underlet to other Chinese the privilege of selling salt, supplying them with the article at a certain rate, and these under-farmers sold the salt again to the petty retailers in the public markets, at an advanced price. The price of the salt, after passing through the hands of the farmers, varied not only according to the distance from the place of manufacture, but according to the capital and speculation of the under-farmer: if he adopted the liberal system of obtaining small profits upon a large sale, the market was abundantly supplied at a low rate; but if, on the contrary, he traded on a small capital, and enhanced the price by insufficiently answering the demand, the price became proportionally

tionally exorbitant. In some places, as at *Salátiga* and *Úng'arang*, through which the salt was transported by inland carriage to the populous districts of the interior, the price was sometimes as high as one hundred and twenty, and even one hundred and forty Spanish dollars per *kóyan*, while along the coast, as at *Chéribon* and *Surabáya*, it was as low as thirty, and at *Grésik* twenty-five. The average in the year 1813, when the farming system was abolished, may be taken, one district with another, at about fifty-seven Spanish dollars the *kóyan*, or rather less than thirty dollars per ton.

The quantity usually calculated for the annual consumption of Java and *Madúra*, including about one thousand *kóyans* estimated to be manufactured in the native provinces, is sixteen thousand *kóyans*, or thirty-two thousand tons. Under the arrangements now adopted for the manufacture and sale of this article, the average rate at which the manufacturers are paid is about six rupees the *kóyan*, including the charges of transport to the depôts, and the sale price varies from twenty-five to thirty-five Spanish dollars, according to the distance from the principal depôts; an adequate supply by means of smaller depôts is insured in every part of the country.

The salt of Java exported to the other islands of the Archipelago, competes with that of Siam and the Coromandel coast, and generally supercedes it, both on account of its quality and cheapness. The exportation is free to all places except Bengal, where, on account of its interference with the monopoly there established, it has, since the conquest of Java, been found necessary to prohibit its importation under penalty of confiscation.

The salt of the south coast being manufactured by a process which is much more expensive than that employed on the north, and at the same time being inferior in quality, it is only consumed in places which the latter is prevented from reaching by the difficulty of conveyance or inland tolls and prohibitions; and it has consequently been calculated, that the north coast salt, if allowed to pass toll free through the country, would in a short time supersede that from the south coast altogether. The inferior quality of the latter is caused by the quantity of the sulphate of magnesia it contains, which renders it by its bitterness unpleasant for culinary purposes.

Manufacturing industry.

Of late years, the value of the manufacturing industry of the country may be in some degree appreciated, from the assistance it has afforded to the European government, when, in consequence of the war, the importation of European articles had become insufficient for the public service. Broad-cloth not being procurable for the army, a kind of coarse cotton

cloth was manufactured by the Javans, with which the whole army was clothed. At *Semárang* were established five of these manufactories, having seventy or eighty looms each. One or two of them made cotton lace, and supplied the army agents with epaulets, shoulder-knots, tassels, &c. There were likewise manufactures of cotton stockings, tape, fringes, cartridge-boxes, sword-belts, saddles, bridles, &c. and in short every thing that could be required for the dress and accoutrements of both cavalry and infantry.

Under European superintendants were established saltpetre works, powder-mills, founderies for shells, shot, anvils, &c. and manufactories of swords and small arms; and when it is added, that the French government found means, within the resources of Java alone, to equip an army of not less than fifteen thousand effective men, besides a numerous militia in every district, and that, with the exception of a few European superintendants in the more scientific works, all the articles were manufactured and supplied by the natives, it is not necessary to adduce any further proof of the manufacturing ability of the country.

Saltpetre. Saltpetre is obtained in many parts of the island, and gunpowder has long been manufactured by the native inhabitants. A saltpetre manufactory was established near *Grésik*, under the superintendance of European officers, which it was calculated would furnish annually two thousand *píkuls* of that article to government, at the rate of eight rix-dollars per *píkul*, of one hundred and thirty-three pounds English. The importance of this establishment is manifest in the following observations of Colonel Mackenzie.

" I considered that one day would be usefully employed in viewing the " saltpetre works, which a very few years back had been established here, " at the risk, and by the zeal and ingenuity of private individuals, " with the view of supplying this colony with that necessary ingredient for " gunpowder. The best sulphur is supplied from a mountain near the straits " of *Báli*. For further details of these mines; of the manner in which the " nitre is obtained, by an ingenious application of the latest European im- " provements in chemistry; of the sulphureous crater of the mountain, " whence the sulphur, in its utmost purity, is supplied; of the reports of " the French engineers, last year, on the improvement of the gunpowder " of Java; of the wood selected for the best charcoal, and of the present " state of the manufactory and powder-mills at *Semárang*, I must refer, at " present, to several papers collected by me on this subject, which may be

" usefully

" usefully applicable to our manufactures of gunpowder in India." Passing " over these and other considerations, I shall only observe, that of these " mines, one of them is cut in caverns into the soft white calcareous rock; " and another, more regularly designed, supported by pillars or masses of " the native rock, covers regularly formed beds of the native earth, which " being impregnated with the native nitre, saturated with the evacuation of " the numerous bats that haunt these caverns, and mixed with a compound " of wood ashes, supplies the liquid that is boiled in large kettles, and " afterwards left to cool and chrystallize." The whole process is carried on, " in a regular manner, under European overseers, and under the direction of " the first executor of this really grand work, who now resides at *Surabáya*."*

Labours in the teak forests.

The labour of felling the teak trees and transporting the timber from the forests, gives employment to a very considerable population, who are distinguished from those employed in other avocations, by the term of *blándong* people, or foresters. The teak timber was formerly delivered to the government as a contingent, by the Regents of those districts in which the principal forests were situated, the quantity being regulated according to the supposed extent of the different forests, and the means of cutting and transporting the wood. Previously to the year 1808, the amount of this annual contingent was eight thousand eight hundred beams of different sizes, according to the wants of the public service, of which more than three thousand were delivered from the central forests of *Rembáng*.

The cutting and dragging of the timber delivered in contingent was performed by the inhabitants of the villages adjacent to the forests, and the buffaloes required were left to be provided by the Regents. For this service, in the *Rembáng* districts, four hundred cutters and labourers, and four hundred and twelve pair of buffaloes, were appropriated for the supply of three thousand one hundred beams annually, a proportion which varied in the other districts, only according to the distance of the forest from the timber yard on the coast, where payment was made for the timber on delivery, at the rate of sixteen pence for cutting and conveying a beam of from eighteen to twenty feet long and from nine to ten inches broad, forty-eight stivers for a beam of from thirty-one to thirty-six feet long and from thirteen to fifteen inches broad, and for others in proportion. This was the regular and only payment made for the contingent timber; but when the demands of government exceeded the fixed contingent, which was generally the case, the excess

* Journal of Colonel Mackenzie, 1812.

excess was paid for at an advance of fifty per cent on these prices. Crooked and other timber for ship-building was paid for at about the same rate, but calculated according to a fixed table by the weight.

Under this system, the Regents rented out many of the villages adjoining the forests to individuals, and sold, on their own account, such timber as was not of proper quality to be delivered to government. As the demands of government increased, as well as those of the European residents, who were many of them concerned in ship-building and in the sale of timber, the forests near the coast were soon exhausted of their best timber, and as it became necessary for the cutters to go further into the interior, the labour and expense increased, but without any corresponding recompense to them, for the government never raised the price. Individuals, however, did so; and the consequence was, that government finding no regulations they could make for the internal management of the forests sufficient to ensure them an adequate supply, were contented to believe that a greater quantity than was actually furnished could not be cut without injury to the forests; although, at that very time, the deliveries to individuals in the eastern districts were estimated at not less than fifty or sixty thousand beams per annum, the coast was lined with Java-built trading vessels of every description, and these, as well as the rough timber, were frequently sent for sale to a distant market.

In the year 1808, however, in common with all the other departments on the island, this important one was newly organized by Marshal Daendals, who placing the highest value on the forests, and determining to prevent the abuses which had previously existed, removed all the population which had formerly been engaged in the forests in the different parts of the island from the controul of the native Regent, as well as the local European authority, and placed them, with the villages and lands to which they were attached, under a separate board or administration for the forest department. This change effectually secured government in the monopoly, and succeeded in the prevention of the abuses which had formerly existed: but in the degree that it had this effect, it also operated to the serious injury of general commerce and the domestic comfort of the inhabitants; for every one was now obliged to buy the timber from government, at a high monopoly rate fixed by general regulation, and the timber could only be obtained in comparatively small quantities, seldom of the dimensions required, and only at the fixed staples. Ship-building, and even boat-building,

ing, which had before been carried to the greatest extent along the whole coast, was discontinued, and the cottage of the native, which had formerly cost a few rupees, now cost ten times the amount if built of desirable materials.

Under the administration of the Board of Forest, whose residence was fixed at *Semárang*, and who were altogether independent of the local authorities, was now placed a population of nearly one hundred thousand souls, exclusively devoted to the labours of the forests; and as no revenue had been given up by the arrangement, and a small annual delivery of iron, salt, and gunpowder, to the foresters, was the only payment made, considerable profit was expected to result from it to the government. It was found, however, after the establishment of the British government, that the timber which had been cut, and of which there was an immense quantity on hand, was not of a description required for the building of coasting vessels, and could not compete in Bengal with that of Pegu, without such a reduction in the monopoly price, as added to the loss occasioned by so large a proportion of the population, as that set apart for this duty who contributed nothing else to the revenue, the extent of the establishment necessary to enable the government to be the sole timber merchant, and the abuses connected with it, would amount to more than all the profits that had been calculated on. The coasting trade was perishing for want of vessels, and the forest department was a losing concern. Under these circumstances, it was judged expedient to include the population of the *Blándongs* in the general arrangements for the release of the peasantry from feudal bondage, and the establishment of a fixed rent from the land, in lieu of all services and payment formerly rendered.

The people who lived near the forests, and had long been in the habit of cutting and dragging the timber, still however continued in this employment, an annual contract being made with them for their services in the forests, in remuneration for which a remission of rent was granted. The largest and most valuable forests are, under this system, reserved for the exclusive use of government; others of less value, and the limits of which can be easily defined, have, in consideration of a recognition of ten per cent. *ad valorem* on the timber when worked up, been thrown open to individuals engaged in ship-building, who generally contract with the people of the adjoining villages, to cut and deliver the timber at fixed prices: a mode which has also been occasionally resorted to by

by government, especially for the inferior and small kinds of timbers, shingles, pipe staves, &c. which are allowed to be cut in particular forests.

The industry which has been excited by opening these facilities in procuring timber, and the impetus which it has afforded to trade, may be estimated by this fact, that within the last few years have been launched no less than ten to twelve square-rigged vessels, of from one hundred and fifty to four hundred tons, and that many more of larger dimensions were about to be built, when the restoration of the colony was announced.

It need hardly be observed, that due precautions have been taken for the preservation and renovation of the valuable forests, which so far from being exhausted, are capable of supplying besides crooked and compass timber for ship-building, forty or fifty thousand beams in the year without injury. European overseers are appointed, and one general superintendent is placed over the whole.*

As illustrative of the importance attached to these forests by the Dutch, and of the capabilities of the island for ship-building, it may not be uninteresting to annex an extract from Mr. Hogendorp's appeal to the authorities in Holland on this subject.†

The

* For the situation and extent of the forests, see plate of the Mineralogical Sketch of the Island.

† " Batavians! be amazed! hear with wonder what I have to communicate. Our fleets are " destroyed, our trade languishes, our navigation is going to ruin—we purchase with immense " treasures, timber and other materials for ship-building from the northern powers, and on Java " we leave warlike and mercantile squadrons standing with their roots in the ground. Yes, the " forests of Java have timber enough to build a respectable navy in a short time, besides as many " merchant ships as we require. Hemp would grow as well as in Bengal, and as labour is as cheap " in Java, we may consequently presume that it would require little trouble to establish manufac- " tures of canvas and cordage there in a short time. But, at any rate, Java already produces at " a very low price cayar and gamuti cordage, which answers very well for cables, hawsers, and " rigging. To build ships at Java for the mother country, it is only necessary to send out skilful " and complete master-builders with a few ship carpenters; for common workmen are to be had " on Java in numbers, and at a very low rate, as a good Java carpenter may be hired at five " stivers a day. The principal objection that could be made is, that the shores of Java being " very flat and level, are not well adapted for building, and still less for launching ships of " heavy burthens, but this difficulty may be easily overcome: on the islands before Batavia, " and particularly Brunt and Cooke's Island, wharfs, or even docks, may be constructed at " little expence. The same may be observed of one of the islands off Japára and at Grésik, " besides many other places in the eastern division, in the harbour which is formed by the " island of Madúra, and which is sheltered from every wind.

" The Resident of Rembáng, and sometimes of Jawána, are almost the only Europeans who " build ships, for it is too difficult and dangerous for others to undertake it, under the arbi-

" trary

The *Blandong* people or foresters are generally employed in cutting or in dragging timber during eight months out of the twelve, but they are obliged to watch the forests the whole year through: they are regularly relieved, and half the working men are at all times left disposeable for the rice fields. The *Blandong* people have always been accustomed to the work, and generally have their villages near the principal forests. It is one of the advantages of the system of contracting with the people for land payments, that in emergencies they are willing to lend their own buffaloes to assist those of government in dragging heavy timber, which could not be removed otherwise without great expence, while their children at other times watch and attend the cattle belonging to government. In short, the resources of the village are at the disposal of government, for a land payment considerably less than one-third of the expence of hired labourers, whom it would be difficult to procure, and still more difficult, from the character of the people, to retain in constant and unremitting employment.

Under the system of granting remissions of rent, it has been calculated that in the districts of *Semárang*, where the assessment is comparatively high, on account of the vicinity to a large capital, a remission of eight rupees and a half, or about twenty shillings, being the average amount paid annually by each cultivator, government obtains a man's hard labour for six months of the year. But as the inhabitants of the same village are generally accustomed to labour in the fields alternately, and thus to assist each other, it has been found advisable to make the remissions of rent for the *Blandongs* to the village *as a community*, in order to avoid the delay and endless vexation which would ensue, in adjusting the petty claims of each individual.

" trary government at present existing in Java, under which nothing can flourish or succeed.
" But the Chinese, who are favoured in every thing, are well aware how to turn this also to
" their own advantage, and to build a great number of vessels all along the coast, from fifteen
" to two hundred lasts burthen, for which they get the timber almost for nothing, by means of
" renting the forest villages. It is easy to imagine, how these avaricious bloodsuckers use the
" forests, and manage to get all they can out of them. In spite of all this, however, the
" forests of Java grow as fast as they are cut, and would be inexhaustible under good care
" and management.

" At Bombay, Surat, and Demaun, and other places along the coast of Malabar, at Ben-
" gal, and at Pegu, the English build many large and fine ships, which last a length of time,
" especially those of Bombay and Malabar build, although I believe the wood produced there,
" however good, is not equal to the teak of Java."

Fisheries. In the maritime districts on the north-east side of the island, a very large proportion of the population is employed in the fisheries, and so moderate are the seasons, that except perhaps for a few days at the change of the monsoon, they are seldom interrupted by the weather.

The sea fish is taken either by the net, in stakes (*wídi*), or with the hook and line: the most considerable quantity is of course procured by means of the two former, generally distinguished by the term *máyang*, whence *práhu máyang*, fishing-boat. The whole apparatus of the hook and line is called *pánching*, the usual term for angling among the *Maláyus*. The fishing-boats quit the shore at about three or four o'clock in the morning, and are driven out by the land breeze beyond sight before daylight. At about noon they are seen returning with the sea breeze, and generally reach the shore by two in the afternoon. The stakes along the whole of the northern coast, wherever the banks and projecting land admit, are very extensive: they are often fixed in several fathom water, and constitute a very important property. They are usually closed in the night.

Nets are principally made of *rámi*, though sometimes of *gadáng'an*, and even of cotton. They are steeped in an infusion, which not only darkens their colour, but is considered essentially to contribute to their strength. Fish that is not eaten or disposed of while fresh, is salted and dried in the sun, or smoke-dried at a short distance from a fire, and in that state forms an extensive article of internal commerce. Besides the abundance of fish thus obtained from the sea, extensive tracts of country, salt marshes, and inlets of the sea, have in several parts of the island been converted into fish-ponds (*támba*). These ponds are to be found in most of the low maritime districts: those at *Grésik*, which are the most extensive, appear to have been first established during the visit of one of the early Mahometan princes of the island in the fifteenth century. The *bándeng* is generally considered as the richest and highest-flavoured fish known in these seas: the young fry are taken in the sea, and transferred to these ponds, where they grow and fatten for seven months, when they are fit for the table. An annual supply of young fish from the sea is found necessary to keep up the stock in the tanks; and, whether from a desire to raise the value of the fish so obtained in them, or otherwise, the natives generally affirm, that the fish rarely attains its full size in the sea. The extent and value of these nurseries for the fish may be estimated from the rent paid for those at *Grésik*, which are the property of government.

The

The river fish are taken by a variety of methods: one is to throw a number of branches of trees into a deep part of the river; here the fish collect; they are then surrounded by stakes, or the branches are taken out, and the fish easily caught; this method is termed *rúmpon*. *Bámbu* fences are sometimes thrown across the rivers at night, and so constructed that the fish are easily entrapped as they pass down the stream: this method is called *pásang wádong*. The rivers and ponds are frequently dragged by nets of different sizes. The *coculus indicus*, and other intoxicating drugs, are sometimes thrown into the river, after which the fish are found floating on the surface and easily taken; this method, termed *túba*, is prohibited on large rivers: when the fish are afterwards driven down the river by a number of men into a snare laid below, the usual term is *jámprong*. In the western districts, a fishing party of this description affords a very favourite amusement on great occasions. A time is selected when the river is moderately low; temporary stands made of the trunks of small trees or stout *bámbus* are then thrown across, each consisting of three piles, fastened together at the top and expanding below, the bottoms being pointed so as to fix in the ground. On a small stage on each, just above the surface of the water, are piled a few stones, by which they are steadied while the current is allowed a free course below. The piers or stages thus formed, answer well for the construction of a temporary bridge over the rocky or stony bed of the most irregular river. A coarse matting, made of *bámbu* or some other material, is then carried from one to the other, so as to shut the current in within a narrow space, across which a temporary platform and shed is thrown, with a sloping floor rising above the surface of the water, to where the party is assembled. The drug having been thrown into the river, a considerable distance higher up several hundred people now enter the river, and driving the half-intoxicated fish before them, they come floundering one after the other on the *bámbu* stage, to the no small amusement of the party collected, fish of a considerable size literally jumping into their laps. On these occasions, when the entertainment is given to Europeans, a great concourse of people attend, a feast is prepared, and the wild and antic music and dance of the mountaineers, performing on the *ánklang* and rude drum, give great peculiarity and zest to the amusement. Fish are sometimes struck at night by torch light, both at sea and in the rivers; but this method is not very general.

Pearls. Pearls are obtained in the vicinity of *Bányuwáng'i*, where the privilege of fishing for them is farmed out by the year, as well in the vicinity of *Núsa-kambáng'an*, on the south side of the island; but they are generally of the description called seed pearls, and of little value.

CHAPTER V.

Commerce.—Advantageous Situation of Java for Commercial Intercourse.—Importance of Batavia in particular.—Native Trade.—Roads and Inland Carriage.—Markets.—Influence of the Chinese.—Coasting Trade.—Exports and Imports.—Trade with the Archipelago.—China.—Kamtchatka.—Western India.—Europe, &c.—Dutch Commercial Regulations.—State of the Eastern Islands.—Advantages which they possess.—Causes of the Depression of the Nations and Tribes which inhabit them.—Japan Trade.

FROM the importance which the Dutch, in the days of their greatness, attached to their East-India commerce, of which Batavia was the emporium, and the importance which this commerce conferred upon them, from the desire excited in the other nations to obtain a share in its advantages, and the crimes committed to maintain its undivided monopoly, some idea may be formed of its magnitude and value. When the French troops, in the summer of 1672, under Louis XIV, had overrun the territory of Holland, with the rapidity and irresistible force of the sea after bursting the dykes, the Republic formed the magnanimous resolution of transporting its wealth, its enterprise, and its subjects, to another hemisphere, rather than submit to the terms of the conqueror, and fixed upon Batavia, already the seat of its eastern commerce, as the capital of its new empire. They could have found shipping in their own ports for the transport of fifty thousand families; their country was inundated with the ocean, or in possession of the invader; their power and political importance consisted in their fleets and colonies; and having been accustomed to maintain their naval superiority by the fruits of their Eastern trade, and to buy the corn of Europe with the spices of the Moluccas, they would have felt less from a removal of their seat of empire from the north of Europe to the south of Asia, than any people who ever contemplated a similar change; while, at the same time, the very project of such an extraordinary emigration, and the

Value of the Dutch East-Indies.

the means they had of carrying it into effect, give us the highest ideas of the independent spirit inspired by their free government, and of their commercial prosperity, derived, in a great degree, from their eastern establishments and connexions.

Advantageous commercial situation of Java and the Malayan Archipelago.

The same advantages which the Europeans derived from the navigation of the Mediterranean, the inhabitants of the Malayan Archipelago enjoyed in a higher degree; and it cannot be doubted, that among islands lying in smooth and unruffled seas, inviting the sail or oar of the most timid and inexperienced mariner, an intercourse subsisted at a very early period. To this intercourse, and to the fertility of the soil of Java, which soon rendered it an agricultural country, must be attributed the high degree of civilization and of advancement in the arts, which, from the monuments of its progress which still exist, there is every reason to believe it once attained. In short, to adopt the expressions of Dr. Adam Smith, when speaking of a very different country,* Java, "on account of the natural fertility "of its soil, of the great extent of its sea-coast in proportion to the whole "of the country, and of the number of its navigable rivers, affording the con- "veniency of water carriage to some of its most inland parts, is conveniently "fitted by nature to be the seat of foreign commerce, of manufactures for "sale to the neighbouring countries, and of all the improvements which "these can occasion."

Commercial state of Java before it was visited by modern Europeans.

But though there can be little doubt that Java very early emerged from barbarism, and rose to great commercial prosperity, to determine the precise time at which these events took place is perhaps impossible; and to approach the solution of the question would involve an inquiry that will be better reserved till we come to treat of its languages, institutions, and antiquities. If, in the consideration of these topics, it should be made to appear, that, in very remote ages, these regions were civilized from Western India, and that an extensive Hindu empire once existed on Java, it will be reasonable to infer a commercial intercourse still earlier than the communication of laws and improvement.

In the remarkable account of the rich commodities conveyed to ancient Tyre, it would appear that there were many articles the peculiar produce of the Malayan States; and in that given by Strabo of the importations into Egypt, cloves, which we know to be the exclusive produce of the Moluccas, are expressly mentioned. The same taste for the fine kinds of spices, and

* Great Britain.

and the same desire to obtain them, which prompted European nations successively to make themselves masters of these islands, must in all probability have operated, in a very remote period, on the merchants of Hindustan, and even of countries lying farther to the westward, who had already found their way into the gold regions; and if the hypothesis, which places Mount *Ophir* on Sumatra or the peninsula of Malacca, cannot be maintained, it will at any rate be admitted, that previously to the discovery of America, no country was known more rich in gold than the Malayan Islands, and that, on that account, they were peculiarly attractive to foreigners, who could not be supplied from any other quarter.

The Arabs, it is known, had in the ninth century, if not long previously, made themselves acquainted with these countries; and the Chinese, if we may trust the Javan annals, had visited Java at the same period. According to Kempfer, the *Maláyus* in former times had by far the greatest trade in the Indies, and frequented with their vessels, not only all the coasts of Asia, but even ventured to the shores of Africa, and particularly to the great island of Madagascar; " for," adds this author, " John de Barros " in his Decades, and Flaccourt in his History of Madagascar, assures us, " that the language spoken by the inhabitants of that large African island " is full of Javan and Malayan words: subsisting proofs of the commerce " which these two nations, about two thousand years ago the richest and " most powerful of Asia, had carried on with Madagascar, where they had " settled in great numbers."

Its commercial state at its first visitation by modern Europeans.

Whatever credit we may attach to these statements and inferences, respecting the commerce of these islands before they were visited by Europeans in the fifteenth century, it is certain that, at this period, an extensive trade was established at Malacca, Acheen, and Bantam, then the great emporiums of the Eastern Archipelago. Hither the rich produce of Sumatra, Borneo, and the Moluccas, was conveyed in the small trading craft of the country, and exchanged for the produce of India and China. These ports were then filled with vessels from every maritime state of Asia, from the Red Sea to Japan. The Portuguese, who preceded the Dutch in India, and who had fixed upon *Goa*, on the coast of Malabar, as the capital of their eastern settlements, selected Malacca as the most convenient station for conducting and protecting their trade with the islands, and erected it into a secondary capital. The Dutch finding this desirable station preoccupied, and being foiled in their attempts to dislodge their rivals, first established

established a commercial settlement at Bantam, and subsequently, subdued by force of arms the neighbouring province of *Jákatra*, (or *Jokárta*), on which, as will be afterwards mentioned, they built the fortress, the city, and the port of Batavia.

Importance of Batavia.

Nor was it without reason that they selected this spot for the capital of their new empire. "What the Cape of Good Hope is," says Adam Smith, "between Europe and every part of the East-Indies, Batavia is between the "principal countries in the East-Indies. It lies upon the most frequented "road from Hindustan to China and Japan, and is nearly about midway on "that road. Almost all the ships, too, that sail between Europe and "China, touch at Batavia; and it is, over and above all this, the centre "and principal mart of what is called the country trade of the East-Indies, "not only of that part of it which is carried on by Europeans, but of that "which is carried on by the native Indians, and vessels navigated by the "inhabitants of China and Japan, of Tonquin, of Malacca, of Cochin "China, and the Island of Celebes, are frequently to be seen in its port. "Such advantageous situations have enabled these two colonies to surmount "all the obstacles which the oppressive genius of an exclusive company may "have occasionally opposed to their growth: they have enabled Batavia to "surmount the additional disadvantage, of perhaps the most unwholesome "climate in the world."

Commerce of Java at the set tlement of the Dutch in Batavia.

It would be as difficult to describe in detail the extent of the commerce enjoyed by Java, at the period of the establishment of the Dutch in the eastern seas, as it would be painful to point out how far, or to show in what manner, that commerce was interfered with, checked, changed in its character and reduced in its importance, by the influence of a withering monopoly, the rapacity of avarice armed with power, and the short-sighted tyranny of a mercantile administration. To convey an idea of the maritime strength of the native princes anterior to this date, as giving a criterion by which to judge of the trade of their subjects, it may be sufficient to state that warlike expeditions, consisting of many hundred vessels, are often reported to have been fitted out against Borneo, Sumatra, and the peninsula. In the art of ship-building, however, they do not appear to have advanced beyond the construction of that sort of vessel adapted to the navigation of their own smooth seas, and now to be met with in all their ports and harbours; nor do they seem to have had any knowledge of maritime geography beyond the shores of their own Archipelago, and the information which they gained from the

reports

reports of the Arabs, or the traditions of their own more adventurous ancestors. This circumstance would lead us to infer that the trade of Java was carried on chiefly in foreign vessels, and through the enterprize of foreign adventurers. The habits of the people had become agricultural; they had nearly deserted an element which they had no powerful temptation to traverse, and on which they could reap little, compared with what they could draw from the fertility of their own territory. Leaving therefore their ports to be filled, and their commodities to be carried away by the *Maláyus*, the *Búgis*, the Indians, the Chinese, and the Arabs, they for the most part contented themselves with enjoying the advantages of a trade, in which they incurred no chance of loss; and thus, though their own country yielded neither gold nor jewels, they are said to have been plentifully supplied with these and other valuable articles on their own shores, in exchange for the produce of their tranquil industry and their fertile soil. This kind of traffic was almost entirely annihilated, or at least very much diverted from its ancient course, by the restrictive system of Dutch colonial policy. Some branches of it were, it must be allowed, partially encouraged by the influx of European capital and the demand for particular articles which bear a high price in the European market; but this was an inadequate compensation for the loss of that commerce, which may be said to be as much the growth of the country as any of its indigenous plants. In order to show to what insignificance it was reduced under Dutch oppression, and what tendency it has to improve under a better system, it is only necessary to compare its state during the latter years of the Dutch government, before the blockade, and afterwards during the short interval of British administration. For the first of these purposes, I have drawn, in the introduction to this work, a short sketch of the condition of the Dutch East-India Company, for a considerable period previous to our arrival; and I now proceed to give some account of the external and internal trade of Java, as it existed at the time when we restored it to its former masters.

Extent of the trade of Java during the last years.

The extent of this commerce, since the establishment of the British government, and since a greater freedom of trade has been allowed, may, for want of a better criterion, be estimated from the amount of tonnage employed since the beginning of the year 1812, at which period the operations of the military expedition had ceased, and the transports were discharged.

In the year 1812, the number of square-rigged vessels which entered the port of Batavia amounted to 239, and their aggregate tonnage to 48,290

tons, and in the same year the native craft amounted to 455 vessels, or 7,472 tons, or together 55,762 tons. The quantity cleared out during the same year was 44,613 tons of shipping, and 7,762 of native craft, making together 52,375.

In the year 1813, the number of square-rigged vessels was 288, and the tonnage 51,092, the native craft amounting to 796 vessels, or 13,214 tons, or together 64,306 tons.

In 1814, 321 ships, or 63,564 tons, cleared out with 568 native vessels, or 9,154 tons, shewing the total tonnage of Batavia during this year to have amounted to 72,718 tons.

The returns for the following year have not been received, but they are estimated to exceed either of the two former years, and not to have fallen much short of one hundred thousand tons; and it may be noticed, that during one year after the first accounts were received of the successes of the allied armies against France, no less than thirty-two ships, measuring fifteen thousand tons, cleared out, and carried cargoes, the produce of Java, to the London market.

The average annual tonnage which cleared out from the port of *Surabáya*, for the three last years, amounted to about thirty thousand tons, and the native tonnage trading to the neighbouring port of *Grésik* is estimated to have even exceeded that quantity.

At the small port of *Súmenap*, situated at the east end of *Madúra*, which is a principal resort for the native trade, the tonnage which cleared out was

	Small práhus and vessels.	*Tonnage.*
For 1812	3,765	15,230
1813	4,752	33,769

And the estimated value of the same,

	Imports.	*Exports.*
For 1812	Rupees 625,628	Rupees 396,820
1813	740,080	492,020.*

The value of the imports and exports of *Semárang*, on which duties were actually collected at that port, were

For

* The greatest part, or rather nearly the whole of these exports and imports, consisted of colonial produce, of articles of subsistence, or native manufactures, mutually exchanged between the two islands of Madúra and Java. Not a tenth part of the imports came from beyond Java.

	Imports.	*Exports.*
For 1812	Rupees 555,044	Rupees 167,101
1813	1,530,716	985,709
1814	686,330	549,038

The native tonnage which cleared from *Rembáng* was as follows:

In 1812	862 vessels	or 8,058 tons.
1813	1,095 do	8,657
1814	1,455 do	12,935

The trade from the other minor ports was inconsiderable, the effect of tht regulations passed in 1813 being yet hardly felt. From *Pakalúngan* the tonnage which cleared was for 1812, 5,962 tons, and for 1813, 4,679 tons, the imports being about 150,000 rupees, and the exports 300,000 rupees in each year; from *Tégal* for 1812, 2,445 tons, and for 1813, 1,926 tons, the imports being about 50,000, and the exports about 60,000 rupees in each year.

The amount of tonnage which touched at *Anyer*, on the way through the Straits of *Súnda*, to and from Europe, Africa, and America, was

In 1812	73 ships	29,450
1813	73	37,546
1814	125	56,942

By an official return made in March 1816, it appears that the total quantity of tonnage in vessels boarded on their passage through the Straits of *Súnda* amounted in 1812 to 45,000 tons, in 1813 to 56,000 tons, in 1814 to 64,000 tons, and in 1815 to 130,000 tons, to which adding a third for vessels which passed without being boarded, the whole amount of tonnage for these four years would be 390,000, the quantity in the fourth of these years being nearly triple that of the first.

The commerce of Java may be considered under the two general divisions of the native and the European, the former including the internal and coasting trade, with that of the Malayan Archipelago in general; the latter comprehending that carried on by Europeans and Americans with India, China and Japan, Africa, America, and Europe.

Native trade.

Java has already been described as a great agricultural country. It has long been considered as the granary of the Eastern Islands.

The southern coast is for the most part inaccessible, and seldom visited by traders; but along the north coast there are no less than thirteen principal

ports, besides numerous other intermediate and less considerable ones, frequented by native vessels at all seasons of the year. Many of these are sheltered, and form safe harbours in all weather, as *Bantam*, *Batavia*, *Rembáng*, *Grésik*, and *Surabáya*. Even where the vessels lie in an open roadstead, the wind is seldom sufficiently strong to render the anchorage unsafe. Several of the rivers are navigable for many miles into the interior, and most of them are capable of receiving native vessels into the heart of the town, through which they generally run; but the rivers of Java, as well as those of the eastern coast of Sumatra and the western coast of Borneo, are for the most part obstructed at their entrance by extensive bars, which preclude the admission of vessels of any very considerable burthen. Piers have been run out in many places, to remedy this inconvenience; but in consequence of the quantity of soil annually carried down, the bars or banks are continually increasing, and in some places, as at *Tégal*, have nearly blocked up the communication between the rivers and the sea.

The produce and manufactures of the country are conveyed from one district to another and to these maritime capitals, either by water or land carriage. The principal navigable rivers to the westward, are those which disembogue themselves below *Táng'ran*, *Krâwang*, and *Indramáyu*, and the produce brought down by them is usually conveyed to Batavia. To the eastward, the great *Sólo* river, which is navigable from *Súra-kérta*, affords, with the *Kediri*, the principal and only outlets from the native provinces by water towards the northern coast. Down the former, which empties itself by several mouths, near *Grésik*, into the great harbour of *Surabáya*, during the rains, large quantities of the produce of the richest provinces of the interior are conveyed. The boats employed, which are of considerable burthen, return with cargoes of salt. This river runs through many valuable teak forests, and consequently affords the means of easy transport for the timber; an advantage which is also derived from several smaller rivers on the northern coast, particularly in the neighbourhood of the principal building yards. Facilities of the same kind are also found at most of the sea ports, which are generally seated on rivers passing through forests in the interior, down which timber required for house-building and the construction of small craft is floated with ease. An inland navigation is carried on to a considerable extent, by means of small canals, in *Demák*

and

and some of the neighbouring districts, where it is common, even during the harvest, at the driest season of the year, to observe innumerable boats with their light sails crossing an extensive flat and highly cultivated country, and traversing the corn fields in various directions. In the rich and fertile delta of *Surabáya*, the whole produce of the adjacent country is conveyed by water carriage, generally on light rafts constructed of a few stems of the plantain tree.

Roads and land carriage.

Goods not conveyed by water carriage, are usually carried on the backs of oxen or horses, or on the shoulders of men and women, carts not being generally used, except in the western districts, where the population is thin, or in some of the more eastern districts, particularly those recently under Chinese direction. The cart of the western districts, termed *pedáti*,* is of clumsy construction, running on two large solid wheels, from five to six feet in diameter and from one to two inches broad, on a revolving axle, and drawn by two buffaloes. It is the ordinary conveyance of goods to the capital, within a range of about sixty miles from Batavia.

Few countries can boast of roads, either of a better description, or of a greater extent, than some of those in Java. A high post road, passable for carriages at all seasons of the year, runs from *Anyer*, on the western side of Bantam, to within twenty miles of *Bányuwángi*, the eastern extremity of the island, being a distance of not less than eight hundred English miles. Along this road, at intervals of less than five miles, are regular post stations and relays of carriage horses. A portion of it towards the west, which proceeded into the interior and passed over some high and mountainous tracts, was found to occasion great delay and inconvenience to passengers, and to impose an oppressive duty upon those inhabitants, who, residing in the neighbourhood were obliged to lend the use of their cattle, or the assistance of their personal labour, to aid carriages in ascending the steeps; this part of the line has therefore been abandoned, and a new road has recently been constructed along the low lands, from *Batavia* to *Chéribon*, by which not only the former inequalities are avoided, but a distance of fifty miles is saved. This route is now so level, that a canal might easily be cut along its side, and carried on nearly through all the maritime districts of the eastward, by which the convenience of inland navigation might be afforded them, for conveying the commodities continually required for

* See plate of Javan woman of the lower class.

for the consumption and exportation of the capital. Besides this main road from one extreme to the other, there is also a high military road, equally well constructed, which crosses the island from north to south, leading to the two native capitals of *Súra-kérta* and *Yúg'ya-kérta*, and consequently to within a few miles of the South Sea. Cross roads have also been formed wherever the convenience or advantage of Europeans required them, and there is no part of the island to which the access is left difficult. But it is not to be concluded, that these communications contribute that assistance to agriculture or trade on Java, which such roads would afford in Europe: their construction has, on the contrary, in many instances, been destructive to whole districts, and when completed by his own labour, or the sacrifice of the lives of his neighbours, the peasant was debarred from their use, and not permitted to drive his cattle along them, while he saw the advantages they were capable of yielding reserved for his European masters, that they might be enabled to hold a more secure possession of his country. They were principally formed during the blockade of the island, and were intended to facilitate the conveyance of stores, or the passage of troops necessary for its military defence. The inhabitants, however, felt the exclusion the less, as good inferior roads were often made by the side of these military roads, and bye-roads branched off through all parts of the country, so that the internal commerce met with no impediment for the want of direct or convenient lines of communication.

Markets or bazars.

Nor is it discouraged by the want of understood or established places of exchange. Bazars or public markets (here called *pékan*) are established in every part of the country, and usually held twice a week, if not oftener. The market days are in general regulated by what are called *pásar* days, being a week of five days, similar to that by which the markets in South America appear to be regulated. At these markets are assembled frequently some thousands of people, chiefly women, on whom the duty devolves of carrying the various productions of the country to these places of traffic. In some districts, extensive sheds are erected for the accommodation of the people; but, in general, a temporary covering of thatch, to shelter them from the rays of the sun, is made for the occasion, and thought sufficient. Where the market is not held within a town of considerable size, the assemblage usually takes place under a large tree, in a spot occupied from immemorial usage for that purpose. In these markets there are regular quarters appropriated for the grain merchant, the cloth merchant, venders

venders of iron, brass, and copper-ware, and dealers in the various small manufactures of the country, as well as those of India, China, and Europe. Prepared eatables of every kind, as well as all the fruits and vegetables in request, occupy a considerable space in the fair, and find a rapid sale. In the more extensive bazars, as at *Sólo*, the *kris* handle makers have their particular quarter, and in an adjoining square, horses and oxen are exposed for sale.

Small duties are generally levied in these bazars, the collection of which was formerly farmed out to Chinese; but it being found that they exacted more than the settled or authorized rate, and that they contrived, by means of the influence which their office conferred, to create a monopoly in their own favour, not only of the articles of trade but of many of the necessaries of life, that system has latterly been relinquished wherever practicable, and government has taken the management of that portion of the public revenue into its own hands. In the bazars, accordingly, regulated under the immediate superintendence of its officers, extensive sheds are built, and a small compensation only is required for the use of them by those who there intend to expose their goods for sale. This duty is collected at the entrance into the market-place, and is taken in lieu of all other taxes or customs whatever, formerly levied on the transit or sale of native commodities. It is to be regretted, that this improvement had not been extended to the native provinces, where every article of produce and manufacture is still impeded in its progress through the country to the place of consumption or export, by toll duties and other impolitic exactions, and charged on its arrival there with heavy bazar duties, to the discouragement of industry and enterprize, and the depression of agriculture and trade, in a degree not compensated by a proportionate benefit to the revenue.*

Influence of the Chinese.

Almost all the inland commerce, beyond what is thus carried on through the medium of bazars, is under the direction of the Chinese, who possessing considerable capital, and frequently speculating on a very extensive scale, engross the greater part of the wholesale trade, buy up the principal articles of

* "The bazars," observes Mr. Hogendorp, "now produce a large, and even an incredible "amount, which however is melted away in the hands of the native regents and also some "European authorities; but the Chinese, to whom they are mostly farmed out, derive "the greatest profits from them, both by the money which they extort from the Javans, and "by the monopolies in all kinds of produce, and particularly of rice, which by these means "they are enabled to secure to themselves. The abuses on this point are horrible, and almost "induce me to recommend that the markets should be made free and open."

of export from the native grower, convey them to the maritime capitals, and in return supply the interior with salt, and with the principal articles imported from the neighbouring islands, or from foreign countries. The industry of the Javans being directed almost exclusively to the cultivation of the soil, they are satisfied if they can find an immediate market for their surplus produce; and the Chinese, from their superior wealth and enterprize, offering them this advantage without interfering with their habits, have obtained almost a monopoly of their produce, and an uncontrolled command of their market for foreign commodities.

Coasting trade: its extent.

The trade carried on by native vessels along the coast, with the neighbouring islands, and with the peninsula of Malacca, has been even more shackled than that placed under the impolitic restraints of interior regulation; and if it exists now to any considerable extent, it is owing only to the great natural advantages that attend it. Independently of the dangers to which the peaceable unprotected trader has so long been exposed, from the numerous pirates who infest the Eastern Seas, and who for many years have been in the habit of annually sweeping the coast of Java, the various restrictions, penalties, and prohibitions established by the Dutch government, in order to insure their own monopoly, closed all the minor ports against him.

Among these restrictions, none operated more forcibly to prejudice the native trade than the rigid and enforced monopoly of the teak timber; an article of produce with which Java abounds, and of which the shipping of the Archipelago had, from time immemorial, been principally constructed. The facilities for building and repairing vessels along the coast, while the sale of this timber was unrestricted, not only allowed a more abundant supply of shipping at a cheap rate for the convenience of the native trader, but attracted the beneficial visits and the intercourse of foreigners, and encouraged a species of trade, which under the recent system has been lost. The *Búgis* and Arabs of the different eastern ports, navigating in large vessels, were induced to give them an annual repair on Java; and rather than depart in ballast, frequently carried out cargoes, the profits of which alone, independently of their refit, would not have been sufficient to tempt them to the speculation. These adventurers not only imported considerable quantities of gold-dust, to defray the expence of their repairs, but many other articles, the produce of the Malayan islands; for which they, in return, exported large quantities of salt, and other bulky commodities, which would

would otherwise hardly repay their freight. In consequence of the stop put to this kind of intercourse, the Malayan States were principally supplied with salt from Siam and the Coromandel coast, or manufactured the article for themselves, while an accumulating undemanded surplus for many years remained on Java unsaleable. Of the nature of the restrictions under which the internal commerce, and the native trade in general, were placed until lately, some idea may be formed, from the amount of the duties which were exacted at *Chéribon*, prior to the introduction of the land revenue settlement.*

These, with still heavier and more vexatious duties and exactions, were levied on trade in other districts of the island. Constant requisitions were made by the Dutch government for the services of native vessels, at rates far below a just compensation to the owner, and the native traders were forbidden to traffic in any of the articles of Dutch monopoly; considerations which incline us rather to express our surprize, that there should have been any native trade at all, than that there should be so little as now exists.

How and by whom carried on.

The coasting trade is carried on in vessels belonging chiefly to Chinese, Arabs, and *Búgis* (natives of Celebes), and in smaller Malayan *práhus*.†

* See account of Chéribon.

† Although but few of the natives of Java venture their property in foreign speculations, the natives of Java form the crews of all coasting vessels belonging to Chinese, Arabs, or Europeans, and it is of them almost exclusively that the class of common sailors, known in the east under the general denomination of Malays is composed. Here it may not be improper to notice the manner in which European vessels have hitherto been supplied with such crews, and to point out the probable causes of that atrocious conduct with which the Malayan sailor is so generally reproached.

A reference to the maritime customs of the *Málayus* will shew the manner in which the outfit of a native vessel in the Eastern Seas is effected.* Each individual on board has a share and interest in the concern, and among themselves the maritime population is distinguished for good faith and attachment. In the vessels either commanded or owned by Chinese or Arabs, the same principle is attended to; and although the common sailors in these generally receive wages, the petty officers, who are also generally Javans, have some trifling interest in the cargo, the common men are protected by them, and the policy of the commanders induces every possible attention to the usages, prejudices, and comforts of the crews. They are able to assimilate more nearly with them, and to enter more immediately into their feelings and their wants, than it is possible for Europeans to do, and as they do not possess the authority to

* See a paper on the Maritime Institutions of the Malayan Nation, in the twelfth volume of the Asiatic Researches.

The enterprize of the Arabs, Chinese, and *Búgis* is very conspicuous. They are in general fair traders; and Europeans acquainted with their several characters can rely on their engagements, and command their confidence.

to obtain crews by force, it is only by a character for good treatment that they can ensure an adequate supply of hands. These vessels navigate throughout the whole extent of the Archipelago, to Malacca and Acheen on one side, and to the Moluccas and New Guinea on the other. They are manned exclusively by Javans, usually called Malays, and no instances occur of the crews rising either upon the Arab or Chinese commander: they are, on the contrary, found to be faithful, hardworking, and extremely docile. How is it when Malays are employed in vessels belonging to Europeans? The Javans are originally not a seafaring people; they have an aversion for distant voyages, and require the strongest inducements to quit the land, even for a coasting expedition in the smooth seas of their own Archipelago, beyond which, if they ever engage themselves on board a colonial vessel, they make an express agreement, not to be carried: European vessels in want of hands for more distant voyages to Europe, India, and China, have been compelled therefore to resort to force or fraud, as the means of obtaining crews. The Dutch government were in the habit of employing people, known among the Javans by the term *sélong*, as kidnappers, who prowled about at night, pounced upon the unwary peasant who might be passing alone, and hurried him on ship-board. When the direct influence of government was not used, the native regents or chiefs were employed to obtain people for the crews of vessels: this they did sometimes in the same manner, though more frequently condemning to sea as many as were required, by an indiscriminate draft on the neighbouring population. The native chiefs were perhaps paid a certain head-money, on what may have been considered by the European commanders as nothing more than *crimpage*. The people who were seized were seldom of a seafaring class, but almost entirely landsmen, in many instances perhaps opium smokers, or persons obtained from the lowest and most worthless part of the community. Once embarked, their fate was sealed for ever, and due care was taken that they never landed again on Java, as long as their services as sailors were required.

In this manner are obtained that extensive class of sailors, denominated Malays, who are found on board almost every country ship in India, and inhabit the sea-ports in considerable numbers, particularly Calcutta, where they have a distinct quarter allotted them. They are taken from their home against their will, and in violence of all their views and habits. In general, neither their language or customs are in the least understood by their new master, for though most of the commanders in the eastern trade may speak the Malayan language, and be accustomed to the Malayan character, they know nothing of the Javan language, and but little of the manners, habits, and prejudices of the Javan people.

That numerous instances have occurred, in which they have appeared the foremost in mutiny and in the massacre of their officers, will not be denied; but it is well known, that many instances of ships being cut off by the Malay crews, have been occasioned by the tyrannical and inhuman character of the commanders; and however dreadful the massacre, some excuse may be made on the score of provocation, for a people low in the scale of moral restraint and intellectual improvement. In some cases, they have been made the instruments and dupes of the villany of others, and have merely followed in the track of cruelty. In general, so little care seems to be devoted to the comforts of these people, and so much violence offered to their

habits,

fidence. Many of them, particularly the *Búgis*, are possessed of very large capital.

By means of the coasting trade, the produce of the maritime and inland districts is conveyed to *Batavia*, *Semárang*, and *Surabáya*, the principal ports of consumption and exportation; and in return those districts receive iron, steel, and other articles of foreign produce and manufacture from abroad. The western districts being but thinly inhabited, do not yield a sufficient supply for the consumption of Batavia; and on this account, as well as its being the principal mart of foreign commerce, the trade of the eastern districts is attracted to it, in a higher degree than to any of the other great towns in their own immediate neighbourhood: but owing to the unhealthiness of the climate, the loss occasioned by the paper money which the native traders of other islands could never understand, and the various vexations and impositions to which they were subjected, these latter invariably prefer the more eastern ports of *Semárang* and *Surabáya*, or rather *Grésik*, in the immediate vicinity of the latter, which has always been the principal establishment and residence of the Arabs.

In what it consists.

The *Búgis* import into Java from the other islands, Malayan camphor, tortoiseshell, edible birds'-nests, bees'-wax, cloths called *sárongs*, of a very strong texture, their own manufacture, and gold-dust, which they lay out in the purchase of opium, iron, steel, Europe chintzes and broad-cloth and Indian piece-goods, besides tobacco, rice, salt, and other productions and manufactures of Java, with which they return eastward, during the favorable monsoon.

The Arabs navigate square-rigged vessels, from fifty to five hundred tons burthen. The Chinese also have many brigs, besides their peculiar description of vessels called junks, as well as native-built *práhus*. They extend their voyages to Sumatra, the Straits of Malacca, and eastward as far as the Moluccas and Timor, collecting birds'-nests, camphor, *bich de mar*, and other articles, making Java a grand depôt for the produce of all the countries to which they resort. Throughout the whole of Java, trade is usually conducted by the Chinese: many of them are very rich, and their means are increased by their knowledge of business, their spirit of enterprize, and their mutual confidence.

habits, that a person accustomed to observe the course of human action, and to calculate the force of excited passions, is almost surprized to find the instances of mutiny and retaliation are so few.

If a cargo arrives too extensive for the finances of one individual, several Chinese club together, and purchase the goods, each dividing according to his capital. In this manner a ready market is always open at Java, without the assistance of European merchants, and strangers are enabled to transact their business with little trouble or risk.

The objections which have been made to the political influence of the Chinese and Arabs in the Eastern Islands, do not equally apply to them as traders. In this last capacity, and subject to regulations which prevent them from uniting the power of a chief with the temper of a merchant, and despotism with avarice, their value cannot be too highly rated. The persevering industry and speculative turn of the Chinese is too well known to need description; and the Arab traders are here, what they are all over the world, keen, intelligent, and adventurous. The *Búgis* have long been distinguished among the Eastern Islands for the extent of their speculations and the fairness of their dealing.

Exports and imports of Java.

Java exports, for the consumption and use of the other islands of the Archipelago, including the Malayan ports on the peninsula, rice, a variety of vetches, salt, oil, tobacco, timber, Java cloths, brass ware, and a variety of minor articles, the produce of her agriculture and manufactures, besides occasionally, as the market admits, a considerable quantity of European, Indian, and Chinese goods. Almost the only article for which Java is at present dependant on its neighbours are *gámbir*, imported from Lingen (*Ling'ga*) and Rhio, where it is produced to the annual amount of from twenty to thirty thousand *píkuls*,—and *pámur*, the metal used for damasking the Javan *krís*, of which a small quantity is imported from *Biliton* and *Célebes*, where alone it is found. The following articles, the exclusive produce of the Eastern Islands, are collected at its principal ports, for re-exportation to India, China, and Europe: tin, from *Bánka*; gold-dust, diamonds, camphor, benjamin and other drugs, edible birds'-nests, *bich de mar*, rattans, bees'-wax, tortoiseshell, and dyeing woods, from Borneo and Sumatra; sandal and other fine woods, nutmegs, cloves and mace, coarse, wild and damaged spices, *káyu-púti* and other pungent oils, from the Moluccas; horses and sapan wood, from *Sumbáwa*; *Búgis* cloths, and many collections for the Chinese market, from Célebes. Cloths are also sometimes imported from *Báli*, and pepper is collected at *Bánjermásin* on Borneo, and from several of the Malayan states.

The

The tin brought to Java is almost exclusively from the mines of *Bánka*. This metal is also exported from several of the other islands, and from the peninsula of Malacca, whence these countries have been considered the *Temala* of Ptolemy, *timah* being the Malayan word for tin; but the quantity obtained from all other sources falls far short of what is procured on *Bánka*, which exports to the annual amount of thirty thousand *pikuls*, or nearly forty thousand cwt. of this metal. The mines on *Bánka* are worked by Chinese, who deliver the metal into the government stores in slabs, at the rate of about eight Spanish dollars the *pikul*, of one hundred and thirty-three pounds and a quarter.*

A very extensive branch of trade is carried on by a direct communication between Java and China, entirely upon Chinese capital, in a description of vessels called junks. From eight to ten of these vessels arrive annually from Canton and Amoi, with cargoes of teas, raw silk, silk piece-goods, varnished umbrellas, iron pots, coarse china-ware, sweetmeats, nankeen, paper, and innumerable minor articles, particularly calculated for the Chinese settlers. They are from three to eight hundred tons burthen, and sail at stated periods, generally reaching Batavia with the north-east monsoon, about the month of January. Of all the imports from China, that which produces the most extensive effects on the commercial and political interests of the country is the native himself: besides their cargoes, these junks bring a valuable import of from two to five hundred industrious natives in each vessel. These emigrants are usually employed as coolies or labourers on their first arrival; but, by frugal habits and persevering industry, they soon become possessed of a little property, which they employ in trade, and increase by their prudence and enterprize. Many of them, in course of time, attain sufficient wealth to render themselves independent, and to enable them to remit considerable accumulations yearly to their relations in China. As these remittances are generally made in the valuable articles, such as birds'-nests, Malayan camphor, *bich de mar*, tin, opium, pepper, timber, leather hides, indigo, gold and silver, the return cargoes of these vessels amount to an almost incredible value.

The quantity of edible birds'-nests alone, annually exported from Java to China on vessels of this description, is estimated at not less than two hundred

* An interesting account of the natural productions of Banka, and of the tin in particular, with the method of working the mines and preparing the metal, has been drawn up by Dr. Horsfield, and will shortly be published.

hundred *pikuls*, of which by far the largest proportion is the produce of the Javan rocks and hills. It is well known, that these are the nests of a species of swallow (hirundo esculenta) common in the Malayan islands, and in great demand for the China table. Their value as a luxury, in that empire, has been estimated on importation to be weight for weight equal with silver. The price which these nests of the best quality have of late years brought in the Canton and Amoi market, has been forty Spanish dollars per *kati*, of rather more than a pound and a quarter English. They are usually classed into first, second, and third sorts, differing in price from forty to fifteen Spanish dollars, and even to ten and less for the most ordinary. The price in the Batavian market rises as the period for the departure of the junks approaches; but as the principal produce of Java is still a monopoly in the hands of government, it is difficult to fix the price at which they might be sold under other circumstances. Generally speaking, however, they sell throughout the Eastern Islands considerably lower than they are calculated to do in China, which may be accounted for by the perishable nature of the commodity, and the great care necessary to preserve them from the damp, as well as from breakage. On this account, they are seldom bought by European traders. Birds'-nests consigned by the Javan government to the Canton factory in 1813, sold to the amount of about fifty *pikuls*, at an average rate of about twenty dollars per *kati*: but this was at a period when the China markets were unusually low.

The quantity of bird's nests obtained from the rocks called *Karang bolang*, on the southern coast of Java, and within the provinces of the native princes, is estimated, one year with another, at a hundred *pikuls*, and is calculated to afford an annual revenue to the government of two hundred thousand Spanish dollars. The quantity gathered besides by individuals, on rocks and hills belonging to them, either in private property or held by farm from the government, in other parts of the island, may amount to fifty *pikuls*; making the extent of this export not less than one hundred and fifty *pikuls*, besides the amount of the collections from the other islands of the Archipelago.

In the Malayan islands in general, but little care is taken of the rocks and caverns which produce this dainty, and the nests procured are neither so numerous nor so good as they otherwise would be. On Java, where perhaps the birds are fewer, and the nests in general less fine than those to be met with in some of the more Eastern Islands, both the quantity and

and quality have been considerably improved by European management. To effect this improvement, the caverns which the birds are found to frequent are cleansed by smoking and the burning of sulphur, and the destruction of all the old nests. The cavern is then carefully secured from the approach of man, the birds are left undisturbed to form their nests, and the gathering takes place as soon as it is calculated that the young are fledged. If they are allowed to remain until eggs are again laid in them, they lose their pure colour and transparency, and are no longer of what are termed the first sort. They are sometimes collected so recently after their formation, that time has not been given for the birds to lay or hatch her eggs in them, and these nests are considered as the most superior; but as the practice, if carried to any extent, would prevent the number of the birds from increasing, it is seldom resorted to, where the caverns are in the possession of those who have a permanent interest in their produce. Much of their excellence and peculiar properties, however, depend on the situation of the place in which they are formed. It has often been ascertained, for instance, that the same bird forms a nest of somewhat different quality, according as it constructs it in the deep recesses of an unventilated and damp cavern, or attaches it to a place where the atmosphere is dry and the air circulates freely. The nature of the different substances also to which they are fixed, seems to have some influence on their properties. The best are procured in the deepest caverns (the favourite retreat of the birds), where a nitrous dampness continually prevails, and where being formed against the sides of the cavern, they imbibe a nitrous taste, without which they are little esteemed by the Chinese. The principal object of the proprietor of a birds'-nest rock is to preserve sufficient numbers of the swallows, by not gathering the nests too often, or abstracting those of the finer kinds in too great numbers, lest the birds should quit their habitations and emigrate to a more secure and inaccessible retreat. It is not unusual for a European, when he takes a rock under his superintendence, after ridding it of the old nests and fumigating the caverns, to allow the birds to remain undisturbed, two, three, or even more years, in order that they may multiply for his future advantage. When a birds'-nest rock is once brought into proper order, it will bear two gatherings in the year: this is the case with the rocks under the care of the officers of government at *Kárang bólang*.

In

In the vicinity of the rocks are usually found a few persons accustomed from their infancy to descend into these caverns, in order to gather the nests; an office of the greatest risk and danger, the best nests being sometimes many hundred feet within the damp and slippery opening of the rock. The gatherers are sometimes obliged to lower themselves by ropes (as at *Kárang-bólang*) over immense chasms, in which the surf of a turbulent sea dashes with the greatest violence, threatening instant destruction in the event of a false step or an insecure hold. The people employed by government for this purpose were formerly slaves, in the domestic service of the minister or resident at the native court. To them the distribution of a few dollars, and the preparation of a buffalo feast after each gathering, was thought sufficient pay, and the sum thus expended constituted all the disbursements attending the gathering and packing, which is conducted by the same persons. This last operation is however carefully superintended by the resident, as the slightest neglect would essentially deteriorate the value of the commodity.*

Camphor.

Although the Malayan camphor, which is the exclusive produce of Sumatra and Borneo, is much stronger than the camphor from China, it has not yet been considered an article of extensive export for the European market. It is always, however, in the greatest demand in China, where it is either consumed, or as has been supposed by some, it undergoes a certain process, previous to its re-exportation under a different appearance. It is not known in what manner the China camphor for the European market is prepared; and unless the Malayan camphor is used in the composition, it seems difficult to account for the constant demand for it in China, whence it is never re-exported in its original state. Whatever value may be set on the Chinese camphor, that exported from Japan is of a still superior quality, and more in demand for the European market.

Bich de mar.

Bich de mar is well known to be a dried sea slug, used in the dishes of the Chinese: it is known among the Malayan Islands by the name of *trípang*, and collected on the shores of nearly all the islands of the Archipelago. It usually sells in China at from ten to fifty dollars per *pikul*, according to its quality, but being an article still more perishable than the birds'-nests,

* From a course of experiments recently undertaken, and a careful examination of the bird, by Sir Everard Home, Bart., there is every reason to believe that the nature of the substance of which the edible birds'-nests are composed will be satisfactorily explained.

birds'-nests, and very bulky and offensive, it seldom composes the cargoes of European vessels. It would be very difficult to ascertain the average price, as it varies according to the difficulties experienced in collecting it, and the immediate demand in the market, for its perishable nature will not admit of the excess of one season being laid by to meet the deficiency of another. It requires constant care on the voyage, and a leaky vessel frequently loses a whole cargo.

Stic-lac, used in dying, is procured in many parts of Java, and can easily be obtained in a quantity sufficient to meet the demand. The insect which yields it abounds in the Bantam districts, and the lac prepared is considered of good quality; but it is not an article which appears to have attracted much attention. Stic-lac.

The trade between Java and China in vessels belonging to Europeans, at present consists principally in carrying out tin, pepper, spices, rattans, and beetle-nut, for the China market, and receiving in return a few articles of China produce in demand for the European market, a balance of cash, and a supply of manufactures required annually at Batavia; but it is calculated that cotton, rice, and timber, which may be considered as the staple produce of Java, might be exported to China with advantage. Trade from Java to China in ships belonging to Europeans.

A small quantity of Javan cotton lately sent to China, was sold at a higher rate than the ordinary prices of the cotton from Western India.* Cotton- Cotton.

* Mr. Hogendorp makes the following observations on the cotton of Java. "This article "of produce, which now, in order to provide the Company with a few hundred *pikuls* of "cotton-yarn at a low rate, is only productive of vexation and oppression to the poor natives, "might be made of the greatest value, both to Java itself and to the mother country. The "plant grows in abundance and of good quality, especially if the best kinds of seeds are "procured from the Coromandel Coast and the Isle of France. The cultivation of cotton is "not at all injurious to any other branch, for after the rice harvest is the best season for "planting the cotton, and before the rains, when the fields are again ploughed for rice, the "cotton is ripe and gathered.

"Little of it is comparatively planted at present; indeed only the necessary quantity, after "providing the natives with coarse cloths, for the government contingent. In rough cotton "there is no trade at all: but, in fact, what trade is there on Java, except the monopoly "trade of the Chinese.

"Let us but suppose the cultivator to have a property in the soil, and that he, as well as the "trader, were at liberty to buy and sell, how soon should we see the Javan planting cotton "directly after his rice was reaped. After being cleaned by machinery and screwed into "bales, it might be exported to China and Europe.

"There

yarn is an article sometimes exported to China, but in the existing state of society on Java, the exportation of the raw material is likely to be attended with the greatest advantages. Some writers have estimated the capability of Java to export raw cotton almost incredibly high, but it must be admitted, that although the soil is not universally favourable, yet few countries afford greater general advantages for the cotton cultivation, it being practicable to raise it to a great extent, without interfering with the general grain produce of the country. It could be grown as a second crop on the rice fields, being planted shortly after the harvest, and attaining maturity before the season again comes round for irrigating the lands. Nothing can convey a higher idea of the richness of the soil of Java, and of the advantages of its climate, than the fact, that during one half of the year the lands yield a rich and abundant crop of grain, more than sufficient for the ordinary food of the population, and during the other half a valuable staple, which affords the material for clothing them, and opens in its manufacture a source of wealth and of continual domestic industry through the year.

Fur trade with Kamtchatka.

Enterprising individuals, merchants of Batavia, have not been wanting to engage in the valuable fur trade, hitherto carried on principally by the Americans, between Kamtchatka and China. Mr. Timmerman Thyssen, an enlightened Dutch gentleman, whose name for honourable dealing and extensive business has always stood high among the merchants of Batavia, has entered into more than one speculation of this kind. Vessels fitted out from Batavia took in furs at Kamtchatka, which were intended to be exchanged in China for dollars; but the dangers of the passage in one instance, and the informality of the papers in another, rendered this bold and promising enterprize productive of but little pecuniary advantage. Nothing, however, has occurred, to prove that the adventure would not have fully answered its intention in time of peace, the principal difficulties which attended and frustrated it ceasing with the war.

Trade with Western India.

Since the conquest a very extensive trade has been carried on by the English country ships importing from Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, all kinds of piece goods, opium, and other articles, the returns for which have been

" There is no doubt that the Javan cotton would be as good at least, if not better, than " the cotton of the English, whether from Bombay, Madras, and Bengal, and it might " certainly be produced cheaper; but even suppose that, when cleaned and picked, it cost " ten rix-dollars a *pikul*, the Javans would still be well paid."

been usually made by bills, gold-dust, bees-wax, tin, Japan camphor, sago, and teak timber.

The piece goods of Western India have always formed an extensive article of import into Java, and the annual value of those latterly imported cannot well be estimated at less than a million of dollars. Those generally meet a ready sale, at an advance of from thirty to forty per cent. upon the prime cost in India, and much more when the supply is scanty.

In consequence of these heavy and valuable importations, the returns to Bengal were till lately made principally by bills, obtainable either from government, or individuals desirous of purchasing colonial produce for the European market by means of funds in Western India. But there are also several articles, which experience has proved well calculated for making their returns direct to Bengal, particularly Japan copper and teak timber. Java is known to abound with valuable teak forests, and the quality of the wood has been considered as superior to that of Pegu or the Malabar coast. The restrictions under which this export was formerly placed as a government monopoly, prevented its finding its way beyond the immediate Dutch dependencies; but the extent to which it was even then sent to the Moluccas, to Malacca, and to the Cape of Good Hope, where all the public buildings are constructed of Javan teak, sufficiently attests the value and extent of the forests, as well as the good quality and durability of the wood. This valuable, but bulky article of export, is always in demand for ship-building in Bengal, and has afforded to the merchant a very liberal profit on exportation, after paying the present government prices, which are calculated at something above ten per cent upon the actual expence of cutting and dragging the timber from the forests to the port of exportation. During the last two years, large ships have taken cargoes to Bengal, and afforded very handsome profits. From the neigbourhood of *Rembáng*, where permission has been given to individuals to cut the timber, on paying a duty of ten per cent. on the estimated value when worked up, it has not only been exported at a cheap rate to Bengal, but several ships have been contructed of it, while along the whole line of coast, from *Semárang* to *Grésik*, small vessels and country craft are launched every month.

But although the direct trade with Bengal has thus been always against Java, the demand for sugar in the Bombay market always affords the means of a circuitous return of capital. Large quantities of Javan sugar have

been exported to Bombay during the last four years, principally on the returning ships in ballast touching at Batavia on their way from China, and these cargoes have afforded considerable profit. A lucrative trade in this article is also sometimes carried on by the Arabs to the Red Sea, and particularly to Mocha; but Arab traders, of sufficient capital for these extensive speculations, have, by the effects of the former monopoly on Java, long been driven out of the market, and sufficient time has not been given for them to return.

Trade with Europe:

The extensive produce of this fine island in sugar and coffee of superior quality, and the pepper and various other articles, either yielded by it or collected from the neighbouring countries, such as sago, tin, Japan copper, spices, elephants' teeth, sticlac, long pepper, cubibs, tortoiseshell, gold, diamonds, Japan wood, ebony, rattans, indigo, &c. present fine subjects for commercial speculation to all parts of Europe and America, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Mauritius; and the more so, as from the extensive native and European population, a very considerable and constant demand exists for the produce and manufactures of Europe, not only for the consumption and use of the island itself, but to supply the neighbouring Malayan states by way of barter.

— in Sugar.

The quantity of sugar seems to depend almost entirely upon the demand, and is likely at all times to equal it, few countries affording equal advantages for its manufacture. Owing to the want of a demand for this kind of produce, for several years antecedent to the conquest, many of the manufactories were discontinued; but since the trade has been opened and the demand renewed, many of them have again commenced working, and the quantity produced in the year 1815 was not less than twenty thousand *pikuls*.

The manufacturers being no longer compelled to deliver their produce to government, can afford to sell the sugar at Batavia at from four to six Spanish dollars (or from twenty to thirty shillings) per *pikul*, the quality being distinguished into first, second, and third sorts, of which the first may be bought in the market for exportation at six Spanish dollars per *pikul*, or about twenty-five shillings the hundred-weight. The quality of this sugar is altogether different from the sugar in Bengal, and is said to be equal to that of Jamaica, being manufactured in a great measure according to the same process. While the European market is open for coffee and other

other light articles, the sugar of Java is always in demand for dead weight, and large quantities have recently been sold in the London market as high as ninety and one hundred shillings per hundred-weight.*

The quantity of coffee delivered to government in the year 1815, exceeded seventy thousand *pikuls;* about thirty thousand *pikuls* more may have been exported by individuals, and the produce is greatly on the increase.† —in Coffee.

The

* By an official statement of the quantity of sugar manufactured at Batavia and the various residencies of the island of Java, from the year 1779 to the year 1808, it appears that

In the year 1779 it was 30,131 *pikuls*
In the year 1800.... 106,513
In the year 1801.... 107,498
In the year 1808.....94,903

that during the first fourteen of these years, the quantity made and delivered over to the Company for export to Holland, Persia, &c. amounted to 642,234 *pikuls*, or to an average of 47,874 annually, two of these years being almost entirely unproductive, on account of the non-payment to the manufacturers of money, to enable them to carry on their business. During the latter half of the period, or from 1794 to 1808, the quantity manufactured and delivered over to the Company amounted to 917,598 *pikuls*, averaging 65,542 annually. All the sugar for export, during this period, as stated in the text, was delivered over at fixed rates to the government, and was placed under laws of the strictest monopoly. To shew the great practicability of an increase to almost any extent, we may adduce the sudden start in the supply occasioned by the American demand in 1800. In no preceding year had this article of produce been delivered over to the Company to a greater amount than 67,552 *pikuls*, and in that year the quantity sold at Batavia, to Americans alone, amounted to 91,554, and for the subsequent years averaged 100,000 *pikuls*, and sold for 900,000 Java rupees, or £110,000 sterling. The principal part of this was manufactured at Batavia, the quantity supplied by *Jawána*, *Japára*, *Chéribon*, *Surabáya*, and *Semárang*, being but proportionally small till 1803, when *Japára* contributed to the exports of the island in this article 12,219. In 1804, the same province supplied 21,175 *pikuls*. The disadvantage under which the manufacturer laboured, by forced deliveries at inadequate rates, need not be here insisted on, though it must be taken into the account in any estimate of the attainable increase of the manufacture.

† Mr. Hogendorp makes the following observations on the coffee and pepper of Java:—"In "comparing the produce of the West-Indian islands, according to their proportionate extent, "population, and expences of cultivation, I have frequently left off in the middle of my calcu- "lations; but I am sure that Java, on a very moderate calculation, can without difficulty "yield fifty millions of pounds of coffee annually.

"For a long period, the planting of coffee was confined to the Batavian high and *Priáng'en* "lands, and to *Chéribon*, on the principles of that short-sighted and self-destroying policy, "and spirit of monopoly, by which the company and the government of Batavia have ever been "characterized. It is only of late years that it has been permitted to extend and revive the "cultivation in the eastern districts. But the commissioners, in May 1796, ordered that the "cultivation should be abolished; and in the month of September in the same year, this order

"was

—in Arrack.

The Batavian arrack is well known in the European market, and was at one time imported in considerable quantities into the continent of Europe. It

" was countermanded, and the planting of coffee ordered to be promoted in the most rigorous " manner possible. But what is to be expected from a country, where the natives are so " treated, so oppressed? To-day the Javan is ordered to plant his garden with coffee trees: " he does so, and although well aware how little he will get for the fruit, he sees them grow " up with pleasure, considering their produce as a tribute which he must pay to his master for " enjoyment of protection; but now, when they are about to bear fruit, he is ordered to root " them out: he does so, and four months afterwards he is again ordered to plant others! Can " a more infamous tyranny be imagined? Can it be credited, that any government should act " so madly, so inconsistently? And yet this is the plain and real truth. But how can stupid " ignorance, which by the vilest means, by base meanness, mercenary marriages, and every " kind of low trick, rises into power and importance, and then becomes by wealth luxurious, " and by flattery intoxicated, act otherwise? And will you, Batavians, continue to trust in " such hands as these your valuable possessions and interests in India?

" Pepper grows but slowly on any soil, and is so nice with regard to it, that in some places, " where to all appearance there would be an abundant produce of the plant, it will not grow " at all. The vine requires four or five years to produce fruit. The improvident Javan, who " under the present despotic administration can and will scarcely provide for his daily subsis- " tence, finds this too long a delay between his labour and its reward: having, therefore, no " sufficient motive to pursue the cultivation cheerfully or actively, he can only be driven to it " by force; but let him once experience the advantage of property in land; let him see the " trader ready with plenty of money to purchase the fruits of his labour; let him, if he should " still be idle, observe his more industrious neighbour acquire wealth, by the sale of those " articles which he slothfully declines to cultivate, and with it procure the necessaries or con- " veniencies of life, and he will soon be induced, by emulation and the desire of ameliorating " his condition, to plough and plant his ground. The island of Java will then produce a con- " siderable quantity of pepper, for which, if the cultivator obtains twelve rix-dollars per *pikul*, " he will be amply paid.

" Although every thing goes on with difficulty at first, and it cannot be denied that it will " require time and trouble to stimulate the Javans, who are now confounded, as it were, with " tyranny and oppression, to industry and emulation, it is notwithstanding equally certain, " that an improved system of administration, founded on property of the soil, freedom of " person and trade, would by degrees, though perhaps much quicker than may be imagined, " bring about such a change, and that Java might and would produce as much pepper for " exportation annually as coffee, or about two hundred thousand *pikuls*, which will bring " three thousand six hundred rix-dollars into the country."

In the year 1801, it was estimated by one of the first commercial houses in Europe, that the following quantities of pepper might be obtained from different ports of the Archipelago.

" PORTS *and* PLACES *where* PEPPER *is to be had:—estimated in March* 1801.

" At *Bencoolen*, belonging to the English, may be had about twelve hundred tons of " pepper per annum.

" At

It is distilled in a great measure from molasses, in which respect, as well as in the process employed, it differs so materially from the arrack of continental India, that it cannot with propriety be considered as the same spirit: it is in fact vastly superior to it, and capable of competing in the European market with the rum of the West Indies. Its price at Batavia, where any quantity can at all times be procured, is for the first sort about sixty Spanish dollars, for the second sort fifty, and for the third thirty Spanish dollars the leaguer; the first sort, which is above proof, thus selling by the leaguer of one hundred and sixty gallons, at the rate of about twenty pence the gallon. In consequence of the prohibitory duties against the importation of this article into Great Britain or British India, this branch of commerce has latterly declined, and many of the distilleries have been discontinued.

Of Rice.

The Dutch possessions of Ceylon, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Moluccas, dependent on the government of Batavia, always received their principal supplies of rice from Java, and considerable quantities have of late been occasionally exported to those places, as well as the Coromandel coast, with great advantage. During a scarcity of grain in England, the Java rice has also found its way to that market.*

From

" At *Prince of Wales Island*, belonging to the English, may be had at present only one " hundred tons per annum: in a few years it will be five hundred tons.

" At *Susú*, on the west coast of Sumatra, belonging to the King of Acheen, may be had " one thousand tons per annum.

" At *Acheen* and its ports, belonging to the King of Acheen, may be had about one " thousand tons per annum: the Danes often go to these two ports.

" At *Tringáno* and *Kalanton*, belonging to a Malayan prince, may be had about two " thousand tons per annum: the Europe Portuguese ships often call at these ports on their way " to China.

" At *Palembang*: the Dutch have a small fort here, and oblige the king to send all his " pepper to Batavia; it may be about seven hundred tons per annum.

" At *Lampung*, on the south point of Sumatra: the Dutch have a small fort here, and they " send all their pepper to Batavia; it may be about five hundred tons.

" At *Bantam* may be had five hundred tons: this belongs to the Dutch.

" At *Bánjer-másin*, on the south-west of Borneo: the Dutch have a fort here, and the rajah " sends all his pepper to Batavia; it may be about twelve to fifteen hundred tons per annum.

" At *Chintabun*, near Siam, belonging to the King of Siam, may be had one thousand tons " per annum: this goes to China in the king's junks."

* " Ceylon, it may be observed, will consume two thousand kóyans annually (four thousand " tons). There is also a ready market at the Cape of Good Hope, for one thousand kóyans " a year. A scarcity of this grain frequently happens on the coast of Coromandel, when the " import of it from Java will yield great profit, if the traders are permitted to export it. The

" general

Imports from Europe :

From Europe the most important imports, and those in constant demand for the native population, are iron, steel, copper, printed cottons of a

— of Iron,

peculiar pattern, and woollens. Of iron not less than from one thousand to fifteen hundred tons are annually imported, which is worked up into the implements of husbandry, and into the various instruments, engines, and utensils, required in the towns and agricultural districts. The price has varied, during the last four years, from six to twelve Spanish dollars: the average has been about eight dollars per hundred-weight for the English, and about nine per hundred-weight for the Swedish iron. The small bar iron is always in demand in the market, in consequence of its convenience for

— of Steel,

working up into the different implements required. Steel is also in demand, to the extent of two or three hundred tons annually.

— of printed Cottons,

English printed cottons, of peculiar patterns adapted to the taste of the natives and Chinese, and white cotton sheeting cloth, always meet a ready and extensive sale; but the great objection to the former is the want of permanency in the colours, a disadvantage which all the English printed cottons labour under. A very extensive and valuable assortment of these cottons, imitated after the Javan and Malayan patterns, was recently imported into Java by the East-India Company, and on the first sale produced very good prices; but before a second trial could be made, the natives had discovered that the colours would not stand, and the remainder were no longer

" general freedom of commerce and navigation, and the encouragement such freedom holds " out to the merchant, will establish and extend a ready communication and friendly relation " between Batavia and the trading places of India. In the article of rice, Java possesses advan- " tages superior to Bengal; for although this grain is generally very cheap there, yet the na- " vigation from and to Bengal is always more difficult than that from and to Java, from whence, " at all seasons of the year, the passage may be made to most parts of India: and in Bengal " it often happens, that the rice is very scarce and dear, and even that a famine rages there. " On the island of Java, on the contrary, although the crops may sometimes partially fail " in a few places, a general and total failure never happens: at least there is no instance of it " on record. It may also be considered, whether the exportation of rice from Java to Europe " might not become an object of speculation. The cargo of a ship of five hundred lasts, or " kóyans, would only cost fifteen thousand rix-dollars, which cannot be reckoned at more than " thirty thousand guilders; and the kóyan being calculated at three thousand five hundred " pounds, the only question would be, what would be the value of one million seven hundred " and fifty thousand pounds of rice in Europe, and if the undertaking would afford a reason- " able gain? Even China is sometimes much in want of rice, and the export of it to that " country would often, if not always, turn out very advantageous."—*Hogendorp.*

Rice was exported both to England and China, during the provisional administration of the British government on Java.

longer in any demand. Would it not tend greatly to the improvement of the British manufacture, and consequently greatly extend the export, if the enquiries of scientific men in India were directed, in a particular manner, to an observation of the different dye stuffs used in Asia, and to the manner followed by the natives in different parts, for fixing the colours and rendering them permanent?

— of Broadcloth, &c.

Broad cloths, velvets, glass-ware, wines, and in short all articles of consumption and use among Europeans, may on Java be considered also, in a great measure, in demand by the native population, who free from those prejudices which preclude an expectation of the introduction of European manufacture into Western India, generally indulge in them according to their means. The climate of many parts of the island renders the broad cloth, particularly at some seasons of the year, an article of great comfort, and among the higher orders it is usually, as with Europeans, worn as a jacket: sometimes this is of velvet. A constant demand, limited only by the means of the purchaser, is also daily increasing for gold lace and the other European manufactures used in dress, furniture, sadlery, &c.; it may therefore be easily conceived, to what an extent the demand for these articles is likely to be carried, among a native population of more than four millions and a half of souls, advancing in wealth and intelligence.

It is unnecessary to notice the extent of the articles required from Europe by the European population, as they are the same in all parts of India. The demand is, of course, partially affected by the extent of the military force, and by the wants of the officers; but where there is a permanent resident European population, of not less than a thousand souls, generally in good circumstances, it may be inferred that the demand is always great.

Trade with the Isle of France and the Cape.

A continual traffic is carried on between Batavia, the Isle of France and the Cape of Good Hope, by which the latter in particular is supplied with timber, rice, oil, and a variety of articles of consumption, the voyage being frequently effected in five weeks. While the Bourbon coffee bore a higher price in the European market, considerable quantities of coffee were sent from Java to that island, and from thence re-exported as Bourbon coffee.

— with America.

The American trade was carried to the greatest extent during the existence of the anti-commercial system of the late French ruler, when American traders purchased the Java coffee at the rate of eighteen Spanish dollars the *pikul* at Batavia, and by a circuitous route imported it into

 France,

France, at an advance of one hundred per cent. During this period, the purchases of the Americans in the market of Batavia, amounted in some years to nearly a million sterling, for which they obtained principally sugar, coffee, and spices.

Dutch Regulations.

Having thus given some account of the internal and external trade of Java as it at present exists, of the advantages for an extensive commerce which it enjoys, of the articles which it can supply for the consumption of other countries, and those which it receives in return for its own consumption, and of the places with which its dealings are or might be most profitably conducted on both sides, I might now be expected to enter into the history of that trade since the subjection of the island to the Dutch, the regulations enacted and enforced by them, for restraining or directing it, and the fluctuations it has undergone during two centuries of a rigid monopoly; but this inquiry would lead me to swell this part of the work to a disproportionate size. I shall now merely present my readers with a few extracts from the orders made in 1767, and strictly enforced throughout the Archipelago, for regulating the trade and navigation of the dominions subject to Batavia, and with a brief abstract of the amount of exports and imports during some of the subsequent years.

"All persons whatever," says the first article of those orders, "are "prohibited, under *pain of death*, from trading in the four fine kinds of "spices, unless such spices shall be first bought of the Company." Opium was placed under the same restrictions, and enforced by the same penalty. The exportation of pepper, tin, and Japan copper was prohibited, unless bought from the Company; and the importation of them not permitted, except for sale to the Company, under the penalty of confiscation, and a fine of four times the value of the article. The import and export of Surat silks and of India cloths were strictly prohibited under the same penalty. White cotton-yarn and all other sorts of it, *Semárang* arrack, and unstamped gold, were prohibited from being exported under the penalty of confiscation. No port was open to any vessel coming from the northward or from the Moluccas, except Batavia. No *práhu* or vessel was to carry any greater quantity of gunpowder and shot, than might be permitted, and regularly entered in the pass given to the party, under penalty of confiscation of the vessel, *and the infliction of a corporal punishment similar to that inflicted for theft.* All persons belonging to the coast of Java were strictly prohibited from sailing from any part of the coast where there was not a Company's

Company's Resident. No navigation was allowed to be carried on by the vessels of *Bánka* and *Biliton*, except to *Palémbang*. All navigation from Celebes and *Sumbáwa* was prohibited, under pain of confiscation of the vessel and cargo. No vessel from the latter place could pass Malacca, and the Company's pass to proceed to *Siak* was given only once in a year to three vessels from Batavia, two from the coast of Java, and one from Chéribon. The China junks were only permitted to trade at Batavia and *Bánjer-másin*. No trade or navigation whatever was permitted beyond the west point of Bantam without a pass from Batavia. Such are the most important of thirty-one articles of restriction, serving to shackle every movement of commerce, and to extinguish every spirit of enterprise, for the narrow selfish purposes of what may be called the fanaticism of gain. After perusing them, the reader will rather be inclined to think the following amount of the trade too highly stated, than be surprised that it is so low.

Amount of Exports and Imports.

The precious metals have always been a great article of import into Java, as well as into the other regions of the East. In 1770 there was imported into Java from Holland, cash and bullion to the amount of 2,862,176 Java rupees,* and the sums imported from other quarters in the same year, and raised by bills of exchange on Holland, amounted to 1,419,565 rupees, making in all 4,281,742, or more than half a million sterling. The amount imported in that year was almost as great as that in any subsequent year till 1803, when the importation of precious metals was estimated at 7,617,122 rupees, or nearly a million sterling. This period corresponds with that of the greatest exportation of sugar by the Americans, who, no doubt, imported the precious metals in exchange for their cargoes, as the quantity brought from Holland in the same year amounted only to 448,370 rupees. In the following year (1804) the quantity imported was 6,499,001 rupees, of which none at all came from the mother country. In forty years, from 1770 to 1810, the total of the imported precious metals amounted to 118,607,472 Java rupees, or nearly three millions annually upon an average. A great portion of this was re-exported to India, China, and the Dutch possessions in the Archipelago, to pay for the articles brought to Batavia for the supply of the European demand. The quantity of goods imported from all quarters of the globe, exclusive of cash and bullion, amounted in the year 1770 to the value in Spanish dollars of 2,350,316, and the exports to 3,318,161, leaving a balance in favour of

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* The rupees are throughout calculated at thirty stivers each.

the exports of 867,845 Spanish dollars. A great part of the exports was destined for Holland, and a great part of the imports came from Holland. The imports from Holland were again re-exported to China, Japan, the Spice Islands, &c. from which, and from Bengal, Ceylon, the coasts of Coromandel and of Malabar, and the Cape of Good Hope and other eastern countries, the other shipments came, and to which the other exports proceeded. The profits on the sale of that portion of the imports of 1770, disposed of in the market of Batavia for the consumption of Java, are stated at 7,895 Spanish dollars, so that, so far as the import trade was concerned, Batavia only became the *entrepôt* between the mother country and her other possessions or stations of commercial resort in the Indian seas. The exports of Java almost every year exceeded the imports, as will appear from official returns which follow.

YEARS.	EXPORTS.	IMPORTS.	EXCESS OF EXPORTS.	EXCESS OF IMPORTS.
	Spanish Dollars.	Spanish Dollars.	Spanish Dollars.	Spanish Dollars.
1771	3,122,197	3,116,374	5,823	——
1772	2,909,371	2,170,741	738,630	——
1773	3,193,912	2,789,869	404,043	——
1774	3,184,641	2,941,011	243,630	——
1775	3,083,773	2,692,420	391,353	——
1776	3,319,070	2,305,228	1,013,842	——
1777	3,139,678	2,006,561	1,133,117	——
1778	2,440,042	1,776,674	663,368	——
1779	2,274,308	2,075,022	——	430,714
1783	2,788,702	1,914,202	874,500	——
1784	2,921,274	2,781,833	139,441	——
1785	2,670,468	2,654,687	15,781	——
1786	2,495,038	2,639,663	——	144,624
1787	2,634,049	2,506,267	127,782	——
1788	3,700,209	3,017,853	682,356	——
1789	2,956,240	2,840,127	116,113	——
1790	3,011,040	3,073,801	——	62,761
1791	3,771,263	3,098,849	672,414	——
1792	1,172,670	1,295,959	——	123,289

There was, of course, a lamentable falling off in the foreign trade of Java after the commencement of the war of the French revolution: some of the best markets were almost entirely closed to it, and the intercourse with the mother country was nearly destroyed. The total of exports to Holland and her eastern possessions, from the year 1796 till 1806, amounted in value to only 7,097,963 Spanish dollars; the imports to 3,073,894 Spanish dollars; leaving a surplus of exports of 4,024,069 Spanish dollars. The Americans began to frequent the market of Batavia in 1798, and through them principally was the trade carried on till the conquest of the island by the British, except during the short interval of the peace of Amiens. No specie (with which Holland chiefly paid for her eastern commodities) was imported from the mother country from 1795 downwards, except during 1802-3 and 1803-4, during which there was only the very inconsiderable sum of about half a million of rupees imported.

State of the Eastern Islands.

It is impossible to convey a just idea of the native or foreign trade of Java, without adverting to the commercial and political state of the other islands of the Archipelago. Of these it may be stated generally, that the interior is possessed by the natives, collected under leaders who have taken advantage of the great extent of the country, in proportion to its population, to render themselves independent of the lawful sovereign; that the coast is occupied, in many places, either by pirates, by some of the ruder tribes whom it is dangerous to invade, or by adventurous traders, chiefly *Maláyus* and *Búgis*. These traders arrive in well-armed vessels, which some of them remain to protect; others travel up the country, not unfrequently to the distance of a hundred miles, and at the change of the monsoon return to their companions, charged either with plunder, or with the fruits of a commerce carried on with the natives at an exorbitant profit. The pirates, as they drive the peaceable and honest trader from the coast, recruit their numbers from among the seafaring men to whom he used to give employment. The decay of commerce is accelerated; and the natives retreat into the interior, where, for want of a market, they cease to collect the rich productions of their country, and rapidly sink into poverty and barbarism. The sea and the coast remain a scene of violence, rapine, and cruelty. The mouths of the rivers are held by lawless banditti, who interrupt the trade of those who inhabit their banks, and capture the vessels destined for the inland towns: the bays and harbours are entirely within their power; and in these smooth seas they are never driven a moment from their

their stations, or diverted by danger from their predatory vigilance. The sovereigns of the country have too little authority over their nominal subjects; and their resources are too confined for them to oppose any effectual resistance to these outrages. All restraints are withdrawn by the divisions and weakness of the native governments; and men, rendered desperate by the experience of lawless violence, are induced to join in the system of plunder against which they can find no protection.

This extensive, rich, and beautiful clustre of islands is thus deprived of all the advantages which it might derive from the sea with which it is surrounded; its harbours become the retreats of marauders, instead of the resort of peaceful commerce; its seafaring people are reduced to a state of nature. Where force decides right, no sovereign is possessed of paramount authority to sweep this pest from his shores; no vessel is safe, no flag is respected. The trade is thus confined to desperate adventurers only, to whom the existence of piracy is more advantageous than the unmolested security of navigation, as the danger which it creates drives away all competitors of a less daring character, and gives them a monopoly of these ports. It is too true, also, that European traders have materially contributed to the strength of the pirates, by the supply of arms and ammunition. At the port of *Sambas*, European vessels had not dared to touch openly for twenty years; but such means of resistance as the pirates were found to possess in two recent attacks upon it, could never have been collected without large supplies from British traders.

The small colonial craft, so necessary for the prosperity of these regions, cannot without great risk venture beyond the coast; while armed Malayan and Bugis *práhus*, and a few European speculators, engross most of the trade.

The above observations apply more particularly to the coasts of Borneo and the adjacent islands; but they are, in a great measure, applicable to many parts of Sumatra. The unfortunate king of Acheen, who has long been intimately connected with the British establishments, is a young man of estimable qualities, with a title ancient and undisputed, though perhaps a weak prince. All his chiefs acknowledge his authority, though none submit to his control. Native traders from the coast of Coromandel, and Europeans from Pinang, frequent every river; and the profit derived from their dealings furnishes the inhabitants with inducements and means to throw off their allegiance. The king, too feeble to reduce the revolters,

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is only able to keep up a state of continual alarm and warfare, to which the mutual jealousies among the petty usurpers themselves mainly contribute. The trade of his dominions is in a great measure carried on like smuggling, by armed boats running out at a favourable moment, hiding themselves from danger, or fighting their way through opposition, as occasion may require, and laying their account with making up for frequent losses by exorbitant profits. In some places, these almost independent bands are commanded by Malabar *chuliahs;* and, in most instances, the petty chiefs whom they elevate to authority are foreign vagrants. Those places which, from their vicinity to the residence of the king, are least able to resist his power, are supported in their opposition by the interests of the English traders; and it is not to be forgotten, that when he made a partial attempt to regain his authority over all the neighbouring country, they petitioned the European authority to prevent, by its interference, his levying a duty upon his own subjects. The petition was attended to; and the king was compelled, by the command of strangers, to forego the only means by which he could have preserved his dominions from anarchy and confusion. At the period, therefore, when the resources of his kingdom would have been unfolding themselves, by the improving industry of a well-regulated population, it is falling into decay, through the personal imbecillity and political weakness of the monarch; and, breaking into detached fragments, is about to form as many separate principalities, as formerly there were independent governments throughout all the Archipelago.*

Advantages which the Eastern Islands possess.

That there has been, at some time, a more extensive commerce on the shores of the Archipelago is highly probable, and that there might be cannot be doubted. The great resources, vegetable and mineral, with which they abound, such as spices, camphor, gold and diamonds, and the facilities which they enjoy for navigation, offer means and inducements of the highest nature. The general character of the people, also, as far as it can be ascertained, appears equally favourable to commercial intercourse. They are represented as mild, inoffensive, not indisposed to industry, free from any obstinate

* If current report is to be credited, the fate of this unfortunate prince has been at last sealed; and the undisputed successor of "that great and puissant king," to whom Queen Elizabeth gave an assurance, "that far from ever having cause to repent an intercourse with the Eng- "lish, he should have a most real and just cause to rejoice at it;" and to whom, on the part of the English nation, she gave a pledge, "that her promises were faithful, because the con- "duct of her subjects *would be prudent and sincere*"—has been obliged to abdicate his throne in favour of the son of a Pinang merchant!

obstinate prejudices of superstition, and altogether of a different temper from that of the few who remain in a constant state of warfare on the coast.

Another favourable circumstance is the existence of sovereigns, whose rights, however infringed, are in principle acknowledged, and who have never been known to favour, what must be considered the chief misfortune of these countries and the source of almost all the rest, the horrible system of piracy. The evil is manifest, and the remedy is not of difficult discovery. Were legitimate and acknowledged sovereigns assisted in resuming their due authority, piracy and rebellion might be destroyed, these shores would be peopled with their native inhabitants, whose industry, awakened and invited by the opening of a safe navigation to the capitals, would in fleets of small vessels, so essential to the prosperity of the Eastern settlements, bring the produce of the interior down the innumerable rivers, and communicate to countries beyond the reach of foreign adventurers the comforts of civilised life.

A few years of repose to these islands, and of safe uninterrupted commerce with its attendant blessings, wou ldrepay with gain incalculable, what they now claim from the benevolence and philanthropy, if not from the justice of Europeans, who have so essentially contributed to their degradation. If left neglected, without capital, without a safe navigation, almost without laws, the government disunited, the people groaning under vassalage and slavery, these races must descend still further in the scale of degradation, until scarcely a vestige will remain to vindicate the records of their history; and their political existence will only be testified by acts of piracy perpetrated on defenceless vessels, which from accident or ignorance may visit their inhospitable shores.

Chinese. In all their eastern settlements, the favourite policy of the Dutch seems to have been to depress the native inhabitants, and give ever encouragement to the Chinese, who, generally speaking, are only itinerants and not children of the soil, and who follow the almost universal practice of remitting the fruits of their industry to China, instead of spending them where they were acquired. The Chinese, in all ages equally supple, venal, and crafty, failed not, at a very early period, to recommend themselves to the speculating Hollanders. They have, almost from the first, been their agents; and in the island of Java, in particular, they acquired from them the entire monopoly of the revenue farms and government contracts. Many of the most respectable Dutch families were intimately connected with the Chinese in their

contracts

contracts and speculations, and whole provinces had been sold in perpetuity to some of them, the extensive population of which were thus assigned over to their unfeeling oppression, for the purpose of raising temporary supplies of money.

On Java, the Chinese have been generally left to their own laws and the regulations of their own chiefs; and being, for the most part, merely temporary residents in the country, they devote themselves to the accumulation of wealth, without being very scrupulous about the means of obtaining it: when, therefore, they acquire grants of land, they generally contrive to reduce the peasants speedily to the condition of slaves. The improvement of the people, which was never much attended to by the Dutch, was still less so by the Chinese, and the oppression which they exercised in the vicinity of Batavia had opened the eyes of the Dutch themselves. A report of the council of Batavia, a short time prior to the landing of the English, accordingly states, that "although the Chinese, as being the most industrious settlers, should be the most useful, they on the contrary have "become a very dangerous people, and are to be considered as a pest to the "country; for which evil," they add, "there appears to be no radical cure but "their expulsion from the interior." Wherever the Chinese formed extensive settlements in Java, the native inhabitants had no alternative but that of abandoning the district or becoming slaves of the soil. The monopolising spirit of the Chinese was often very pernicious to the produce of the soil, as may be seen even at this day in the immediate vicinity of Batavia, where all the public markets are farmed by them, and the degeneracy and poverty of the lower orders are proverbial.

The Chinese of Batavia are a very numerous body, and possess considerable wealth. They are active and industrious, enterprizing and speculative in the highest degree in the smallest or most extensive concerns, and equally well adapted for trade or agriculture; but, at the same time, they are cunning, deceitful, covetous, and restless, and exceedingly unwarlike in their habits and dispositions. This is the character given of them by Mr. Hogendorp, who, in considering the injurious consequences of their extensive influence on Java, has drawn a very just and able representation of it.*

* "We, the Batavians," says Mr. Hogendorp, "or rather our good and heroic ancestors, "conquered these countries by force of arms. The Javans, who are immediately under our "jurisdiction, acknowledge the Batavian nation or the East-India Company as their lord or "sovereign;

In all the Malayan states, the Chinese have made the greatest efforts to get into their hands the farming of the port duties, and this has generally proved

" sovereign; but by so doing, although they resigned their political rights, they still retained " their civil and personal liberty, at least their right thereto. But what relation do the " Chinese bear to us, and what are the rights they can require from us? As foreigners and " itinerant traders, this may be easily defined, but as inhabitants and settlers a further inquiry " becomes necessary. To political rights, or to a share in the government and revenues of the " country, they have not the slightest claim, and as inhabitants, they cannot even claim the " enjoyment of the same civil or personal privileges as the Javans: in the first place, because " they are not natives of the country; secondly, because they take no interest in the welfare " or preservation of the country; thirdly, because they only endeavour to derive their gain at " the expence of the Europeans as well as the Javans, in order to return to China with the " profits they make, or at least to send as much of it as possible to their families there; fourthly, " because they have no regard whatever to the welfare of our country, and would be quite " indifferent to the English, or any other nation, driving us from Java. For these reasons, I " conceive that the Chinese have not the same right as the Javans to the freedom or privilege " of citizens. The basis of all civil communities is incontrovertibly the sacrifice of a part of " the liberty, rights, and even property of each individual, for the enjoyment and security of " the remainder; and this remainder, when fixed, forms the civil freedom and privileges of " such a community. Not only are the Chinese quite exempt from this sacrifice, but they are " also, by the corruption of the Batavian government, much less burthened than all the other " inhabitants, even the Europeans, and are besides favoured with considerable privileges and " exclusive means of gaining wealth. These are facts, which no one who is acquainted with " Batavia can or will contradict.

" Were impartial justice to be adhered to, the Chinese would be looked upon and " treated only as foreigners, who are suffered and admitted, as long as it is not injurious to our " interest and safety to settle in our country and under our protection, seeking in trade or " agriculture their means of subsistence and emolument, and to whom, on account of their " numbers, it is allowed by our indulgence, as long as they conduct themselves well and " peaceably, to preserve and practice their own manners and customs, and even in particular " places, to dwell together under their own chiefs.

" All the Chinese who come to Java every year in such vast numbers, in the junks from " China or in other vessels from neighbouring places, are the refuse of their nation, and prin- " cipally from a province, the natives of which are considered by their own countrymen the " worst of the whole empire. These people come half naked and poor in the extreme: they " add, therefore, so many more to the population, which must be supported by the country, " to which however they contribute nothing. It must be acknowledged, they are, particularly " at first, very active, industrious, inventive, and frugal. At Batavia they exercise almost " every useful art, trade, and handicraft, they cultivate and produce the best vegetables, they " work the sugar-mills, and appear therefore to be uncommonly useful and perhaps indispen- " sable.

" The trade in the interior, wholesale and retail; the trade to sea, to the opposite shores, " and elsewhere in the Straits, is entirely in their hands, and is almost wholly carried on by " them.

proved the ruin of the trade. In addition to these circumstances it should be recollected, that the Chinese, from their peculiar language and manners, form a kind of separate society in every place where they settle, which gives them a great advantage over every competitor in arranging mo-

 nopolies

" them. In all considerable places on the coast, as well as in the interior of Java, they have " distinct towns, called kampongs, where they live under their own chiefs, and follow their " own customs and manners. Finally, they have exclusively all the farms of the government " taxes and revenues, both in the Company's districts and in the dominions of the native " princes: by which means they are complete masters of all trade, internal and foreign; and " are enabled to make monopolies in every thing, which they do accordingly in the most " extensive manner. The burthens they have to bear are, on the contrary, very trifling; in " fact, almost nothing: especially because they are exempt from all feudal and personal ser- " vices, which are so oppressive to the Javans.

" To what can this impropriety and injustice be ascribed but to the government of Batavia? " The Chinese have obtained all these favours and privileges by making considerable presents, " and thus sacrificing the interests of the Company and the nation to their selfishness and " avarice. These arbitrary governors of the East Indies have made the Chinese possessors of " Java; for I undertake to prove, that the wealth of the Chinese on that island amounts to ten " times as much as the property of all the Europeans added together, and that their profits " every year bear the same proportion.

" With reference to their numbers and character, I am of opinion that the following resolu- " tions regarding them might be adopted: That the Chinese on Java should be allowed to " remain, and even that further arrivals of them should be permitted; care being taken, how- " ever, to keep them in good order, that they should be prevented from injuring the Javans, " either by force or fraud: that they be not more favoured than others: that they should con- " tribute a proportionate and equitable share towards the revenues of the state for their enjoy- " ment of the rights of citizenship, in the same manner as other inhabitants, which can best " be effected by means of a capitation tax. Uncultivated and uninhabited lands might then be " granted or sold to the Chinese, as well as to the natives, to establish sugar-mills or planta- " tions. By these means, every practicable use and advantage would be derived from them, " as an industrious and active people, without doing any injury to the other inhabitants, and " especially the Javans as natives of the country: and because they have no interest in our " national welfare, they should be made, as an equitable compensation, to pay a higher rate " to the state. In other respects, they may be completely subjected to our laws, and may " be treated with kindness as well as justice.

" The number of Chinese on Java is much greater than is generally imagined, and annually " more of them arrive by thousands. By connexions with the native women, their families " increase in inconceivable numbers. These half-Chinese retain the language, religion, man- " ners, customs, and even the dress of their fathers; and are generally called pernakans, " although that name is also frequently applied exclusively to those Chinese who embrace the " Mahometan religion; and these, as a separate class of people, have their own chiefs, or " sometimes confound themselves with the Javans, and can only be distinguished by their " lighter complexion."

nopolies of trade. The ascendancy of the Chinese requires to be cautiously guarded against and restrained; and this, perhaps, cannot be better done, than by bringing forward the native population, and encouraging them in useful and industrious habits.

Arabs. Some of these observations regarding the Chinese are, in a high degree, applicable to the Arabs who frequent the Malayan countries, and under the specious mask of religion prey on the simple unsuspicious natives. The Chinese must, at all events, be admitted to be industrious; but by far the greater part of the Arabs are mere useless drones, and idle consumers of the produce of the ground: affecting to be descended from the Prophet and the most eminent of his followers, when in reality they are commonly nothing better than manumitted slaves, they worm themselves into the favour of the Malayan chiefs, and often procure the highest offices under them. They hold like robbers the offices which they have obtained as sycophants, and cover all with the sanctimonious veil of religious hypocrisy.

Under the pretext of instructing the *Malâyus* in the principles of the Mahometan religion, they inculcate the most intolerant bigotry, and render them incapable of receiving any species of useful knowledge. It is seldom that the east is visited by Arabian merchants of large capital, but there are numerous adventurers who carry on a coasting trade from port to port, and by asserting the religious claims of Sheikh, generally obtain an exemption from all port duties in the Malayan States. They are also not unfrequently concerned in piracies, and are the principal promoters of the slave trade.

This may serve, in some degree, to illustrate the necessity of establishing an equal and uniform system of port regulations thoughout the whole of the Malayan countries; for if the Chinese, on the one hand, are permitted to farm import and export duties in different ports, they have every facility allowed them to form combinations, in order to secure a monopoly to Chinese traders; and on the other hand, if the Arabs, under religious pretexts, are entirely exempted from duties, they may baffle all competition, and engross the trade of the Malayan countries to the exclusion of European traders altogether.

Let the Chinese and Arabs still trade to the eastward. Without them, the trade would be reduced to less than one-third of even what it is at present, for it is only through the stimulus which they give to the industry of the country that its resources are to be developed: but let their trade be regulated; and above all, let them not be left in the enjoyment of immu-

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nities and advantages, which are neither possessed by Europeans nor the indigenous inhabitants of the country. Since the reduction of the Dutch influence in the east, several of the ports formerly dependent on them have almost become Arab colonies. The evil is obviously increasing every day, and can only be checked by encouraging the native population, and regulating on equal terms the duties of the Malayan and other eastern ports.

In many other respects besides those which we have stated, the commercial policy adopted by the Dutch, with regard to the Eastern Islands and the Malayan states in general, was contrary to all principles of natural justice, and unworthy of any enlightened and civilized nation.*

From

* Among the exports from Java for the Europe market, no particular notice has been taken in the text of the extent of the spice trade, the produce of the Moluccas having, during the provisional administration of the British government, been conveyed direct from Amboina to the port of London, without being landed and re-assorted at Batavia, as was formerly the case under the Dutch government.

The sovereign Prince of the Netherlands has, by a solemn act, abandoned his right to the feudal services of his native subjects in the Eastern Archipelago, but has at the same time reserved to the state the exclusive monopoly of the spices. It may perhaps have been deemed expedient, in aid of the finances of Great Britain, that this odious monopoly should have been permitted to remain for upwards of five years under her uncontrolled dominion; and that, while the cloves on Amboina were raised by forced services, the nutmeg gardens on Banda should have been cultivated by slaves. There may have been reasons also which induced her to continue the system of extirpation in the neighbouring islands, and to act up to those stipulations for depressing these unhappy countries, for which the Dutch have in all ages been so justly reprobated. But now that the sovereign, to whom they are again ceded, has recommenced the Dutch administration in the Eastern Seas, with an appearance of something more like justice, humanity, and sound policy, than we have been in the habit of witnessing for the last two centuries, it is to be hoped that the profits of two annual cargoes of spices, whatever they may amount to, will never be considered of sufficient importance to tempt a great and magnanimous nation longer to trample on the hallowed rights of humanity, and to persevere in a system, which, while it may have afforded a temporary profit, has tended to degrade, depopulate, and destroy the fairest countries in creation. If the nutmeg and clove-trees were allowed to grow where Providence would seem to have ordained that in their natural course they should, and this trade were opened to a free commerce, nutmegs might perhaps be procured as cheap as betel-nut, and cloves as cheap as pepper.

" In the Spice Islands," observes Adam Smith, " the Dutch are said to burn all the spice-
" ries which a fertile season produces beyond what they expect to dispose of in Europe, with
" such a profit as they think sufficient. In the islands where they have no settlements they
" give a premium to those who collect the blossoms and green leaves of the clove and nutmeg
" trees which naturally grow there, but which this savage policy has now, it is said, com-
" pletely exterminated. Even in the islands where they have settlements, they have very much
" reduced, it is said, the number of those trees. If the produce even of their own islands was

" much

From authentic accounts it appears, that they attempted to destroy and eradicate from a vast range of countries the most advantageous produce of the land, in order to favour their own petty traffic, and burnt a large proportion of the residue, in order to keep up their monopoly price in Europe on a small proportion of this produce. Against errors of this kind, it is to be hoped the more enlightened policy of the present era will be an effectual preventative; but there are others, so interwoven with the interests of these islands, and so local in their nature, that they may not so easily attract the attention of the governing power.

One feature of the Dutch policy in the Eastern Isles seems to have been the exclusion of all foreign trade, whether European or native; excepting at certain specified ports under their own immediate controul. This policy was as much connected with the general government of the country, as with the commercial profits of the company; for in an Archipelago of such unparalleled extent, inhabited by tribes of such various characters, formidable in a high degree from their very want of civilization, it was necessary to bring forward some of the most powerful and most favourably situated of these numerous states, and to hold them answerable for the proceedings of the several districts under their influence. Such views gave rise to the establishment of certain regular and determined trading ports, and led to the vigilant suppression of all attempts at competition and independence on the part of the inferior states.

"Had this measure been combined with a liberal encouragement of the home trade as it may be denominated, between these privileged ports established by the Dutch and the various countries under their influence, little doubt can be entertained, that it would have tended materially to promote the civilization and general improvement of all the neighbouring nations. Very

"much greater than what suited their market, the natives, they suspect, might find means to "convey some part of it to other nations; and the best way, they imagine, to secure their own "monopoly, is to take care that no more shall grow than what they themselves carry to "market. By different acts of oppression, they have reduced the population of the Moluccas, "nearly to the number which is sufficient to supply with fresh provisions and other necessaries "of life, their own insignificant garrisons, and such of their ships as occasionally come there "for a cargo of spices. Under the government of the Portuguese, however, these islands are "said to have been tolerably well peopled."

Had Dr. Smith written at the present day, he might have heightened the picture by observing, that so far from even being able to supply the garrisons, these islands have long been considered incapable of raising sufficient supplies for their own subsistence; they have for many years depended almost entirely on Java for rice and the common necessaries of life, and latterly supplies have been sent to them from Bengal.

Very different, however, was the object of the Dutch agreements with the different rajas of the Eastern Archipelago. In some cases it was to secure a monopoly of all the tin, pepper, camphor, and other saleable articles produced in their dominions; in others, it was to bind the chiefs themselves to destroy the only saleable articles that their country could furnish, lest the monopoly price of the Dutch should be injured by a greater quantity of such produce being brought to market. The Dutch genius, though exclusively devoted to commerce, has never yet been able to discover the truth of the maxim, that in the long run it may be as gainful "to make small profits "on large sales, as large profits on smaller sales;" their policy, on the contrary, has not been inaptly compared to a man putting out one of his eyes to strengthen the sight of the other.

It must be admitted, that the line of conduct pursued by the English towards the Malayan nations, had by no means been of a conciliatory or prepossessing character. Our intercourse with them had been carried on almost exclusively through the medium of adventurers, little acquainted with either the country or people, who have been frequently more remarkable for boldness than principle.* Indeed, the want of any settled basis of traffic, and the long indifference of the British government to the complaints of either party, had produced so many impositions, reprisals, piracies, and murders, that any eastern trader must have felt himself very much in the situation of a dealer in spirits, tobacco, and blankets, among the Indians of North America. It was the remark of Mr. Farquhar, than whom no man is more extensively acquainted with the interests and resources of East insular India, that the indifference of the British government must have originated solely in the want of information or incorrectness of knowledge; since it is not improbable, that the riches of Sumatra and Borneo are equal to those either of Brazil or New Spain; and it is only from the disadvantages under which we had hitherto entered into the competition, that these great sources of wealth had so long been engrossed by other nations.†

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* This general remark is not intended to apply to the traders of Pinang (Prince of Wales's Island), who are in general well-informed and most honourable in their dealings, possessing great experience in the trade, and acquaintance with the habits and character of the natives: but this establishment is comparatively of recent date, and the very general view here taken has reference to the intercourse which has subsisted during the last century.

† See an able report on the Eastern Islands, by R. T. Farquhar, Esq. late Lieutenant-Governor of Prince of Wales's Island.

The doctrine, that a colony should always be considered a distant province of the mother country, has been foreign to the political creed of the Dutch; and at any rate the radical want of strength in the government of Batavia may have prevented them from venturing to act upon it. Of course, they must always have contemplated the prosperity of the eastern tribes with the invidious regret of a rival shopkeeper, and regarded their progress in civilization with the jealousy of a timid despot. The fact sufficiently establishes the truth of this remark.

Causes of the depression of the Malayan tribes.

Independently of the effects of the European influence just described, the causes which have tended most to the depression of the Malayan tribes, and the deterioration of their character, are the civil commotions to which every state is liable, from the radical want of strength in the sovereign; the constant wars between petty chieftains and heads of villages; the ill-defined succession to the throne, from the doctrine of primogeniture being imperfectly recognized; the prevalence of piracy in all the Eastern Seas; the system of domestic slavery, and all its concomitant evils, as wars for the purpose of procuring slaves, and the want of confidence between family and family, man and man; the want of a generally-established and recognized system of laws, civil and criminal; the want of a similar system of commercial regulations respecting port duties, anchorage, and other charges, to prevent arbitrary exactions and impositions in the various Malayan ports; and, finally, the monopoly of the trade assumed by the Malayan rajas. Had Java remained permanently annexed to the British crown, the redress of these evils would have been, in a great measure, in the power of the English nation: the undertaking would have been worthy of their general character, and there was no other nation that could have possessed the means in an equal degree, even if it had indeed possessed the inclination.

Piracy.

The prevalence of piracy on the Malayan coasts, and the light in which it was viewed as an honourable occupation, worthy of being followed by young princes and nobles, is an evil of ancient date, and intimately connected with the Malayan habits. The old Malayan romances, and the fragments of their traditional history, constantly refer with pride to piratical cruizes.

In addition to other causes, which I shall not stop to specify, the state of the eastern population and the intolerant spirit of the religion of *Islam* have eminently tended to increase the practice. The Arab Sheikhs and Sayeds, whatever doctrines they failed to inculcate, never neglected to enforce

enforce the merit of plundering and massacreing the infidels; an abominable tenet, which has tended more than any other doctrine of the *Kóran* to the propogation of this religion. Numerous and various are the tribes of the Eastern Isles which have not embraced the religion of *Islam* to this day, and consequently are reckoned infidels: cruizes against such were, and are, constantly certain of receiving the approbation of all the Arab teachers settled in the Malayan countries. The practice of piracy is now an evil so extensive and formidable, that it can be put down by the strong hand alone; though precautions against its recurrence might be taken, by rendering, under the system of acknowledged ports, every chieftain answerable for his own territory.

Slavery.

Connected with this evil, though of much wider extent, is the system of slavery in the Malayan countries, which, to apply the energetic language of Mr. Pitt to this subject, has been none of the least efficient causes of keeping down these regions "in a state of bondage, ignorance, and blood." In the beginning of the year 1805, the Marquis Wellesley abolished slavery throughout India; and, on the 4th of June, 1811, the Earl of Minto, by an order to emancipate all the government slaves at Malacca, and to direct that hereafter no slaves should be purchased or received on account of government, gave to the Malayan nations an earnest of his sentiments on the subject. It is certainly to the credit of our countrymen in the east, that they have ever opposed all attempts to introduce the abominable slave traffic into our settlements there. It was prohibited at Madras by an act of the Governor and Council, of so early a date as 1682.

The sources of slavery in the Malayan countries are chiefly piracy at sea, captivity in war, man-stealing along the coast, and the penalties enacted in the Malayan law respecting debts and sundry misdemeanours. The surviving crews of vessels which fall into the hands of the pirates are generally disposed of by sale at the first market. The captives taken in the constant wars which the Malayan chieftains carry on against each other, are generally employed in domestic occupations, tending cattle, and cultivating the ground, where there is no opportunity of bringing them to market. This, however, is seldom the case, since such numbers are constantly required by the Arabs and Chinese traders, and heretofore by the Dutch. Many of the Arab trading vessels are almost exclusively navigated by the slaves of the owner; and in their progress from island to island, they find little difficulty in recruiting their crew, by receiving presents of slaves, or

if that should fail, by kidnapping the unfortunate natives. This forms a strong argument against admitting the unrestricted range of the islands to either Chinese or Arab traders, for while this is permitted, the abolition of the system of kidnapping would be absolutely impossible. The pagan tribes in the vicinity of the Mahometans, such as those on *Báli* and some of the tribes of Celebes, the *Harafúras*, the black *Papúas* or oriental negroes, the original inhabitants of *Hálamahíra*, *Goram*, and other easterly nations, are in a great measure the victims of the kidnapping system, and being infidels are considered as fair booty.

Want of Port Regulations.

Nothing has tended more decidedly to the deterioration of the Malayan character, than the want of a well defined and generally acknowledged system of law and commercial regulation. The Malayan nations had, in general, made considerable progress in civilization, before the introduction of the Mahometan religion among them: they had, accordingly, regular institutions of their own, some of which were probably of considerable antiquity, derived from the continent of India, and consequently radically different from those of the Arabs.

— of Laws.

Some difficulty appears to have occurred in adapting these institutions to the general tenor of the Mahometan law, and many anomalous ones appear accordingly to have sprung up in different states. These occur in every part of jurisprudence, whether commercial, civil, or criminal, and are recited in the *Undang úndang* and *Adat Maláyu*, which are the systems of national law among the *Maláyus*. They vary considerably from each other in different states, and still more from the generally acknowledged principles of Mahometan law as received by the Arabs. Hence there is, in almost every state, a constant struggle between the adherents of the old Malayan usages and the *Hájis*, together with other religious persons, who are desirous of introducing the laws of the Arabs, in order to increase their own importance.

Among the numerous and important evils which result from this complex and ill defined system, may be reckoned its affording an opening for the caprice and tyranny of the rulers, and producing a general insecurity both of person and property.

Mahometanism.

The state of the Moslem religion is very different here from what it is in the old Mahometan states, such as Persia, Turkey, or Arabia. In many of the Eastern Islands paganism still remains: in some districts there are many Christians, and the Chinese swarm in every Malayan country and live

live intermingled with the Mahometans. This mixture of religion and tribes has tended, in some degree, to soften the intolerance of the Mahometan system among the Malayan nations, and neither the positive authority of *Islam*, nor the persuasions of their Arab teachers, have hitherto been able to induce them to abandon entirely their own peculiar usages and customs. With some of these usages, especially those which relate to wrecks on the Malayan shores and the commercial regulations of the different ports, it becomes incumbent on the supreme European authority to interfere. In revising these, the opportunity might perhaps be taken to procure the abandonment of some of those maxims and usages, which have the strongest tendency to prevent their improvement and counteract the habits of civilized life.

A circumstance highly injurious to the commerce of the Malayan nations is the trading monopoly, which in most of the Malayan ports is actually assumed by the chiefs. Of this monopoly there is no trace in the *Undang úndang* of the *Maláyus*, or in the fragments of their history which have yet come to light, and it is a question whether this pernicious practice has not been copied from the monopoly regulations of the Dutch. Where this system has been fully carried into effect, it has generally succeeded effectually in repressing industry and commercial enterprize; and where it has been for some time established, its evils have been felt so deeply, that it may be presumed the Malayan chiefs might be induced to relinquish it in favour of a regulated commerce, whenever they might regain the power of collecting regular duties in lieu of it. The Malayan laws and customs are fortunately of a very different kind from those adopted among the great nations of the continent in their vicinity. These nations, especially the Siamese and Cochin Chinese, have long been accustomed to look up to the Chinese, with whom they coincide in religion and manners, and from whom they have adopted their exclusive maxims of foreign intercourse. The *Maláyus*, on the other hand, though accustomed to look up to the Arabs as their religious instructors, seldom hesitate to admit the superiority of both the Europeans and Chinese, both to themselves and to the Arabs, in the arts of life and general science; and it is certainly our interest to encourage them in this mode of thinking, and to prevent the increase of the Arab influence among them.

Progress of Christianity.

The Dutch nation appears to have pursued, as a principle of policy, the propagation of christianity among the Eastern Islands. The same object

had been previously followed by the Portuguese with great success, and there are now several small islands in the Malayan Archipelago, inhabited almost exclusively by Christians of the Catholic persuasion. In many other islands the Protestant persuasion has made considerable progress, and teachers, in the flourishing times of the Batavian Regency, were dispersed over all the low chain of islands which extend from *Báli* and Lumbok (*Sásak*) to the great island Timor. The islands in which the Christian faith has been most extensively diffused are the great island *Endé* or *Meng'arái*, the great island of *Timor* and the several small islands in the vicinity, and Amboina. In many of these islands the natives having no written character of their own, have been instructed in the Roman character, and taught to read Malayan and other dialects in it. There have also been various formularies printed for their use, and translations have been executed for them in some of their languages, which have little or no affinity to the Malayan. The propagation of Christianity among these islands is obviously liable to none of those objections which have been urged against its missionaries on continental possessions. A great proportion of the natives are still pagans, under the influence of a wild and almost unintelligible superstition, the principles of which are not recorded in books, but are handed down, like stories of ghosts, fairies, and witches, with all the uncertainty of tradition. In most instances, the people, though they stand in great awe of the priests or enchanters, or dealers with invisible spirits, are very little attached to the superstition in which they are educated. Many of them are said to be very desirous of procuring instruction, and in some places they look up with a degree of veneration to the Mahometans, as a people who have received something which they still want.

These observations on the Malayan Islands in general, apply to no part of the Archipelago more than to the important and great island of Borneo.

Borneo. BORNEO is not only one of the most fertile countries in the world, but one of the most productive in gold and diamonds.* Its camphor is the finest

* GOLD.—From a calculation recently made, it appears that the number of Chinese employed in the gold mines at Mentrada and other places on the western side of Borneo, amounts to not less than thirty-two thousand working men. When a mine affords no more than four *bengkals* (weighing about two dollars each, or something less than a *tahil*) per man in the year, it is reckoned a losing concern and abandoned accordingly. Valuing the *bengkal* at eighteen Spanish dollars, which is a low rate of estimation, and supposing only four *bengkals* produced in the year by the labour of each man, the total produce is 128,000 *bengkals*, worth 2,224,000 Spanish

finest known, and it is thought capable of producing every kind of spice. Its eastern coasts, which abound in sago, also furnish a greater quantity of birds'-nests,

Spanish dollars, equal to £556,000, at the rate of five shillings the dollar. But it is asserted, that upon the general run of the mines, seldom less than six *bengkals* per head has been obtained, and in very rainy seasons seven. Taking the medium at six and a half *bengkals*, the 32,000 Chinese will procure 208,000 *bengkals*, which at eighteen Spanish dollars the *bengkal* is 3,744,000 Spanish dollars, equal to £936,000. Such is the result of a very moderate calculation of the produce of these mines. According to an estimate made in the year 1812, the annual produce of the mines on the west coast of Borneo was estimated at 4,744,000 Spanish dollars, being an excess of a million sterling. The quantity of gold procured on Sumatra, the supposed golden Chersonesus of the ancients, is according to Mr. Marsden about 30,800 ounces, which at £4 sterling the ounce is worth £123,200, equal to 492,800 Spanish dollars.

With respect to the disposal of the gold from the mines of Borneo, it may be observed, that every native Chinese, whether employed in the mines, in agriculture, as merchant or artificer, manages every year to remit at least the value of one *tahil*, more or less, of gold to his relations in China. These remittances are generally made by the junks in gold, as it saves freight, is more easily smuggled on shore without the notice of the rapacious Mandarin, and remitted over-land to the residence of their families. Taking the Chinese male population who can thus remit at double the number employed in the mines, and supposing one half to be born in the country, most of whom may not remit to China, this remittance would amount to 34,000 *bengkals* or *tahils*, which at eighteen Spanish dollars is 612,000 dollars, of £153,000.

It is calculated that, one year with another, at least five hundred Chinese return in the junks to their native country with a competency. Several have been known to take away one thousand *bengkals* of gold, many from three to five hundred, but very few return before they have cleared a competency of two thousand dollars, or from one hundred to one hundred and twenty *tahil* of gold. This goes partly in gold; though they prefer investing a part of it in tin from Banka, opium, and other articles. Say, however, that they remit one half in gold, five hundred men, at one thousand dollars each, will give five hundred thousand dollars, which added to the small family remittances, accounts for an amount exceeding one million of dollars, or £250,000. This calculation, however, seems to be far within the mark, and gives less by one-half than what is usually stated to be remitted to China from the Bornean mines, which has been estimated at a loose guess at two millions of dollars, or £500,000.

A further amount of not less than the value of a million of dollars (£250,000) is supposed to find its way annually to Western India, and principally to Bengal, *viâ* Batavia, Malacca, and Pinang, for the purchase of opium and piece goods. The surplus enriches Java and some of the other islands, in exchange for salt, tobacco, coarse cloths, &c.

As the mines are worked with so little expence of machinery, the funds necessary for commencing an undertaking of the kind are small; and as the property of the soil belongs to the first occupant, almost every Chinese would become a proprietor, but from the mode by which their services are, in the first instance, secured by the council of proprietors or kongsis. A parcel of half starved Chinese, enchanted with the prospect of wealth on the golden shores of Borneo, readily find a passage in the annual junks that sail from the mother country to Borneo at ten dollars a head. On their arrival being unable to pay the passage money, and

birds'-nests, sea-slug, and other commodities in great demand in the Chinese market, than the other islands of the east; but the interior has never

and the tax of a dollar per head, established by the native authority, while their immediate wants of food, clothing, and habitation, are urgent and imperious, the proprietors of the mines find it easy to engage their services for three or four years. In some other cases, agents are employed to obtain men from China, on stipulated agreements, to work for a number of years; the usual rate of payment to the miners so engaged is not considered to average less than five Spanish dollars a month. No sooner, however, are these engagements concluded with their masters, than a number of them club together with the funds they have been able to save, and commence a new mine upon their joint account, in a few years acquiring a competency to return to their native country.

Diamonds.—There appears to be no just foundation for the idea, that the diamonds of Borneo are inferior to those of Golconda. Many of an inferior quality have no doubt found their way into the market, because there was perhaps less skill and judgment in the selection; but the value of diamonds here, as well as every where else, depends upon their shape, size, and water, and in this respect the diamonds of Borneo will bear a comparison with those of any country yet known. Indeed, as far as we may judge from the present state of our information, the Lándak mines alone are as productive, and its diamonds as precious, as any other in the world.

The principal mines where diamonds are regularly dug for on Borneo, and found in any considerable quantities, are those of Lándak, Sángau on the great river Lawi, and the districts of Bánjer-másin. Diamonds have been occasionally found within the limits of Borneo Proper, at Mátan and Sukadána. The mines of Lándak are as ancient as the Malayan dominion on the islands, those of Sángau are of more recent date, and those of Bánjer-másin are said to have been first discovered in the reign of Sultan Sepoh, from whom the present sultan is the fourth in descent.

Diamonds are not only found in the bottom of rivers when dry, but at the foot of craggy hills and mountains. The *pârits*, or mines, are dug to the depth of from one to five fathoms only; but experience has invariably proved, that the deeper they are dug, not only are the diamonds more abundant, but superior in size, shape and water. The soil which produces diamonds is known from a species of earth called by the natives *lâbor* or *lâbor-gig'gi*. This is sometimes black, sometimes white, red, orange, and green: it is a species of earth which stains the clothes of the labourer, and is distinguished by many names.

At Lándak there are ten *pârits* worked by Chinese, and in each from twenty to thirty labourers employed. As a general average, eight Chinese are supposed to find about eight *bengkals* of diamonds in a year. From two to three hundred of the smallest sort are supposed to go to a *bengkal*, valued at from twenty to twenty-four rupees. This is independent of the larger ones, which are casual. So far back as the year 1738, the Dutch annually exported from the produce of these mines, diamonds to the value of from two to three hundred thousand dollars.

Few courts of Europe could perhaps boast of a more brilliant display of diamonds than, in the prosperous times of the Dutch, was exhibited by the ladies of Batavia, the principal and only mart yet opened for the Bornean diamond mines, and whence those known in the European

never been explored by Europeans. It may be conjectured, that the ignorance of the state of the country, is one of the principal causes that no European settlement on it has hitherto proved advantageous, but has generally been abandoned after a short trial. The only exception to this observation is the Dutch settlement of *Bánjer-másin*, which continued from 1747 to 1810, when it was formally abandoned by Marshal Daendals to the Sultan, by agreement, for the sum of fifty thousand Spanish dollars. The Sultan soon after sent an embassy, inviting the English to settle; and previous to the conquest of Java, the Earl of Minto received the ambassadors at Malacca and accepted their invitation.

The only territory to which the Dutch had any claim on the island of Borneo, was the coast from *Súkadána* to *Mempáwa*; this territory they acquired by virtue of a cession from the Sultan of Bantam in 1778. They destroyed *Súkadána*, and established factories at *Pontiána* and *Mempáwa*, which however they abandoned as unproductive after a period of fourteen years.

In

ropean world have been procured. With the decline of the Dutch government, however, the demand has decreased, and the mines are now almost neglected, the numerous diamond-cutters not being able to obtain a livelihood. Formerly, when more Chinese were employed in the mines of Lándak, diamonds from ten to thirteen carats were common in the public markets. The Pangéran of Lándak now wears one of eighteen, and another of fourteen carats and a half. Since Java has been in the possession of the English, rough diamonds from Borneo have been sent to England, and, even in a very unfavourable state of the market, turned out an advantageous remittance.

Among the larger diamonds which these mines have produced, it may not be uninteresting to mention, that the great diamond now in the possession of the Sultan of Mátan, which has been seen and examined by Europeans, weighs three hundred and sixty-seven carats: it is of the shape of an egg, indented on one side. It is, however, uncut; and, on this account, it may be difficult to say, whether it will become the largest cut diamond ever known; for the famous diamond of Aurung Zebe, called the Mogul, in its rough state weighed seven hundred and ninety-five carats, and was then valued at £600,000, but when cut was reduced to two hundred and seventy-nine carats. This celebrated diamond, known by the name of the Mátan diamond, was discovered by a dáyak, and claimed as a droit of royalty by the Sultan of the country, Gúru-Láya; but was handed over to the Pangéran of Lándak, whose brother having got possession of it, gave it as a bribe to the Sultan of Súkadána, in order that he might be placed on the throne of Lándak: the lawful prince, however, having fled to Bantam, by the aid of the prince of that country and the Dutch, succeeded in regaining possession of his district, and nearly destroyed Súkadána. It has remained as an heir loom in the family of these princes for four descents, and is almost the only appendage of royalty now remaining.

In no other part of the island of Borneo has there been any European settlement. The English, in 1772, intended to have established a factory at *Pásir*, but they abandoned the design on some commotions taking place in that state. Its object was to make *Pásir* a depôt for opium and India piece goods, and for the contraband trade in spices. In 1774, a short time after the first settling of *Balambángan*, Mr. Jesse was deputed as resident to Borneo *proper*, and concluded a treaty with that state, by which he acquired for the settlement of *Balambángan* the exclusive trade in pepper, stipulating in return to protect Borneo from the piratical incursions of the *Súlu* and *Mendanáwi* men. Neither of the parties, however, fulfilled its agreement, though the Residency at Borneo was continued for some years after the first breaking up of the settlement of *Balambángan* in 1775.

On the north-east of Borneo *proper* lies a very considerable territory, the sovereignty of which has been long claimed by the *Súlu* government; a very considerable part of this, together with the islands off the coast, have been for upwards of forty years regularly ceded to the English by the *Súlus*, and has also at different periods been assumed by them, without any objection on the part of the government of Borneo *proper*. This ceded district, extending from the river *Ki-manis* on the north-west, which forms the boundary of Borneo *proper*, to the great bay on the north-east, is undoubtedly a rich and fertile country, though in a rude and uncultivated state, and it is admirably situated for commerce, notwithstanding the different failures of *Balambángan* may seem to indicate the contrary. *Balambángan* is one of the small islands off the northern extremity of the island of Borneo, and included in the *Súlu* grant to the English. It would be foreign to the present object to enter into any details concerning the history of the settlement of *Balambángan*, but it may be proper to mention, that all the gentlemen who were engaged in the last attempt were convinced, that the bottom of the great *Malúdu Bay* would have been infinitely preferable as a settlement on every account. *Balambángan* is exactly analogous, in every respect, to Pinang; it does not admit of territorial extension, and must exist, if at all, by commerce solely. *Malúdu*, on the other hand, is a dependency on the island of Borneo, which admits of any degree of territorial extension, may always subsist any number of inhabitants by its own produce, and is said to communicate, by a land carriage of little more than forty miles, with the central lakes in the vicinity of the gold countries.

From

From every inquiry, however, and the result of some experience and much reflection, it may be stated, that no settlement which is founded on a commercial, instead of a territorial basis, is likely to succeed in that quarter. We have already acquired territorial rights, and therefore the only question seems to be, whether these cannot be turned to advantage, as well by cultivation as by commerce. The *Dáyaks*, or original inhabitants of Borneo, are said to be not only industrious, but particularly disposed to agriculture, and so manageable, that a handful of *Maláyus* have, in numerous places, reduced many thousands of them to the condition of peaceful cultivators of the ground. Indeed, nothing seems wanting but a government strong enough to afford efficient protection to person and property. In the case of the *Dáyaks*, it must be considered as an advantage, that they have not hitherto adopted the religion of Islam, and would consequently be more ready from the first to regard us as their friends. It ought to be calculated among the inducements to form a settlement on Borneo, that in that quarter our territorial arrangement would interfere with the claims or the rights of no European nation. To recommend, however, the immediate establishment of a settlement at this particular spot, and on a basis so new, would obviously be premature, as notwithstanding the length of time we occupied *Balambángan*, not only the interior of Borneo was almost unknown, but until lately, even a great part of its coasts. This supineness in the government of *Balambángan* is perhaps not unexampled. The want of local information has, indeed, often proved fatal to the infant settlements of the English. "Colonies and settlements of every kind," says the author of the Letter on the Nagrais Expedition, "must at first be attended with many difficulties, which however a judicious perseverance will surmount, if there "be not some original fault in the establishment. It must be obvious to "every one, that the English never made a settlement, in which they were "not impeded by some unforeseen difficulties, so as at least frequently to "make abandoning the infant establishment appear the most prudent step, "without even hoping any return for the prodigious expense which may "have been incurred by the undertaking."..." Various reasons," adds that author, "may be ascribed for this event; but incapacity in the person "entrusted with the management, and the want of previous examination of "the place, seem to me the most common and the most considerable." Without stopping to inquire how far the want of success in our several

attempts to settle *Balambángan* may have been fairly attributable to either of these causes, it may be confidently asserted, that the last establishment failed chiefly from its being solely of a military nature, without either professional merchants or mercantile adventurers being attached to it.

These observations respecting *Balambángan* apply to it chiefly as a territorial establishment; but there is no doubt that it would speedily attain commercial importance. Many of the commercial advantages which recommended its selection still exist, to an equal or greater extent; especially those which related to Cochin China, Champa, and Cambodia. But this digression has already exceeded its reasonable limits, and it is necessary to revert to the more immediate point under consideration, the commerce of Java. Any account of this commerce would be imperfect, which after stating the extent to which it is carried, and the mode in which it is conducted with the adjacent islands in the same Archipelago, should omit to mention the advantages of an intercourse with Japan and some notices on the Japan trade.

Japan trade.

The history of the Dutch connexion with that country is well known, and can never be forgotten. Perhaps there is not such an instance in the annals of commerce, of the disgraceful arts to which mercantile cupidity will resort, and the degradation to which it will submit for the attainment of its object, as in the Dutch proceedings at Japan; nor is there, perhaps, a more remarkable example of the triumphant success, and complete disappointment of commercial enterprize. As it may be interesting to many readers to see an authentic history of the origin, fluctuations, and decline of the Dutch Japan trade, and as even a very succinct statement of it would swell this chapter to a disproportioned size, I have placed a short history of it in the Appendix to this work, to which I beg leave to refer those who have any curiosity for such details.* From the year 1611, when the Dutch established commercial relations with Japan, till 1671 (a period of sixty years), their speculations were unrestricted and their profits were enormous. This was the golden age of their trade: they opened a mine of wealth, and they fondly thought it inexhaustible, as well as rich and easily wrought. In 1640, the Company obtained a return in gold, that yielded a profit of upwards of a million of guilders. They had been accustomed to procure, for some time previous to 1663, a return of silver, to the extent of two hundred chests of one hundred pounds each, and it was suggested that it would be desirable for

* See Appendix B.

for as many chests of gold, of the same weight, to be sent in future. The golden and silver ages of Japan commerce being past, the latter half of the seventeenth century began with what the Dutch called its brazen age, that is its export of copper, which has ever since continued the staple of the Japan market. The trade was on the decline during the whole of the last century, and had become of so little importance about 1740, that the Company deliberated upon the expediency of its total abandonment. From employing, as at one time, eight or nine ships and exporting copper alone to the amount of more than thirty thousand *pikuls*, of one hundred and twenty-five pounds each, it diminished to the use of two vessels, and the purchase of cargoes of five or six thousand *pikuls*. The Appendix contains an account of the nature of the trade, and the result of the Dutch adventures of 1804-5 and 1806, and of our own in 1813.

CHAPTER VI.

Character of the Inhabitants of Java.—Difference between the Súndas and the Javans.—The Lower Orders.—The Chiefs.—Nature of the Native Government.—Different Officers of the State.—Judicial Establishments and Institutions.—Laws, and how administered.—Police Institutions and Regulations.—Military Establishments.—Revenue.

HAVING, in the foregoing pages, attempted to introduce the inhabitants of Java to the reader, by an account of their person, their manners, and employment in the principal departments of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, I shall now endeavour to make him, in some degree, acquainted with their intellectual and moral character, their institutions, government, and such other particulars as may contribute to enable him to form some estimate of their relative rank in the scale of civilized society.

Intellectual character.

From what has been stated of their progress in the manufacturing and agricultural arts, their general advancement in knowledge may be easily estimated. There are no establishments for teaching the sciences, and there is little spirit of scientific research among them. The common people have little leisure or inclination for improving their minds or acquiring information, but they are far from being deficient in natural sagacity or docility. Their organs are acute and delicate, their observation is ready, and their judgment of character is generally correct. Like most eastern nations, they are enthusiastic admirers of poetry, and possess a delicate ear for music. Though deficient in energy, and excited to action with difficulty, the effect probably of an enervating climate and a still more enervating government, they are capable of great occasional exertion, and sometimes display a remarkable perseverance in surmounting obstacles or enduring labours. Though ignorant and unimproved, they are far from wanting intelligence in the general objects of their pursuit, and frequently astonish Europeans by the ingenuity of their expedients, and the facility with which they accomplish difficult operations by apparently inadequate means.

People

People in a rude state of society are not always prepared to admit their inferiority, or inclined to adopt manifest improvements: what is much beyond their skill or their power, may excite their wonder, but does not always tempt their imitation. This is more peculiarly the case, where national pride or religious prejudice stand in the way; and the contempt of unbelievers, with which the Mahometan system inspires its votaries, leads them usually to undervalue the acts in which others excel, or the instruction which they communicate. The Javans, though far from deficient in national pride, and though Mahometans, are free from this senseless and pernicious prejudice, and are ready to acknowledge the superiority of the Europeans, as well as disposed to imitate their arts and to obey their direction. No people can be more tractable; and although their external appearance indicates listlessness and sometimes stupidity, none possess a quicker apprehension of what is clearly stated, or attain a more rapid proficiency in what they have a desire to learn. The restraints under which conversation labours by the necessity of using different dialects in addressing different orders of society, as well as the respect paid to superiority of rank, prevents them from such a frequent intercourse of thought and opinion as might otherwise be expected, and often renders them, to appearance, reserved and taciturn, although in fact they are social, cheerful, and good humoured.

Credulity.

An uninstructed people are often credulous, and the Javans are remarkable for their unsuspecting and almost infantine credulity. Susceptible of every impression that artifice may attempt to make upon them, and liable to every delusion propagated by the prejudiced or the designing, they not inaptly compare themselves to a piece of pure white cloth, on which any dye or shade of colour may be laid. They lend an easy credence to omens, to prognostics, to prophets, and to quacks. They easily become the dupes of any religious fanatic, and credit, without scruple or examination, his claim to supernatural powers. Their profession of Mahometanism has not relieved them from the superstitious prejudices and observances of an anterior worship: they are thus open to the accumulated delusion of two religious systems.

They are great observers of lucky or unlucky days, or natural phenomena, and undertake no journey or enterprize without attending to them. It is unlucky to go any where on the day that you hear of the death of a friend: the sight of two crows fighting in the air is unlucky: two small birds

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(called *prenjak*) fighting near a house, afford a prognostic of the arrival of a friend from a distance. Explosions or noises heard from the mountains not only excite terror for their immediate consequences, but are thought to forebode some great calamity, unconnected with the convulsions of nature, of which they are the symptoms, such as a sanguinary war, a general famine, or an epidemic sickness. The eclipses of the sun and moon powerfully excite this superstitious spirit, and induce many absurd notions and observations. Earthquakes furnish certain prognostics, according to the day of the month on which they happen. In none of their superstitions, however, is there any thing of that gloomy, dark, or malignant cast, which distinguishes those of less favoured climates or of more savage tribes.

Enthusiasm. Although, on many occasions, listless and unenterprising, their religious enthusiasm is no sooner excited, than they become at once adventurous and persevering, esteeming no labour arduous, no result impossible, and no privation painful. We witnessed an instance, both of their simplicity and of their energy, connected with this part of their character, which excited our astonishment. The population of some of the districts of *Bányumás* contributed their voluntary labour, in 1814, to the construction of a broad high road, from the base to the summit of one of the loftiest mountains on the island (the mountain *Súmbing*), and this extraordinary public work was almost completed, before intelligence of its commencement reached the government. It was in consequence examined, and found to be a work of immense labour and care, but without the least appearance of object or utility. Upon enquiring into the motive of such a singular undertaking, it was learnt that a general belief prevailed, that there was a very holy man at the top of the mountain, who would not come down till there should be a good road made for him. The *Madúrese* are said to believe, that the spirits of the dead revisit the earth; but this does not appear to be a Javan superstition.

Prejudices. Their prejudices are neither very numerous nor unyielding, and seem generally to have originated in some laudable feeling or amiable weakness. Their nationality, which is very strong, although it delights in the traditionary narratives of ancient Javan exploits, and supports a hope of future independence, which they are not backward to express, does not lead them to despise the character, or to undervalue the acts of strangers. They have a contempt for trade, and those of higher rank esteem it disgraceful to be

be engaged in it; but the common people are ever ready to engage in the labours of agriculture, and the chiefs to honour and encourage agricultural industry. Those of the highest rank and greatest authority, generally attend at the opening of new *sáwah* fields, performing part of the work with their own hands, and leading their inferiors or dependents, as they express it, to pay respect to the earth, in whose honour they also observe annually the *sedéka búmi*, or feast to the earth. It is in the same spirit that the buffalo, as the chief assistant of the husbandman, is viewed with such peculiar regard, that in some of the interior districts, new-born infants are sometimes carried to be breathed upon by them, from a superstitious belief that such a ceremony will render them fortunate.

Patriarchal state.

Notwithstanding the despotic nature of their government, and the feudal principles on which it rests, the Javan must be considered as a patriarchal people, still retaining many of the virtues, and all the simplicity, which distinguish that state of society. Their village settlements constitute detached societies, under their local chief and priest, and the same internal concord prevails in these little associations which characterises patriarchal tribes. Vicinity and daily intercourse afford opportunities of conferring real assistance and acts of kindness: injustice and even violence may sometimes be committed against the inhabitants of other villages but very seldom by the inhabitants of the same village against each other. The patriarchal spirit of the Javans may be further traced, in the veneration which they pay to age, the respect and acquiescence with which they receive the maxims or the counsels of experience, the ready contented submission which they shew to the commands of their immediate superiors, the warmth of their domestic attachments, and the affectionate reverence with which they regard and protect the tombs and the ashes of their fathers. To the same description of feelings may be referred that consideration for ancestry, that attention to the line of descent, and that regard to the history and merits of distant kindred, which in the meanest people appears often to assume the character of family pride.

These observations apply principally to the inhabitants of villages, at some distance from the seats of the princes or regents, and the contagion of the larger capitals, and more particularly to the people of the *Súnda* districts. Those of higher rank, those employed about court or in administering to the pleasures or luxuries of the great, those collected into the capitals or engaged in the public service, are frequently profligate and corrupt, exhibiting

ing many of the vices of civilisation without its refinement, and the ignorance and deficiencies of a rude state without its simplicity. The people in the neighbourhood of Batavia are the worst in the island, and the long intercourse with strangers has been almost equally fatal to the morals of the lower part of Bantam. The population collected at the native capitals is naturally influenced, to a certain extent, by the vices of the court, but the further they are removed from European influence and foreign intercourse, the better are their morals and the happier are the people.

Different classes of society.

In attempting to exhibit some of the more striking features of the Javan character, it becomes necessary to distinguish between the privileged classes of society and the mass of the people. Long continued oppression may have injured the character of the latter, and obliterated some of its brighter traits; but to the former, the constant exercise of absolute dominion has done a more serious injury, by removing every salutary restraint on the passions, and encouraging the growth of rank and odious vices. In the peasantry we observe all that is simple, natural, and ingenuous: in the higher orders we sometimes discover violence, deceit, and gross sensuality.

Moral character.

Where not corrupted by indulgence on the one hand, or stupified by oppression on the other, the Javans appear to be a generous and warm-hearted people. In their domestic relations they are kind, affectionate, gentle, and contented; in their public, they are obedient, honest, and faithful. In their intercourse with society they display, in a high degree, the virtues of honesty, plain dealing, and candour. Their ingenuousness is such, that as the first Dutch authorities have acknowledged, prisoners brought to the bar on criminal charges, if really guilty, nine times out of ten confess, without disguise or equivocation, the full extent and exact circumstances of their offences, and communicate, when required, more information on the matter at issue than all the rest of the evidence. Although this may, in some degree, be the result of the former use of torture, it cannot be wholly so.

Though not much addicted to excess, and of rather a slow temperament, they are in general liberal and expensive, according to their means, seldom hoarding their wealth or betraying a penurious disposition. Fond of shew and pomp, they lay out all their money, as soon as it is acquired, in the purchase of articles of dress, horses, splendid trappings, &c.; but they possess a quality which is not always joined with a love of splendour, either

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in nations or individuals: they are cleanly in their persons, and pay the greatest attention to neatness, as well as to glare and finery.

Hospitality is universal among them; it is enjoined by their most ancient institutions, and practised with readiness and zeal. The Javans are exceedingly sensible to praise or shame,* and ambitious of power and distinction; but their national oppressions or agricultural habits have rendered them somewhat indifferent to military glory, and deprived them of a great portion of their ancient warlike energy. They are more remarkable for passive fortitude than active courage, and endure privations with patience rather than make exertions with spirit and enterprize.

Though living under a government where justice was seldom administered with purity or impartiality, and where, of course, we might expect to see the hand of private violence stretched out to punish private wrong, or a general spirit of retaliation and insidious cruelty prevailing, the Javans

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* The inhabitants of these islands are strikingly alive to a sense of shame; a feeling, which is heightened by the influence of a tradition among the Maláyus, that, on the first establishment of the Malayan nation, the islanders stipulated, that neither they nor their descendants should ever be put to shame. The tradition runs as follows:

"Then *Ampu* and *Maling* made obeisance to *Sangsapurba* (a prince who had arrived in Su-
"matra from Western India, and who is supposed to have founded the Malayan empire) and
"represented to him that *Demang Lebar Daon* (chieftain broad leaf of Palembang), had a
"daughter. *Sangsapurba* accordingly sent to ask her in marriage; but he excused himself,
"alleging, that she would probably be struck with sickness, and that he would only resign
"her to him as a wife on certain conditions. These conditions were, that, on *Sangsapurba*
"marrying his daughter, all the family of *Demang Lebar Daon* should submit themselves to
"him; but that *Sangsapurba* should engage, both for himself and his posterity, that they
"should receive a liberal treatment; and in particular, that, when they committed a fault, they
"should never be exposed to shame nor opprobrious language, but, if their fault was great,
"that they should be put to death according to the law. *Sangsapurba* agreed to these con-
"ditions; but he requested, in his turn, that the descendants of *Damang Lebar Daon* should
"never move any treasonable practices against his descendants, even though they should
"become tyrannical. 'Very well,' said *Demang Lebar Daon;* 'but if your descendants
"'break your agreements, probably mine will do the same.' These conditions were mutually
"agreed to, and the parties swore to perform them, imprecating the divine vengeance to turn
"their authority upside down who should infringe these agreements. From this condition it
"is, that none of the Malayan rajas ever expose their Malayan subjects to disgrace or shame:
"they never bind them, nor hang them, nor give them opprobrious language; and whenever a
"raja exposes his subjects to disgrace, it is the certain token of the destruction of his coun-
"try. Hence also it is, that none of the Malayan race ever engage in rebellion, or turn their
"faces from their own rajas, even though their conduct be bad, and their proceedings tyran-
"nical."—*Maláyan Annals.*

are, in a great degree, strangers to unrelentling hatred and blood-thirsty revenge. Almost the only passion that can urge them to deeds of vengeance or assassination is jealousy. The wound given to a husband's honour by seducing his wife is seldom healed, the crime seldom forgiven; and what is remarkable, the very people who break the marriage tie on the slightest caprice, or the most vague pretence, are yet uncommonly watchful over it while it remains entire. They are little liable to those fits and starts of anger, or those sudden explosions of fury, which appear among northern nations. To this remark have been brought forward as exceptions, those acts of vengeance, proceeding from an irresistible phrenzy, called *mucks*, where the unhappy sufferer aims at indiscriminate destruction, till he himself is killed like a wild beast, whom it is impossible to take alive. It is a mistake, however, to attribute these acts of desperation to the Javans.

That such have occurred on Java, even during the British administration, is true, but not among the Javans: they have happened exclusively in the large towns of Batavia, *Semárang*, and *Surabáya*, and have been confined almost entirely to the class of slaves. This phrenzy, as a crime against society, seems, if not to have originated under the Dutch, certainly at least to have been increased during their administration by the great severity of their punishments. For the slightest fault, a slave was punished with a severity which he dreaded as much as death; and with torture in all its horrid forms before his eyes, he often preferred to rush on death and vengeance.

Atrocious crimes are extremely rare, and have been principally owing to misgovernment when they have occurred. In answer to what has been asserted concerning robberies, assassinations, and thefts, it may be stated, that during the residence of the English, an entire confidence was reposed in the people, and that confidence was never found misplaced. The English never used bars or bolts to their houses, never travelled with arms, and no instance occurred of their being ill used. The Dutch, on the contrary, placed no confidence: all their windows were barred, and all their doors locked, to keep out the treacherous natives (as they called them), and they never moved five miles abroad without pistols and swords. What could be expected by a government that derived a principal part of its revenue from the encouragement of vice, by the farms of gaming, cock-fighting, and opium shops? After the two former were abolished by the

the English, and the local government had done all in its power to discourage the latter, a visible amelioration took place in the morals of the lower ranks.

Hordes of banditti, formidable for their numbers and audacity, formerly infested some parts of the country, particularly the provinces of Bantam and Chéribon; but since they have been dispersed by the strong hand of government, the roads of Java may be travelled in as much security as those of England.

Much has been said of the indolence of the Javans, by those who deprived them of all motives for industry. I shall not again repeat what I have formerly on several occasions stated on this subject, but shall only enter a broad denial of the charge. They are as industrious and laborious as any people could be expected to be, in their circumstances of insecurity and oppression, or as any people would be required to be, with their advantages of soil and climate. If they do not labour during the whole day, it is because such persevering toil is unnecessary, or would bring them no additional enjoyments. The best refutation of the charge of indolence is to be found in the extent of their cultivation, the well dressed appearance of their rice fields, and the abundant supplies of their harvests. They generally rise by daylight: at half past six they go out to the rice fields, where they employ their buffaloes till ten, when they return home, bathe, and refresh themselves with a meal. During the violent heat of the noon they remain under the shade of their houses or village trees, making baskets, mending their implements of husbandry, or engaged in other necessary avocations, and at about four return to the *sáwahs* to labour them, without buffaloes or other cattle. At six they return to their homes, sup, and spend the remainder of their time till the hour of rest (which is generally between eight and nine) in little parties for amusement or conversation, when the whole village becomes a scene of quiet content and pleasure. The same round of toil and relaxation is observed during the season for garden culture, dry field labour, or other employments.

Under this system, the villagers seem to enjoy a greater degree of happiness than they could derive from those increased means that would result from increased exertion. I can bear testimony to their general cheerfulness, contentedness, and good humour, for having visited their villages at all seasons, and often when least expected or entirely unknown, I have always found them either pleased and satisfied with their lot when engaged at their

work, or social and festive in their hours of pleasure. One observation generally made and admitted, would seem to militate against this part of the Javan character; they are remarked to be envious and jealous of one another's success: but if this trait of character be with difficulty reconciled to their general reputation for contentedness and benevolence, it is surely still more inconsistent with that indolent apathy with which they are often charged.

It will appear throughout their history, that when strongly excited by the animosities of the constant wars in which they were engaged, they were frequently guilty of acts of great barbarity: such as decapitating a vanquished enemy, and kicking his head about like a football. In war and politics, much is not to be said in their favour, stratagem and intrigue being relied upon in preference to discipline, courage, or good faith: even the Chinese, during what is called the Chinese war on Java (A.D. 1750), would appear to deserve a higher character for bravery and good faith than the Javans. But it is reasonable to attribute this, in some measure, to the degrading influence of European despotism. A great disregard for the *little people* is shewn throughout their political history, as is particularly exemplified in the instance of a mock battle that was fought between the Chinese and Javans, near *Semárang*, in order to impose upon the Dutch. The Chinese wished to know how they should act upon the occasion. "Attack the whole army "of the Javans by surprize," said the Javan negociators, "but be careful "not to kill any of the chiefs or great people and it will be a sham fight."

Of their nationality it may be observed, that ever since the first arrival of Europeans, they have neglected no opportunity of attempting to regain their independence. A reference to the chapters on history will be sufficient to illustrate this, as well as to shew the national feeling on the encroachments and assumptions of their European rulers. In the great cause of national independence all would unite, but they seem hardly to be sufficiently advanced in civilization to effect such an object, without the risk of relapsing into many barbarities, from the practice of which they have been weaned, by a long continuance of established government and general tranquillity. Quiet and peaceable as the Javans now are, were they once roused to insurrection, their blood would rapidly boil, and they would no doubt be guilty of many excesses.

I might illustrate the Javan character still further by a comparison of it with the Malayan, by shewing, from the remains of those customs that are

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to be referred to an anterior and milder system, how much it has been altered by the introduction of Mahometanism, and by giving an estimate of the effects produced upon it by the government of the Dutch; but this would anticipate some observations which will be more appropriate in other parts of this work.

Of the causes which have tended to lower the character of the Asiatics in comparison with Europeans, none has had a more decided influence than polygamy. To all those noble and generous feelings, all that delicacy of sentiment, that romantic and poetical spirit, which virtuous love inspires in the breast of an European, the Javan is a stranger, and in the communication between the sexes he seeks only convenience, and little more than the gratification of an appetite. But the evil does not stop here: education is neglected and family attachments are weakened. Among the privileged orders, the first wife is generally selected by the friends of the party, from motives of interest and to strenghten family alliances, and the second is rather to be considered as the object of the husband's choice. But if his circumstances admit of it, he has no scruple to entertain other women as concubines, who hold an honourable rank in his household. The progeny from these connections is often immense. It has already been stated, that a Javan chief has been known to have upwards of sixty acknowledged children; and it too often happens, that in such cases sons having been neglected in their infancy, become dissipated, idle and worthless, and spring up like rank grass and overrun the country, or serve but to fill up a long and useless retinue. Fortunately for the peasantry, who are the mass of the population, they have escaped this deteriorating institution; and perhaps much of the comparative superiority of the character of the peasantry over that of the higher orders is to be attributed to this advantage. The higher orders have also been more exposed to the influence of Mahometanism and European innovation; and if the former has removed from their usages some traits of barbarism, and tended to the development of their intellectual qualities, it has introduced Mahometan vices; and the European power having gradually obtained its supremacy over the island, rather by stratagem and intrigue than by open conquest, it is probable that the necessity under which the natives found themselves to resist its encroachments by similar means, has powerfully contributed to corrupt their natural ingenuousness. It is not at the court of the sovereign, penned up as he now is and kept like a bird in a cage by the intrigues and power

power of the European authority, that we are to look for the genuine character of the people; neither is it among those numerous chiefs and petty chiefs attendant on the European authorities, who by continual association have, in a great degree, assimilated with them. What we have said of the Javans must therefore be considered, as more particularly applicable to the peasantry or cultivators, who compose three-fourths of the whole population, and is to be received with some reserve in its application to the higher classes.

Thus far I have given a faithful representation of the people as they appeared to me; but it may be amusing to the reader to read the Javan character, as transcribed from the impressions of the Dutch. The following is an official account* of this people given by a subject of that nation, which has contributed so much to depress and degrade them.

"If the Javan is a person of rank, or in affluent circumstances, he will "be found superstitious, proud, jealous, vindictive, mean, and slavish "towards his superiors, haughty and despotic towards his inferiors and "those unfortunate beings that are subject to his orders, lazy and slothful.

"The lower class is indolent and insensible beyond conception, and "although certain persons, who presume to be perfectly acquainted with "the character of the Javan, maintain the contrary, still I am convinced "by daily experience, that the Javan in general is most shockingly lazy, "and that nothing but fear of his superior, and apprehension of being "punished, or momentary distress or want, can compel him to labour. If "left to himself, he will do no more than what is absolutely requisite to "furnish the necessaries of life, and as he needs but little, his labour is "proportionate: yet as soon as he has a sufficiency for four days, or for "the next day only, nothing will put him in motion again but force or "fear.

"Cowardly, vindictive, treacherous, inclined to rob and to murder "rather than work, cunning in evil practices, and unaccountably stupid "(supposed intentionally), if any good is required of him. These are the "principal traits of the Javan character.

"The *Maláyu*, speaking of him as an inhabitant of this island, because "I am unacquainted with the character of those living at a distance, is "possessed of a little more courage and activity, fond of small trade and "travelling, and but seldom a robber like the Javan, whom in other "respects

* See Report on the Districts of Japára, by the Resident Dornick, in the year 1812.

" respects he very much resembles. A *Maláyu*, who is a little cunning, " will, as soon as an opportunity offers, commit a fraud, especially when " he has had some loss which he wishes to retrieve."

Others of the colonists, and some particularly who are likely to have greater influence with the restored government, entertained more correct, because more favourable opinions of the Javans, coinciding nearly with those which I have stated as my own.

The following extracts are intended to convey some notion of Javan ethics. The first is from a popular work, called *Raja Kapa-kapa.**

" It is incumbent upon every man of condition to be well versed in the " history of former times, and to have read all the *chiríta* (written com- " positions) of the country: first, the different *Ráma*, the *B'rata yúdha*, " *Arjúna wijáya*, *Bima súchi*; secondly, the different accounts of *Panji*; " thirdly, the *Júgúl múda*, *Pralámbang*, and *Jáya langkára*; also to know " their different tunes, as well as the mode of striking the *gámelan;* he must " know how to count the years, months, and days, and comprehend the " *Sangkála*, understand the *Káwi* language, and also must be clever in all

" *Niúng'ging* ..... Painting;
" *Ukir ukir* ..... Carving in wood;
" *Pándi* ..... Iron-work;
" *Kemásan* ..... Gold-work;
" *Argénding* ..... Musical instrument making;
" *M'ráng'gi* ..... Kris-sheath making;
" *N'gapús* ..... Compositions (literary);
" *Gárdji* ..... Sewing with the needle; working;
" *Anyára-wedi retna* ..... Jewellery;
" *Anyádur-rasa* ..... In gilding and the application of quicksilver.

" And he must also be skilled in horsemanship, and in the management of " an elephant, and have courage to destroy all bad men, and drive away " all women of loose character."

The *Níti sástra* is a work of the greatest celebrity on Java: the original is in the *Káwi* language, but there are many versions. The following is translated from a modern version in the present language of Java.

" Praise

* See a further account of this work under the head Literature.

" Praise be to *Batára Gúru*, who is all powerful! to *Batára Vishnu* (*wisnu*), " who purifieth the minds of men! and to *Batára Súria*, who enlight- " eneth the world! May they render their divine assistance to the " author who composeth this work, *Níti Sástra*, which contains an " account of the truths to be found in the sacred writings, and which " are highly necessary to be known by all public officers.

" A man who cannot regulate his conduct according to circumstances, and " to the situation in which he may be placed, is like unto a man who " has lost the senses of taste, and enjoyeth not the advantage of *síri*, " for such a man doth not shine in the world, however fair may be his " appearance.

" A man who is ignorant of the sacred writings, is as one who has lost his " speech; for when these become the conversation of other men, he will " be under the necessity of remaining silent.

" It is an abomination to the Divinity to worship him in an unclean place; " and the man who does so may be compared to one who eats another " man's bread without his consent. The food is unwholesome to him, " even as if he ate of his own bread with aversion, in which case he " resembles the poor man who overeats himself and afterwards suffers " from hunger.

" A woman who takes not a husband until her hair becomes grey and her " teeth fall out, is despicable in her own eyes, because men will no longer " feel any inclination to her.

" A man, to be accounted able, must know how to adapt his words to his " actions and his actions to his words, so that he may give offence to no " one, but render himself agreeable to his companions: he must also " know how to command in war and to inspire his followers with " courage.

" In order to obtain this distinction, a man must conduct himself towards his " equals even as a lover conducts himself towards his mistress; for as " the lover cannot obtain his object without flattery and indulgence, so " must we strive to obtain the good will of mankind by flattering them " occasionally, and by indulging them in those things to which they are " most inclined, and which consists, if we are in company with religious " men, in treating of religious matters, and if in company with war- " riors, in treating about war. This will not only make them like us the " better, but at the same time, excite them to excel in their profession.

" The

" The subtle nature of the snake and the venom of its poison, as well as " the ferocious disposition of the tiger, may be removed by smpathetic " remedies; the wild elephant may also be tamed by means of the well- " known small iron hook: but the fierceness of the warrior, when once " in close engagement, is not to be tamed, unless his enemy surrender; " and even then not entirely, for although the vanquished surrender, it " is to be inferred that he still harbours resentment for the loss of his " freedom, and the conqueror must keep a lively watch over the van- " quished, lest he still oppose him.

" It is well known, that waters, however deep, may be fathomed; but " the thoughts of men cannot be sounded. In order to know the " nature of another, we must attentively observe his appearance, his " manner of speaking, and his judgment; and if a man gives himself " out as a holy man, it must be proved by his observance of the service " of the Deity and his knowledge of the sacred writings.

" Such a man is distinguished, who is able to expound all abstract expres- " sions.

" A rich man, who maketh not use of his riches in procuring for himself " good food and clothing, is an abomination, and ought not to be admitted " into the society of the learned or men of rank; neither ought a man, " who has learnt a profession or studied religion, but who still continues " attached to his idle and vicious propensities.

" The man who advances in years, and he who is too lazy to labour, and " does nothing but eat and sleep, is like a sheep, which is useless except " on account of its flesh.

" It is said, that neither the ravens nor the *gadárbo* birds, are good for " man; but much less are such men who having once embraced a holy " life, return to worldly pursuits, or such as can find it in their hearts to " seduce the wives and daughters of their friends to commit adultery.

" The water in a vessel which is only partly full will by the least agitation " splash on the sides: experience also proves, that the cow which has the " loudest voice gives the least milk. So is it with men: those who have " least understanding or wealth make the greatest noise and show; but " in reality they are inferior, and all they say and do vanisheth like smoke.

" Friends must be faithful and forbearing towards each other, otherwise the " consequences will be fatal to both. Of this we have an example in the " fable of the tiger and the forest.

" The forest and the tiger lived together in close friendship, so that no one " could approach the forest, for the tiger was always in the way; nor the " tiger, for the forest always afforded him shelter. Thus they remained " both undisturbed, on account of the mutual security they afforded to " each other; but when the tiger abandoned the forest and roamed " abroad, the people seeing that the tiger had quitted it, immediately cut " down the forest and converted it into plantations: the tiger, in the " meantime, taking shelter in a village was seen by the people, who soon " found means to kill him. In this manner, both parties, by abandoning " their mutual duties to each other, were lost.

" A child ought, in every respect, to follow in the footsteps of its father; " but this is seldom the case, either among men or animals in general. " Among the latter, however, there are three sorts which follow their " parents in every respect: all kinds of fish, frogs, and tortoises. The " first and second spawn in water, which is carried away, until the " young are produced, when they again join their parents: the last " lay their eggs in holes, and as soon as the young are hatched they " follow the old ones into the water.

" Man, although he is borne in his mother's womb a long time, and after " his birth is taken care of and nourished, still seldom follows in the foot- " steps of his parents. If his father is a holy man, he ought to follow the " same profession; but instead of this children do not generally attend to " the advice of their parents, nor to the lessons of the sacred writings, or " those given by holy and good men.

" That men of rank should do every thing in their power to attach the " lower class of people to them, is not only proper but necessary, in " order to keep them faithfully to their duty. To this end, therefore, " men of rank ought to be indulgent and liberal towards their inferiors, " like a woman who implores the assistance of man to bring forth chil- " dren and support her; but not like a tigress that brings forth its cubs, " nor the snake which brings forth so many young, that sometimes having " no food for them or for herself, she devours them.

" Man is pleased with the *dŏdot* cloth (apparel), and women are proud of " their bosom; but a good man prefers the sacred writings, which may " lead him to the life to come.

" Property obtained by man's own labour is valuable, but more valuable is " that which is obtained by a man's blood in time of war: of less value

" is

" is property inherited from a man's parents. Of little value is the pro-
" perty taken from a man's parents or his wife, but still less valuable is
" that which comes to a man from his children."

" It is the duty of the chief of the nation to inquire into every thing
" which can affect his subjects; to know whether they are prosperous or
" not, if every one attends to his duty, if they are skilful in the exe-
" cution of it or not, and in all cases to take measures accordingly,
" never losing sight of justice. He must, as far as possible, be lenient
" in the punishment of the guilty, and liberal in the reward of the
" deserving; particularly in the field of battle, when in sight of the
" enemy, when presents ought then to be distributed to the soldiers
" *(prajúrit)*, in order to animate them; for if ever so justly treated,
" they will not, except they have been obliged by their commander,
" either be so faithful, or risk so much in an attack against the
" enemy.

" Highly prejudicial is it for the chiefs to discover fear before their ene-
" mies, for in that case the men will also be afraid; but when the chiefs
" conduct themselves in such a manner as to shew they do not fear the
" enemy, then the men are animated by their example.

" A chief should keep his plan of attack as secret as possible, because the
" knowledge of it may enable the enemy to be on his guard, and turn
" the measures taken to his own advantage. He ought not to challenge
" his enemy to give battle, as in that case the enemy will have an op-
" portunity of preparing himself for the same: but he should attempt to
" surprize him, and rush upon him like a fire, that quickly and without
" much noise consumeth all with which it comes in contact.

" The most formidable enemy of a man is his own conscience, which
" always brings his crimes before his eyes, without leaving him the
" means of avoiding it.

" The most valuable and lasting friendship is that which exists between
" persons of the same rank.

" The severest misfortune which a man can suffer, is to be deprived by
" force, of the land upon which he lives and which he has cultivated,
" or to have his wife and children taken from him by force.

" Man loveth nothing more than his own children, and he always esteems
" his own feelings in preference to those of others."

" Of all birds the *chiong* (miner) is the most highly prized, because it has " a beautiful appearance and can imitate the speech of man.

" A woman who loves her husband so tenderly, that at his death she " wishes to die with him, or surviving never marries again, but lives as " if she were dead to the world, is valued above all others of her sex.

" The lessons of our parents are like the lessons of the ten wise masters. " No master can be called wise, unless he attends to what is written, " as well on sacred as on worldly subjects. Such a master may be " justly called a superior mortal; for it is a difficult task to learn and " to attend to the same, even as difficult as to catch and tame a wild " elephant on the edge of a precipice without injury.

" Melancholy is it to see a young man of condition unacquainted with the " sacred writings; for, be he ever so gracefully formed or elegant in his " manners, he remains defective; like the *wúrawári* flower, which, " notwithstanding its fine appearance and bright red colour, emits no " fragrance whatever.

" No man can be called good or bad, until his actions prove him so. Thus " if a man declares that he has never taken any but delicious food, it " will be shewn in his appearance. If he is stout and well looking, then " may he be credited; but if, on the contrary, he is poor and lean, then " it is impossible that he should have lived on good food.

" In like manner, when a man pretends to be the friend of mankind, it " must be proved by his behaviour when he receives the visits of others. " If he receives his guests with kindness and hospitality, then is he the " friend of mankind, otherwise he is not so. And further, if a man " pretends to have fasted and prayed, and to have become a holy man, " it will be known whether he is really so, by the success which attends " the prayers which he puts up for another: if the Deity hears them " not, then is he a deceiver.

" A caterpillar has its poison in its head, a scorpion in its tail, and a snake " in its teeth, but it is unknown in what part of the body the poison of " man is concealed: a bad man is therefore considered poisonous in his " whole frame.

" A child which is indulged by its parents in every thing, is like a young " fish in a clear and pure stream, in which it grows and sports, uncon- " scious whither it may lead.

" As the strength of a bird is in its wings, so does the power of a prince " consist in his subjects; but then only through the means of persons " properly informed on the following points. First, how a country " ought to be properly administered; secondly, how to please a prince; " thirdly, how to prepare all delicacies for him; and fourthly, how to " preserve discipline and direct the conduct of an army.

" The dread of the subject should be such, that the orders of the prince " should be to him like a clap of thunder, that may be heard far and " wide.

" A man who does evil to his companions acts against the sacred writings " and the lessons of his instructor: he can never enjoy prosperity, but " will meet with misfortunes in all his proceedings. Such a man is like " a piece of porcelain, which when it falls to the ground breaks into " many pieces and can never be rendered perfect.

" A field without pasture is not frequented by cattle, neither does a river " without water contain fish. An instructor who knoweth not how to " perform the duties of his situation can have but few disciples, and a " prince who pays little regard to his country and subjects, will in time " not only lose his fame and glory, but his authority also.

" It is well known, that a man cannot take the goods of this world with " him to the grave, and that man after this life is punished with heaven " or hell, according to the merits of his actions in this life: a man's duty, " therefore, requires of him to remember that he must die; and if he " has been merciful and liberal in this life to the poor, he will be reward- " ed hereafter. Happy is the man who divides his property equally " between himself and the indigent, who feeds the poor and clothes the " naked, and relieves all who are in distress; he has hereafter to expect " nothing but good.

" The following animals, as being injurious to the health of man, are not " proper to be used by him as food: rats, dogs, frogs, snakes, worms, " monkeys, lizards, and the like.

" A handsome man is an ornament for the community, and one that has " good manners besides, is an ornament to his prince; but he who " understands the sacred writings is the pride of the community and a " delight to his prince.

" A prince who wishes to know his subjects well, ought to be attentive to

" their

" their manners, actions, and courage; and as gold is known by the
" touchstone, or broken into pieces in order to ascertain its intrinsic
" value, so ought a prince to try his subjects, before he intrusts them
" with the charge of his women or treasure, and make himself acquainted
" with their valour and knowledge: for a person who does not possess
" the qualifications required for this purpose, is unworthy to associate
" with people of condition, and much less to be the servant of a prince."

" If a man violates the law, he may for the first offence be punished by a
" pecuniary fine, for the second by punishment affecting his person, but
" for the third offence he may be punished with death.

" A joy generally followed by sorrow is that which we feel in borrowing
" money. We feel happy in having obtained what we wished, but as
" soon as our creditors come for their money our joy is converted into
" grief; and that is the greatest when the money is spent, and we have
" not wherewith to satisfy our creditors: then arise quarrels and ill will,
" and yet no sooner are these settled than we again have recourse to the
" old habit of lending and borrowing.

" Laughing and joking at our companions is also a bad custom, for it
" generally begets quarrels, and is thus the cause of grief.

" Should medicine be mixed with poison, we would naturally separate the
" poisonous parts before we swallowed it, and we would also clean rusty
" metal in time before it becomes rusty and corroded. In the same
" manner we should distinguish between the good and bad actions of
" man, rewarding knowledge and opposing evil: and be it recollected,
" that a woman, however low her birth, if her manners are amiable and
" her person good, may without impropriety be made the wife of a great
" man.

" Riches only tend to torment the mind of man, and sometimes even to
" death; they are therefore, with justice, disregarded and despised by
" the wise. They are collected with pain and trouble, and our pain and
" trouble doubles in afterwards administering them; for if we neglect to
" watch them properly, thieves will come and steal them, and the loss
" occasions as much grief as the point of death.

" Therefore is it adviseable to give part of our property to the poor and
" indigent, who will thence naturally become under obligations to us, and
" not only assist in guarding our property against all accidents, but pray

" that

" that our property may increase, being themselves interested in our " success, and our names will be blessed by our children and grand- " children.

" As dykes cannot long resist the force of water, unless the water is allow- " ed a free current and a place to pass through, so riches cannot long be " enjoyed, unless employed for charitable purposes; but, on the contrary, " they will turn to the injury of the possessor, both here and hereafter, " who will be exposed to the wrath of all the nine deities.

" *Batára gúru* is cool, still cooler is the moon; but the coolness of neither " is to be compared to that which is instilled by the voice of a holy man. " Fire is hot, still hotter is the sun; but neither is to be compared to " the heat of a man's heart.

Like those flies and birds, which fly in the air to procure food, and still " continue to feed on filth and dirt, is the man of bad character; for " although he may have the means of procuring an honest subsistence, " still will he continue to take what he should not, by unlawful means, " to the prejudice of others. But a good man wishes the success of " another, and is happy when his brother prospers.

" As the moon and stars enlighten the night, and the sun enlighteneth the " day, so do the holy scriptures enlighten the hearts of men; and a son " who is superior in knowledge to his father, is a light to his family.

" A child accustomed to nothing but amusement, neglects the lessons of " its parents. The child on this account, often abandoned to its fate, " becomes a dangerous subject; it is therefore essential that a child " should be kept under subjection while it is yet time to prevent its com- " mitting any bad acts. For this purpose, these rules should be attended " to:

" A child under five years of age may be indulged in many things; but " afterwards it must be kept under strict subjection, and instructed in " the knowledge of the holy writings until its tenth year, when a com- " mencement may be made to instil that sort of knowledge which will " form the intellects for the benefit of society. After the sixteenth year " further instruction must be given in the higher and more important " branches of knowledge.

" Man should always be on his guard against the commission of wicked " acts; for the end of them is always pain and misery.

" A man

" A man must, on no account, listen to the advice of a woman, be she " ever so good; for the end of it will be death and shame: but he must " always consult his own mind in what he has to do or not to do, never " losing sight of the lessons of his instructors. Thus not only will he " obtain knowledge, but his actions will be good.

" Riches, beauty, knowledge, youth, and greatness, often lead a man " into error; he, therefore, who is blessed with any of them ought to " be, at the same time, humble and generous, for then he will excel; " otherwise, his virtues will be hidden.

" As the man who advances by fair means from poverty to riches, or from " insignificance to greatness, is rewarded in this world; so will he who is " generous and kind-hearted be rewarded hereafter in heaven. So will " the warrior killed in battle, who is like a conqueror, enjoy all the " delights imaginable; while a deserter is despised by all men, and " covered with shame and disgrace, because he deserted his comrades in " the moment of danger.

" No man ought to be termed a hero, but he who has already conquered " a hundred heroes; nor should any man be termed a holy man, until " he can boast of surpassing in virtue a hundred holy men: for as long " as a hero has not conquered a hundred heroes, or a holy man has not " surpassed a hundred other holy men in virtue, he can neither be con- " sidered as a real hero or holy man.

" The signs of the approaching end of this world will be all kinds of de- " pravity among mankind; that is to say, the wise will turn foolish, the " holy men will become worldly, children will abandon their parents, " princes will lose their empires, the little will become great and com- " mit depredations; in short, every thing will be in confusion, and an " entire revolution take place.

" In the beginning, every thing was at rest and quiet. During the first " thousand years, princes began to start up, and wars arose about a " woman named *Dewi Darúki*: at this period writing was first " introduced. One thousand five hundred years after this, another war " began about a woman named *Dewi Sinta*. Two thousand years after " this, a third war broke out about a woman named *Dewi Drupádi*: and " two thousand five hundred years afterwards, another war took place " about the daughter of a holy man not named in history.

" Every

" Every man can thus see what has been the first cause of war. Even as " the roots of trees and the course of rivers cannot run straight, but " wind here and there; so cannot a woman be upright: for the saying " is, that a raven can sooner turn white, and the *tanjung*-plant (a water " lily) grow from a rock, than a woman can be upright.

" A perfect man should be, in firmness and ability, equal to eight women; " and to satisfy a woman, a man must be able to please her in nine " different manners.

" A bad man is like a fire, which inflames every thing which approaches " it; we, therefore, ought never to go near it with an intention to ex- " tinguish it. A good man, on the contrary, is like a sweet-scented " tree, which continues to produce flowers and fruit, pleasant to the " taste and smell of every one, and the fragrance of which remains in " the wood even after the tree is cut down and rooted out.

" When a harlot begins to feel shame, then is her improvement approach- " ing; but when a holy man begins to meddle with worldly affairs, then " is he about to become a worldly man himself.

" When a prince allows encroachments to be made on his territories, it " it is a sign that the loss of both his court and lands is nigh at hand.

" A man may receive instruction from his *gúru* (instructor) until his twen- " tieth year: after which he should apply himself to study until his " thirtieth year; at which time he ought to know every thing necessary, " as well for this world as for that to come.

" The art of elocution may properly be reckoned superior to all others, " because happiness and misery, fortune or misfortune, very often depend " upon it: it is, therefore, necessary to use prudence in speech.

" A man who does not eat *síri* (*betel*) does not shine.

" Married people who have no children ought to lead a retired life, and " people without fortune should not attempt to make a shining appear- " ance: they should look pale and melancholy, like unto the dulness " and quiet of a country without a prince.

" These are the qualities necessary to constitute a good housewife:— " She must be well-made and well-mannered, gentle, industrious, rich, " liberal, charming, of good birth, upright, and humble. A stingy, " curious, dirty, foul-mouthed, vulgar, false, intriguing, lazy, or stupid " woman, is not only entirely unfit for a housewife, but will never be " beloved by a husband."

Government. Intimately connected with the character, moral and intellectual, of a people, are its civil and political institutions. In a country like Java, the frame of society is so simple, the hand of power is so universally felt or seen; rank, wealth, and authority are so identified, and the different classes of the community are so referable to each other, by contrast or reciprocal influence, that it was impossible to give any account of the state of the peasantry, or of the tenure and distribution of the land, without introducing some notices concerning government and revenue. As there is little division of labour among a rude people, so there is no division of power in a despotism: the despot is proprietor, all the rest is property.

The island of Java appears at different times to have been divided into states of greater or smaller extent. History informs us, that it was at one period under the sway of one principal chief, and at others subject to two or more. In the former case, the provinces into which it was divided were administered, as they are still, by subordinate and delegated governors; and in the latter, many of them composed independent sovereignties. In all these cases, the form of government and the privileges of the people were the same; the only difference between a state co-extensive with the island, and one limited to a few districts, consisting in the different extent of territory or number of subjects at command. In looking at the map, the divisions of the island now under European dominion, and those under the native princes, can easily be traced. Bantam (the sultan of which surrendered his rights to the British government for a pension of a few thousand dollars), and Chéribon, an extensive province to the eastward of Batavia, enjoyed till lately a nominal independence; but the only great native power on Java, till the establishment of *Yúg'ya-kérta* about sixty years ago, was that of the *Susuhúnan*, or as he is termed the Emperor of Java; and a slight sketch of his government, of the maxims by which it is regulated, and the officers it employs, will be sufficient for my present purpose.

Succession. The sovereign is termed either *Susuhúnan* or Sultan, both denominations adopted since the establishment of Mahometanism: the titles previously employed were *Kiaí Gedé*, *Prábu*, *Browijáya*, &c. as will be perceived on reference to the list of Hindu princes in the historical details. The line of succession to the throne is from father to son, but the rights of primogeniture are not always allowed or observed. If there is no direct descent, the claims of collateral branches of the reigning dynasty are settled by no law or uniform custom. Females have sometimes held offices of power, but

but have never occupied the throne since the establishment of Mahometanism. The chiefs of districts and the heads of villages are sometimes women; in that case, widows continued in the office of their deceased husbands.

Nature of the Government.

The government is in principle a pure unmixed despotism; but there are customs of the country of which the people are very tenacious, and which the sovereign seldom invades. His subjects have no rights of liberty of person or property: his breath can raise the humblest individual from the dust to the highest distinction, or wither the honours of the most exalted. There is no hereditary rank, nothing to oppose his will. Not only honours, posts, and distinctions, depend upon his pleasure, but all the landed property of his dominions remains at his disposal, and may, together with its cultivators, be parcelled out by his order among the officers of his household, the members of his family, the ministers of his pleasures, or the useful servants of the state. Every officer is paid by grants of land, or by a power to receive from the peasantry a certain proportion of the produce of certain villages or districts.

Ministers.

When a sovereign enjoys unlimited power, he generally in eastern countries surrenders it for ease and pleasure, and his servant, under the name of Vizier or some other title, becomes the despot. The highest executive officer or prime minister in the Javan government is called *Ráden Adipáti*: he usually rules the country while his master is satisfied with flattery, with pomp, and the seraglio. He is intrusted with power so great, as even, in particular cases, to extend to the royal family. All communications to and from the sovereign are made through him: he receives all reports from different parts of the country and issues all orders. The power and importance of this office has, however, naturally lessened of late years, since the European government has assumed the right of nominating the person who shall fill it: the sovereign naturally reposes less confidence in a prime minister so nominated than in one of his own choice, and if he does not take an active part himself in the politics of his court, he is generally under the influence of an ambitious member of his own family, by which means the *Ráden Adipáti*, or prime minister, though left to conduct the details of government, is often ignorant of many of the intrigues carried on in the palace.

The gradations of power and rank are as follow.

After the royal family, which includes the prince or sovereign, called *Susuhúnan* or *Sultan*, and the sons and daughters of the sovereign, called *Pangérans*, the heir apparent being called *Pangéran Adipáti*, come the nobility, and at their head the *Ráden Adipáti*.

The nobility or privileged orders may be classed under the two general divisions of *Bopátis*, and their immediate assistants or *Pátehs*, and *Mántris* or public officers. *Bopáti* is the general term given to the governors of provinces, being the plural of *Adipáti*. This, however, is rather a title of office than of mere rank, as these governors are sometimes *Tumúng'gungs*, *An'gebáis*, and of still inferior rank. *Adipáti* appears to be the highest title below royalty. The dignity of this title, as well as that of others, is again raised, by prefixing the epithet *Kiai* (venerable) or *Mas* (golden), as *Kiai-adipáti*, *Kiai-tumúng'gung*, *Mas-adipáti*, *Mas-tumúng'gung*. *Ráden-tumúng'gung* is also occasionally used, to express a rank above an ordinary *Tumúng'gung*, in the same manner as *Ráden Adipáti*.

These officers, when appointed to the administration of provinces, are called Regents by the Dutch. Since the innovations of Europeans, the distinctions above referred to have been a good deal confounded. In the *Súnda* districts, where the absolute sway of the native sovereign has long ceased to be felt, and in the eastern provinces, which are subject to Europeans, the Regent assumes the state of a petty sovereign, and is the fountain of honour. The power and rank attached to particular titles, especially those of inferior importance, differs in some degree almost in every province.

The sons of the Regents, or of those who may be properly termed the nobles of the country, are usually called *Rádens*, and in the *Súnda* districts invariably so; but there is properly no hereditary nobility, no hereditary titles, although few people have a greater respect for family descent than the Javans; custom and consideration, in this as in other cases, generally supplying the place of law.

Government of the provinces.

Nearly the same form of government is followed in the administration of each particular province as is observed in the general administration of the country, every *Adipáti*, or governor of a province, having a *Páteh*, or assistant, who acts as his minister. In general there is a *Páteh-luar*, and a *Páteh-dalam*; one for conducting affairs abroad or public business, the other for the superintendence of the household.

The

The same union of the judicial, revenual, and executive authority, which exists in the sovereign, descends to the governor of a province; and if there are subdivisions of the province, it descends to each head of the subdivision. This is also the case with each village; the consequence of which is, that every chief, of whatever rank, has an almost absolute power over those below him. The only exception to this, and the only part of the Javan constitution which wears the appearance of liberty, is the mode of appointing the heads of villages; these are elected by the people, as will be hereafter more particularly described.

In every considerable province or district there are several subdivisions, over which an inferior chief presides: the district of *Semárang*, for instance, has several. Although this absolute authority is vested in the different chiefs, according to their ranks, it is dangerous for a public functionary, whatever be his rank, and even for he *Susuhúnan* himself, to violate what is called the custom of the country; and the ancient Hindu institutions are revered and generally followed by all classes. The priests also exercise a considerable influence; and although the power of the *Jáksa*, or law officer, is essentially reduced since the establishment of Mahometanism, and a great part of his authority transferred to the *Panghúlu* or Mahometan priest, he is still efficient, as far as concerns the police and minor transactions. The observations which follow on the administration of justice and the judicial instructions established by the British government, will explain the present nature of his duties.

In the suite of every governor of a province, of his *Páteh*, or assistant, and of every public functionary of importance, are numerous petty chiefs, generally classed as *Mantris*, but having various titles, as *Demángs*, *Lúras*, *Klíwons*, &c. varying in authority and relative rank in different districts.

Three-fourths of the island having been long subjected to the European authority, and the provinces which still remain under native administration having been divided under two distinct authorities, and their original constitution otherwise departed from, it would be impossible to lay down a scale of rank for the different titles of honour, which should be applicable to every part of the island, but the subject will be resumed in a future chapter.

The following observations of Mr. Hogendorp, who resided on Java not many years before the arrival of the English, and was employed in a commission of inquiry into the state of the island, are extracted from a report or memoir which he drew up for the use of the Dutch government, recommending

mending a policy similar to that which we subsequently pursued. They contain a just account of the principles of the Javan government, and of the state of the regents under the Dutch Company. After remarking, in perhaps too broad and unqualified terms, that the structure of the government is feudal, he proceeds to state:

Mr. Hogendorp's view of the Javan constitution.

"The first principles of the feudal system, which form the basis of the "whole edifice, are: that the land is the property of the sovereign; that "the inhabitants are his slaves, and can therefore possess no property, all "that they have and all that they can obtain belonging to the sovereign, "who allows them to keep it no longer than he chooses; and that the will "of the prince is the supreme law.

"These are the real fundamental principles of the feudal system: for "though the English and French kings could not always maintain their "despotic sway, but were sometimes opposed, hostilely attacked, and even "forced by arms to treat for terms with their subjects, this was only the "natural consequence of the acknowledged rule, that *tyranny destroys itself;* "and it is only necessary to revert to what James and Charles of England, "in so late a period, thought their divine rights of royalty, to ascertain what "were the rudiments of the feudal form of government: and even now, "notwithstanding the numerous changes and revolutions which have hap-"pened in England, the most surprizing traces of that system are to be "found, since in that country, so free, no individual soever possesses a "foot of land in absolute property (allodium), but merely from the king "(feodum), to whom only belongs the *dominium absolutum et directum,* "although subsequent laws and regulations have rendered this title more "imaginary than real.

"The same system of government has been continued in the Company's "districts, under the pretext of allowing the natives to retain their own "laws and customs, but in reality from ignorance and self-interest. "Although they were too ignorant to effect any improvement, they knew "perfectly well that this plan was the best adapted to promote their own "interest and advantage.

"The princes of Java, as well as those of Europe in former times, and "as a natural effect of the same cause, were also almost continually at war "with their chief vassals, until the Dutch power and influence re-esta-"blished and maintained the general tranquillity. This, however, has never "had any effect on the system of government itself, and the subject who

"dethroned

" dethroned his sovereign and then succeeded him, thought that he had " thereby obtained the same *divine right* of property in the lands and per- " sons of his subjects, as his predecessor had possessed.

" The princes allotted the lands to their chiefs and immediate depen- " dents, as rewards for military and other services. These chiefs (termed " by the Dutch, regents) again subdivided the lands among others of " inferior rank, on the same conditions, and so on, down to the poor " labourer who cultivated the land, but to whom a very small proportion of " the fruits of his labour was left for his own support.

" The exclusive administration of the country was conferred on the " regents, an appellation given to the native chiefs, who had acquired " their lands from the Dutch, by contract or agreement, binding them " annually to deliver, partly for payment and partly not, a quantity, in some " cases fixed, in others uncertain, of the produce of such lands, obliging them " also to the performance of feudal services, both of a military and other " nature.

" The titles of these regents are either *Adipáti*, *Tumúng'gung*, or " *Ang'ebái*. The Prince of *Madúra*, styled *Panambáhan*, and the Prince " of *Súmenap*, who is called *Pangéran*, are however only regents as well " as the rest. The Prince of *Madúra* enjoys that title as being of the " imperial family, and the Prince of *Súmenap* purchased his by a large " payment to a Govenor-General.

" These regents are only officers of government, and possess not the " smallest right to hereditary possession or succession. Yet when one " of them dies, he is in general replaced by one of his sons, con- " sidered most fit for the office, provided he can afford to pay the " customary present to the governor of the north-east coast of Java; for if " he is unable to do this, or if any other person offers a more considerable " sum, a pretence is easily found to exclude the children in favour of the " more liberal purchaser.

" These presents form a principal part of the emoluments of the governor " of the north-east coast, and consequently all new appointments of regents " are for his advantage. The present chief regent of *Samárang* paid " 50,000 dollars for his promotion, and all the children of his predecessor " were superseded. The others pay in proportion to the value of their " regencies; and as this is arbitrary and uncertain, it is easily to be

" conceived,

" conceived, that they find means to recover the amount of their place-
" money.*

" These Regents, although very proud, are, with very few exceptions,
" ignorant and idle persons, who give themselves little concern about
" their lands and their people; of whom, indeed, they frequently know
" nothing, but only endeavour to squeeze and extort from them as much
" as possible, both for their own subsistence and pleasure, and to satisfy
" the cupidity of government and of their immediate superiors. They
" leave the administration of affairs entirely to their *Pátehs*, who are also
" appointed by the Dutch, and are held accountable for every thing.†

" To

* This payment is regularly termed by the Dutch, *ampt-geld*, or place-money, being money paid for the purchase of an office. By the Javans it is termed *sorok*, which, in its more general acceptation, means a bribe.

† With whatever fidelity this character of the Javan regents may have been drawn by Mr. Hogendorp, in the year 1800, it most certainly did not apply to them in the year 1811, nor in the subsequent years of the British government on Java; for, however negligent and corrupt many of them may have been rendered, by the system of government which prevailed under the Dutch East India Company, the changes effected during the administration of Marshal Daendals soon induced a character for energy and activity. His government was military and despotic in the extreme, and the regents were considered to hold a military rank, and required to exert themselves in proportion to its importance. They did so, and works of the greatest magnitude were constructed by their exertions. The chiefs were found active and intelligent, the common people willing and obedient. With regard to their character under the British government, it would be an act of injustice, if not ingratitude, were I to neglect this opportunity of stating, that, as public officers, the Regents of Java were almost universally distinguished by an anxiety to act in conformity with the wishes of the government, by honesty, correctness, and good faith; and as noblemen, by gentlemanly manners, good breeding, cheerfulness, and hospitality. In the observations made upon the Javan character in the text, I have, spoken of the Javans as a nation generally; but I might select instances where the character of the individual would rise very far above the general standard which I have assumed. I might, for instance, notice the intellectual endowments and moral character of the present *Panambáhan* of *Súmenap*, *Náta Kasúma*. This chief is well read, not only in the ancient history of his own country, but has a general knowledge of Arabic literature, is conversant with the Arabic treatises on astronomy, and is well acquainted with geography. He is curious in mechanics, attentive to the powers of mechanism, and possesses a fund of knowledge which has surprised and delighted all who have had an opportunity of conversing with him and of appreciating his talents. Of his moral character I have given an instance, in the manner in which he liberated his slaves. He is revered, not only for his superior qualifications and talents, but also for the consideration and attention he pays to the happiness and comfort of the people committed to his charge.

Of

" To their brothers, wives, children, and other near relations, they assign " villages or *désas*, sufficient for their maintenance, for all these consider " themselves born not to work, and look upon the peasantry as only made " for the purpose of providing for their support.

" In order to collect the rice and other kinds of produce, which they " are by contract obliged to deliver to the Company as contingents, they " compel the inhabitants of the district to furnish as much of it as is at all " possible, without any fixed ratio or calculation, and without any kind of " payment, leaving them scarcely what is absolutely necessary for their " own support and that of their families, and even sometimes not nearly " so much, especially in the event of failure in the crops; on which " occasions, the miserable inhabitants desert by hundreds to other districts, " where, at least in the first instance, they may expect a less rigorous " treatment. Several regents also, when distressed for money, are com- " pelled by want, to let out many of their best *désas* to the Chinese: these " blood-suckers then extort from such villages as much as they can pos- " sibly contrive, while the inhabitants of the other *désas* are alone obliged

Of the capacity of the Javans to improve, of their anxiety to advance in civilization, and of the rapidity with which they receive knowledge and instruction, an instance might be given in the case of the two sons of the Regent of *Semárang*, *Kiái Adipáti Súra Adimangála*. This Regent, who, next to the *Panambáhan* of *Súmenap*, is the first in rank as well as character, shortly after the establishment of the British government on Java, sent his sons to Bengal, in order that they might there receive an education superior to what they could have at home. They remained there for about two years, under the immediate protection and patronage of the late Earl of Minto, and on their return not only conversed and wrote in the English language with facility and correctness, but evinced considerable proficiency in every branch of knowledge to which their attention had been directed. The eldest, in particular, had made such progress in mathematics before he quitted Calcutta, as to obtain a prize at a public examination, and had acquired a general knowledge of the ancient and modern history of Europe, particularly in that of Greece and Rome. He is remarked for his graceful and polite manners, for the propriety of his conduct, and for the quickness and correctness of his observation and judgment. As this is the first instance that has been afforded of the capacity of the Javan character to improve under an European education, it may enable the reader to form some estimate of what that character was formerly in more propitious times, and of what it may attain to hereafter under a more beneficent government. Among all the English on Java, who have had an opportunity of conversing with this young nobleman, there has not been one who has hesitated to admit, that his mind, his qualifications, and conduct, would be conspicuous among their own countrymen at the same age, and that, as an accomplished gentleman, he was fitted for the first societies of Europe. This young man, *Ráden Sáleh*, is now about sixteen years of age, and when the British left Java was an assistant to his father as Regent of *Semárang*.

" to deliver the contingent required from the whole aggregate. It may " easily be conceived, how oppressively this demand must fall upon those " unhappy individuals; and how greatly these and other acts of injustice, " which are the natural consequences of the present faulty administration, " must tend to the ruin of the country, it would be superfluous reasoning " to prove."

The only restraint upon the will of the head of the government is the custom of the country, and the regard which he has for his character among his subjects. To shew what that character ought to be, what is expected of a good prince, and what are the reciprocal duties of a prince, prime minister, and people, I may here quote a few sentences out of the *Niti Prája*, a work in very high esteem and constantly referred to by the Javans.

Princes. " A good prince must protect his subjects against all unjust persecutions " and oppressions, and should be the light of his subjects, even as the sun " is the light of the world. His goodness must flow clear and full, like the " mountain stream, which in its course towards the sea enriches and ferti- " lizes the land as it descends. He must consider, that as the withered " foliage of the trees awaiteth the coming of rain to flourish anew, so are " his subjects waiting for his benevolence, to be provided with food, with " raiment, and with beautiful women. If, on the contrary, a prince neg- " lects to extend his benevolence and protection towards his subjects, he " exposes himself to be abandoned by them, or at any rate to lose their " confidence; for it is an undeniable truth, that no one will be faithful or " attached to a man upon whom no dependence can be placed.

" When a prince gives audience to the public, his conduct must be dig- " nified. He must sit upright and not in a bending posture, and say little, " neither looking on one side or the other, because, in this case, the people " would not have a proper sight of him. He must assume a pleasing " appearance, which will enable him to observe his subjects who surround " him, and then inquire if any one has any thing to say to him; and if " there is, he must animate him to speak openly.

" In his discourse he must not speak loud, but low and with dignity, " and not more than is necessary for the purpose; for it does not become " a prince to withdraw his words if once given, and much less to give them " another turn.

" It is, above all, the duty of a prince to take notice of every thing " going on in his country and among his subjects, and if possible to turn

" every

" every thing to a good end: if he passes over unnoticed the least crime,
" he may create numerous enemies. It is further the duty of a prince,
" besides knowing the merits of his subjects and the state of his country,
" to explain all abstract and difficult expressions, particularly such as occur
" in writings.

" It is a disgrace to a prime minister, for any hostile attack to be made on Ministers.
" the country intrusted to his charge without his knowledge, or that he
" should be careless or inattentive to the same, rather thinking how to
" obtain the favour of his prince than to secure the safety of the country.
" So it is when he does not understand how to administer the country pro-
" perly, or fails to invent what is useful; when he makes many promises,
" but fulfils few; when he is careless with regard to public affairs, and talks
" much about what is of no consequence, seeking to be admired by the
" people, and putting on fair appearances when his intentions do not corres-
" pond; when he cares nothing about the misfortunes of his inferiors, pro-
" vided he gets money himself; when, finally, he is not faithful but deceit-
" ful. Such a prime minister is like the hawk, which soars high in the air,
" but descends low on the earth to seize and steals its food.

" But a good prime minister is he who is upright in his heart, moderate
" in his fear of the prince, faithfully obedient to all his orders, kind-
" hearted, not oppressive to the people, and always exerting himself to the
" utmost for the happiness of the people and the welfare of the country.

" And a prime minister is good beyond measure, who can always please
" his prince in every thing that is good; who knows every thing that is
" going on in the country, and takes proper measures accordingly; who
" always exerts himself to avert whatever is likely to be injurious; who
" considers nothing too trifling to merit his attention; who accumulates
" not wealth, but offers to his prince whatever comes in his way that is
" curious; who heeds not his own life in effecting what is right; who con-
" siders neither friends, family, nor enemies, but does justice alike to all;
" who cares not when he is praised or reviled, but trusts to the dispensa-
" tions of Providence; who possesses much experience; who can bear
" poverty, and cares not for the enjoyment of pleasures; who is polite to
" every one; who with good will gives alms to the poor and helpless; who
" consults much with his brother officers, with whom he ought always to
" advise on affairs of business. Against such a prime minister it is impossi-
" ble for any one to speak, for he will be feared at the same that the people

" will become attached to him: the people will then live quiet and happy,
" perform their labours with cheerfulness, and wish that his administration
" may be lasting.

" A prime minister ought nevertheless not to be too confident in this,
" but always remain on his guard against the designs of bad men.

" There are many examples of such prime ministers: among which is
" *Rája Jájahan*, prime minister of *Mesir* Egypt), to whom all the people
" of the country, great and small, were much attached.

" Whenever his brother officers intended to visit the prince for the pur-
" pose of paying their respects, they always assembled at the prime minis-
" ter's house where they generally partook of a meal: after this they pro-
" ceeded to the court, followed by the prime minister on foot, dressed in
" white, with only three attendants, carrying a spear and other articles of
" state before him. By this conduct he supposed that he was screened from
" reproach and that he was freed from enemies; but at the very time there
" were enemies conspiring against his life, as was afterwards discovered:
" therefore ought a prime minister not only to be virtuous, but cautious
" also, and always armed against his enemies, in the same manner as a
" sportsman arms himself against wild beasts.

Subjects. " A subject going into the presence of his prince must be clean and
" well-dressed, wearing proper *chelána* (pantaloons). He must have a good
" girdle and a sharp *krís*, and be anointed with aromatic oils. He must
" range himself with his equals, and convince them of his abilities and
" good breeding; because from this it is that he has to expect favour or
" disgrace, grief or joy, happiness or misery; for a prince can either
" exalt or humble him.

" A prince is like a *dálang* (*wáyang* player), his subjects like *wayángs*,
" and the law is as the wick of the lamp used in these entertainments: for
" a prince can do with his subjects what he pleases, in the same manner
" as the *dálang* acts with his *wáyangs* according to his own fancy; the
" prince having the law, and the *dálang* the lamp, to prevent them from
" going out of the right way.

" In like manner, as it is incumbent on the *dálang* to make magnanimity
" and justice the principal subjects of his representation, in order that the
" spectators may be instructed and animated thereby, so should a prince,
" a prime minister, and chief officers of the court, direct the administration
" of the country with such propriety, that the people may attach themselves

" to

" to them; they must see that the guilty are punished, that the innocent " be not persecuted, and that all persons falsely accused be immediately " released, and remunerated for the sufferings they may have endured."

Administration of justice.

The judicial and executive powers are generally exercised by the same individual. The written law of the island, according to which justice is administered and the courts are regulated, is that of the *Koran*, as modified by custom and usage. The Javans have now been converted to the Mahometan religion about three centuries and a half, dating from the destruction of the Hindu kingdom of *Majapáhit*, in the year 1400 of the Javan æra. Of all the nations who have adopted that creed, they are among the most recent converts; and it may be safely added, that few others are so little acquainted with its doctrines, and partake so little of its zeal and intolerance. The consequence is, that although the Mahometan law be in some instances followed, and it be considered a point of honour to profess an adherence to it, it has not entirely superseded the ancient superstitions and local customs of the country.

Court and law officers.

The courts of justice are of two descriptions: those of the *Panghúlu* or high priest, and those of the *Jáksa*. In the former the Mahometan law is more strictly followed; in the latter it is blended with the customs and usages of the country.

Their jurisdictions.

The former take cognisance of capital offences, of suits of divorce, of contracts and inheritance; they are also, in some respects, courts of appeal from the authority of the *Jáksa*. The latter take cognisance of thefts, robberies, and all inferior offences; its officers are employed in taking down depositions, examining evidence, inspecting the general police of the country, and in some measure acting as public prosecutors: these last functions are implied in the title of the office itself, *jáksa* meaning to guard or watch.*

At

* The following description of the office of a *Jáksa*, and of the qualifications requisite for fulfilling his important duties, is taken from the *Niti Prája*, a work already referred to.

" A *Jáksa* must, in all cases, be impartial, to enable him to weigh all causes which come " before him with the same exactness as merchandize is weighed in a scale, and nicely ba- " lance the equilibrium, nothing adding or taking from either side.

" He must be above all bribery, either by words or money, and never allow himself to be " induced to commit an act of injustice; for were a *Jáksa* to commit an act of this kind, the " consequences could not but be highly injurious to the country.

" He must not accept presents of any kind from the parties whose cause comes before him, " not only because he cannot expect to derive advantage therefrom, but also because the " public will hold discourse concerning him highly injurious to his reputation.

" All

At the seat of government are supreme courts of the *Panghúlu* and *Jáksa*: to these there is an appeal from similar but inferior tribunals, established within each province. Petty tribunals, under like names, are even established under the jurisdiction of a *Demáng*, or chief of a sub-division, and sometimes of a *Bákal*, or head of a village; but in these the authority of the *Panghúlu* and *Jáksa* extend no further than to take down evidence to be transmitted to some higher authority, to settle petty disputes, and perform the ordinary ceremonies of religion, inseparable among the Javans, as well as all other Mahometans, from the administration of justice.

Interference of the executive.

Such however is the nature of the native government, that these officers are considered rather as the law assessors or council of the immediate superior officer of the executive government, than as independent ministers of justice. In such cases as come before them, they examine the evidence, and point out the law and custom to the executive officer, who is himself generally too ignorant and indolent to undertake it. When the evidence is gone through and the point of law ascertained, the whole is brought before him, at whose discretion it rests to pass judgment. It is however admitted, that in matters of little moment, where his passions and interests are not concerned, the division is frequently left to the law officers; but in all matters of importance he will not fail to exercise his privileges of interference.

The

" All causes in dispute must be decided upon by him with the least possible delay, accord-
" ing to law, and not kept long in suspense, to the injury of the parties concerned, lest he be
" considered like a holy man, who, for the sake of money, sacrifices his good name.

" A *Jáksa* must inquire into every circumstance relating to the causes brought before him,
" and duly investigate the evidence; after which he must take the cause into consideration.
" He must not, in the least, listen to what is false, and on all occasions must decide accord-
" ing to truth.

" A *Jáksa* who attends to all these points is of high repute. Of less repute is a *Jáksa* who,
" in the decision of causes which come before him, listens to the advice of others: such a
" one is like that kind of bird, which in order to procure for itself the necessary food,
" dives under water, without thinking of the danger to which it is exposed of losing its life
" from the want of air. But entirely unfit for employment is a *Jáksa* who is haughty in his
" demeanour, and at the same time low enough to take advantage of persons who come before
" him: such a one is like a bat, that in the dark steals the fruit from the trees; or like a sports-
" man, who though destined to chase what is useful only, indiscriminately destroys whatever
" comes in his way, whether useful or not. In the same manner is it with a priest who every
" day attends at the temple, for no other purpose but to make profit by it; or with a writer,
" who knows not how to make any thing but by the prostitution of his writings; or with the
" head man of a village, who imposes upon the villagers; or a devotee, who gains his
" livelihood by necromancy."

The court of justice in which the *Panghúlu* or high priest presides, is always held in the *serámbi*, or portico of the mosque; a practice which, as it inspires the people with a considerable share of awe, appears judicious. It is also convenient for the administration of oaths, which among the Javans are always administered within the mosque, and usually with much solemnity. The forms of the court are regular, orderly, and tedious; all evidence is taken down in writing, and apparently with much accuracy. Where the courts are held.

The court, at least at the seat of government, consists of the *Panghúlu*, the officiating priest of the mosque, and four individuals, also of the religious order, called *Páteh nagári*, meaning literally the pillars or supports of the country, to whom, after the examination of evidence in capital offences, the point of law and decision is referred. At the seat of government the sovereign or his minister passes judgment. Mode of proceeding.

The court of the *Jáksa* at the seat of government consists of the head *Jáksa*, who may be styled the law officer of the prime minister, and the *Jáksas* of his *Klíwons* or assistants, for they too have their law councils. The functions of this court being of less importance, of a more mixed nature, and less solemn because less connected with religion, are still more subject than that of the *Panghúlu* to the rude interference of the executive authority.*

The Javan code of law is divided into two departments, that of the Mahomedan law and that of custom and tradition. The former is distinguished by the appellation of *húkum állah*, the *commands of God*, from the Arabic; the latter by the Javan words *yúdha nagára*, meaning consideration for the country, or in other words, allowance for the state of society. Laws.

The decisions in Mahometan law are chiefly guided by several works in the Arabic language. In all the courts of Java these works are said to be consulted in the Arabic language, but reference is more frequently made to

* The following was the usual course of proceeding in *Japára*, and generally in the provinces subjected to European authority, previous to the interference of the British government. The plaintiff went to the *Jáksa* and made his complaint. If the case was important, the *Jáksa* took down the deposition in writing in the presence of witnesses, summoned the accused, and communicated the deposition to him. The latter then either acknowledged or denied the facts, witnesses were examined, and the proceedings of the suit laid before the Regent, who after perusal transmitted the same to the *Panghúlu* for his advice, with which the latter complied, referring at the same time for a sentence to some of the collections on Mahometan law. The Regent having compared the sentence with the law and with equity, and finding the same correspondent with both, judgment was pronounced by the *Jáksa*.

to a collection of opinions extracted from them, and translated into the language of the country.

The law of custom is chiefly handed down by oral tradition, but has in part been committed to writing in the following performances.

Collections of law.

The earliest work relating to jurisprudence which is now referred to, is that of *Júgul Múda Páteh*, or minister of *Sri Ma Púng'gung* (of *Méndang Kamúlan*), now *Wirosúri:* it is computed to be about six hundred years old. The second bears the name of *Rája Kápa*, said to have been the son of *Júgul Múda*, and like him minister of his sovereign *Kandiáwan*, also prince of *Méndang Kamúlan*.

By the authority of the Sultan of *Demák*, the first Mahometan prince, a compilation of the Javan laws was made, in which they were in some measure blended with the Mahometan jurisprudence. Probably this was intended to pave the way to an entire introduction of Mahometan law. The body of regulations, &c. compressed in these codes is curious, from the laborious refinement of their distinctions, from the mixture of moral maxims and illustrations with positive law, from the most incongruous combinations, and from their casuistical spirit. In the Appendix will be found the translation of a modern version of the *Súria Alem*, a work of this description in high repute, as well as an abstract of the laws and regulations said to have been in force in the earliest periods to which Javan tradition refers.*

The proclamations (*úndang-úndang*), and the laws and regulations (*ánger ángeran*) of the sovereign, form another source of deviation from the Mahometan law. Collections of these have been committed to writing.

Changes in Mahometan law by the sovereign.

The prince, by himself or his officers, is always supposed vested with a discretionary power of adapting the Mahometan law to the circumstances of society, a prerogative liberally exercised. This power, which sanctions every deviation from the letter of Musselman law, the Javans, also, express by the term of *yúdha nagára*. The krising of criminals instead of beheading them, the combat of criminals with tigers, the severe penalties for infractions of the sumptuary laws of the Javans, the constant commutation of corporeal punishment for a pecuniary fine, and in the case of persons of rank found guilty of murder the commutation of the strict law of retaliation for a fine, without regard to the wishes of the relations of the deceased,

* See Appendix C.

deceased, if the latter be of no consideration, were among the deviations from the Mahometan law sanctioned by the *Yúdha nagára*.

Such was the composition of the courts, and the code of laws that existed on Java before the arrival of the Dutch, and remained unchanged at the conquest of the island by the British. The Dutch legislated for the colonists, but took little interest in the system by which the judicial proceedings of their native subjects were guided, excepting in so far as their own advantage or security was concerned in them. The following statement contains the changes introduced by the Dutch.

Colonial laws.

Besides the colonial laws and regulations, enacted from time to time by the Governors in Council at Batavia; besides some standing orders of the Court of Directors, and some rules and provisions contained in the successive charters of the Company, and in what was called the *article brief*; the Dutch law, which was always considered as the foundation of the colonial law, was of authority, as far as it remained unaffected by these institutions.

A collection of the colonial statutes and regulations, called the *Placart* Book of Batavia, and an abstract of them, entitled the *Statutes* of *Batavia*, were made under the authority of the colonial government; but as the latter never underwent a regular promulgation, the rules contained in it were not considered as possessing the force of law, except in so far as they might be found to be conformable to the orders, proclamations, and regulations of the Indian government, or of the Directors of the East-India Company.

The power of the Directors and of the Council of Batavia to enact local laws and regulations, seems not to have been very circumspectly defined in the first charters of the Company, those charters conferring on them, in general terms only, authority to provide for the administration of justice and establishment of police.

But from the nature of the occasion it seems evident, that this power of making colonial laws, as far at least as related to the Council of Batavia, could only have been a limited one, to be exercised with considerable discretion, and only upon points requiring an immediate provision, subject always to the approbation of the authorities at home; and even the Directors could hardly be considered to have possessed a greater extent of legislative power, than was necessary for the security of their new territories, and of their rights and privileges, or to have been authorised to deviate wantonly from the established law of the country, or neglect the dictates of justice and equity.

In the great variety of matter comprehended in the colonial statutes, no subject seems to have occupied more attention than the laws respecting slavery. These, as already observed, appear to have been formed in general upon principles of humanity and consideration for the condition of the unfortunate beings to whom they related.

In consequence of a resolution of the year 1760, the Council of India ordered that the customs of the Mahometans, in matters of inheritance and successions *ab intestat*, &c. should be sanctioned and published.

Jurisdiction in different parts of the island.

In civil matters, natives and Chinese in the districts of Batavia seem to have been governed by the same laws as the European inhabitants.

Crimes committed by natives or Chinese in the city of Batavia and its environs, had, from the first settlement of the Dutch on the island, always been tried by European judges, and according to European law.

In Bantam the criminal jurisdiction over the natives was left to the Sultan, and that over the Chinese resident there, was exercised as at Batavia according to the European law.

The *Jakatra* and *Priáng'en* Regencies seem formerly to have enjoyed a peculiar and fortunate state of tranquillity. Almost entirely removed from every communication and intercourse with Europeans, Chinese, and other foreign settlers found in the neighbourhood of Batavia, engaged in agriculture, and ruled by their own native chiefs, these districts seem to have been in a high degree free from crime; but whenever enormities did happen, the offenders were sent down to Batavia, and tried according to European law. It is to be observed, however, that on the first submission of those districts to the Company, their chiefs or regents reserved to themselves the jurisdiction over the inhabitants of their respective districts; but this stipulation appears to have been disregarded in the latter times of the Dutch Company, and under the late administration of Marshal Daendals, a court was established for these districts, the rule of which was European law.

From Chéribon the Chinese were amenable, as from Bantam and Batavia; but the natives were subject to a *landraad* (or local court), of which the Resident was president, and the Sultans members; and this court was, partly at least, directed by a *papákam*, or native code, compiled under the sanction of the government.

In the Eastern Districts of the island, the Javans seem always, in criminal matters, to have enjoyed their own laws, founded on ancient custom and

and the precepts of the *Koran*. Of these laws the Council of Batavia caused abstracts to be printed, for the guidance of the great *landraad* or high court, at *Semárang*, to which all the Javans in the European provinces, from *Losári* to *Banyuwángi* were amenable.

Police.

Under the native government, the prime minister (*Ráden Adipáti*) is the head of the police, as well as of every other department of authority. The higher class of functionaries is most frequently to be found in those parts of the country most remote from the seat of government, where, as governors of provinces, they possess some extension of powers. The great and fertile provinces near the capital, on the other hand, are divided into small appropriations, of from two hundred to one thousand *cháchas*, or families, placed under the administration of division officers, whose authority is limited to the duties of police.

Each village is possessed of a distinct organization within itself, has its chief, its *Kabáyan* or assistant, and if of any considerable size, its priest, whose advice is frequently had recourse to, and who generally decides petty disputes, especially respecting divorces and matters of inheritance. The chief of the village is not without his share of judicial authority, and often takes upon himself to punish by fine and imprisonment. In each village the inhabitants keep regular nightly watches and patroles.

The manner in which these little societies have been recently formed in the districts to the east of *Surabáya*, where the European authority had not interfered, and where the influence of the Mahometan government was scarcely felt, will tend to illustrate their nature and constitution.

The frequent wars, in which the people had been engaged with the inhabitants of *Báli* and *Madúra*, as well as with the Dutch, had reduced those provinces to a state of wilderness towards the middle of the last century. The encouragement held out to the people of the neighbouring island of *Madúra* brought over several adventurers, who were allowed to occupy the land they cleared; first rent-free, and afterwards at a fixed assessment. If several persons came together, their leader was invested with the authority of *Petíng'gi* over the new village which they formed. When individuals associated to construct a village, the chief was elected by themselves, subject to the approval of the landlord; and they possessed the privilege, common in all the districts east of *Surabáya*, of annually electing their chief, or *Petíng'gi*.

The nature of the duties rendered by this person was so essential to the well-being of a village, that this privilege was most intimately connected with its existence. Whenever a new assessment was imposed on the lands, it was the business of the *Petíng'gi*, if the amount was too high, to represent the matter to the superior, and to state the inability of the people to make good the demand: the consequence was, either a reduction of assessment on the part of the principal, or desertion on that of the people. But when the amount of the assessment was considered reasonable (and any amount less than three-fifths seems to have been so considered), the *Petíng'gi* had to assemble all the people, and to distribute to each, in the common presence of all, his individual proportion of land, with a statement of the produce to be paid. He had to keep a roster of all duties required of the people, and to see that every man took his proper turn. When the harvest ripened, he had to watch the collectors, that they exacted no more from each man than his proportion; and the cultivator, that he did not embezzle any part of the due of government. In large villages he had an assistant, called a *Kabáyan*, who represented him during his absence, and with the *Kamitúah* and *Múdin* (priest), formed a court for settling petty village disputes; subject, however, to a reference, if the parties should be dissatisfied.

It was customary for the people of the village to cultivate the lands of their *Petíng'gi* without payment. This and the honour of chiefship rendered the office an object of village ambition; while an annual election, and the fear, if turned out, of being called upon to justify his conduct, rendered this officer generally a steady and careful representative of his constituents.

All strangers passing through the country were expected to apply to the *Petíng'gi* for the assistance they required; and if payment was tendered, all procurable necessaries were furnished. The *Petíng'gi* also took charge of the strangers' property, examined the same in the presence of the other head-man, and was bound to return the whole undiminished the next morning, or to pay the value. If, however, the stranger preferred keeping his property under his own charge, and rested himself for the night under some of the public sheds, the loss he might sustain fell on himself alone, and all he could procure from the village was assistance to trace the offenders.

It

It was customary, as well to deter beasts of prey as thieves, for a part of the men of each village to keep a night watch round it, and to perform this duty in successive rotation.

Such appears to have been the internal regulation of these villages; and it seems to have been framed according to the ancient usage of the island, the similarity of which to that of Western India has been adduced as a strong instance of one common origin.*

It

* With the exception, perhaps, of the right of election, which I have not seen noticed in any account of Continental India, the constitution of the Javan village has a striking resemblance to that of the Hindus, according to the following statement in the Fifth Report of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs. "A village, geographically considered, is a tract of "country comprizing some hundreds or thousands of acres of arable and waste lands; politi- "cally viewed, it resembles a corporation or township. Its proper establishment of officers "and servants consists of the following descriptions: the *Potail* or head inhabitant, who has "generally the superintendence of the affairs of the village, settles the disputes of the inhabi- "tants, attends to the police, and performs the duty of collecting the revenues within his village, "a duty which his personal influence and minute acquaintance with the situation and concerns "of the people render him the best qualified to discharge. The *Kurnum*, who keeps the accounts "of cultivation and registers every thing connected with it. The *Tallier* and *Totie*, the duty of "the former appearing to consist in a wider and more enlarged sphere of action, in gaining in- "formation of crimes and offences, and in escorting and protecting persons travelling from one "village to another; the province of the latter appearing to be more immediately confined to "the village, consisting among other duties in guarding the crops and assisting in measuring "them. The boundary man, who preserves the limits of the village, or gives evidence respect- "ing them in cases of dispute. The superintendent of *tanks* and watercourses, distributes "the water therefrom for the purposes of agriculture. The *Bramin*, who performs the village "worship. The schoolmaster, who is seen teaching the children in a village to read and write "in the sand. The calendar *Bramin* or astrologer, &c.

"These officers and servants generally constitute the establishment of a village; but in some "parts of the country it is of less extent, some of the duties and functions above described "being united in the same person: in others it exceeds the number of individuals which have "been described.

"Under this simple form of municipal government, the inhabitants of the country have "lived from time immemorial. The boundaries of the villages have been but seldom altered; "and though the villages themselves have been sometimes injured, and even desolated by "war, famine, and disease, the same name, the same limits, the same interests, and even the "same families, have continued for ages. The inhabitants give themselves no trouble about "the breaking up and division of kingdoms: while the village remains entire, they care not "to what power it is transferred or to what sovereign it devolves; its internal economy "remains unchanged. The *Potail* is still the head inhabitant, and still acts as the petty "judge and magistrate, and collector or renter of the village."

In

It follows from the above, that each village has in itself the materials of a good police, and that a right of choosing their chiefs gives to the people a considerable share of real liberty.* This right of election in the inhabitants of the village, as before observed, would appear at one time to have been general throughout the island. It is still respected in the districts of *Surabáya*, where the office of *Peting'gi* was always elective, for although the same person might hold it for many years, a ballot for the situation was regularly held at specified periods, varying from one to three years.†

The right of election is also clearly acknowledged in the districts of *Japára* and *Jawána*. "That the *Peting'gi* is elected by the inhabitants of "a village," observes the officer who introduced the settlement into those districts,‡ "there cannot be a doubt; and if even the right of election is "foregone by the people, though I have not met with a single instance of "the kind, it may be taken for granted, that it is so only, in consequence "of the influence of the Regent, to serve some particular purpose. While "the *Peting'gi* continues in office, he is looked up to and obeyed by the "people of the village to which he belongs as the immediate chief. He "generally occupies the *paséban* usually to be found in villages of conse-"quence, and has two or more men, inhabitants of the village, appointed "to attend him wherever he goes. A *Peting'gi* was usually elected for one "year, during which time he could not, according to the ancient usage, be "removed, except in consequence of some gross misconduct, but if his "conduct was such as to give satisfaction to the inhabitants, they continued "him for several years. As far as I could learn," continues the same officer, "the Regent, or other superior native authority, seldom interfered "in the election of a *Peting'gi*; but it was generally understood, that "although he could not force a *Peting'gi* upon them who was disliked by "the people, his confirmation was required before the person elected could "act with effect."

In

In examining the interior of a village on Java, we find that, in common with the Hindu usage, it possesses a constitution within itself, independent of the supreme governing power. Here, as in Western India, it will be found that each village possesses its *Peting'gi* or chief; its *Kabayan*, who is the deputy or assistant to the head of the village; its *Kamituah* or elders, generally men who have formerly been chiefs of the village; its *Múdin* or priest; its *Ulu-ulu* or *Kapala Bandang'an*, or superintendent of watercourses; its *Jeru-tulis* or writer, &c.

* See Report of Mr. Hopkins on the districts east of Surabáya.

† See Report of Colonel Adams on Surabáya.

‡ Mr. Mc. Quoid. See his Report on the Districts of Japára and Jawána.

In the *Súnda* districts of *Chéribon* and *Tegál*, the appointment to this office is invariably made, if not by the election of the villagers, generally from among themselves, and always with their concurrence. It is a common practice for the people of a village, even where the right of election is not in use, to represent in a body the conduct of their chief if incorrect; and it has always been necessary for the chief native authority to remove him, if the complaints were justly founded.

A reference to the judicial regulations in the Appendix* will show how desirous the British government on the island has been to protect the privileges of these societies, and in particular the right of electing their chief.

When the British authority was established on the island, it was immediately seen that something must be done to supply the deficiencies and to correct the imperfections of the native code. All the other changes in contemplation for the encouragement of industry and for the abolition of oppressive and impolitic exactions, would have been nugatory, without such an improvement in the judicial and police regulations, as would secure, by a full and impartial administration of justice, the rights and privileges about to be conferred. It would have been in vain to define the limits of power, to issue directions for guiding the conduct of public servants in their transactions with the people, or to have abrogated the oppressive privileges of the chiefs, and to have assured the people of the intention of government to protect them against all invasion of their rights, either by open violence, by the exaction of services, or by oppressive contributions, without establishing effective means of obtaining redress when aggrieved. The system acted upon was at once barbarous and revolting. Practices prevailed under the sanction of native law, which were abhorrent to the criminal jurisdiction of any enlightened nation, without being at all necessary to the due administration of justice.† I allude particularly to torture and mutilation.

* Appendix D.

† Among many others, the following enactments, which were in force in some of the Eastern districts when the English arrived, will serve to shew the barbarities of the law then existing, in its operation on the people, and its leniency towards the great.

"Any person murdering his superior shall be beheaded, his body quartered and given to the "wild beasts, and his head stuck upon a *bambu*.

"Any person disobeying his superior and attempting to murder him, may be killed by the "superior, without giving any intimation thereof to the chief town.

"Any person daring to destroy any public advertisement promulgated by government shall "forfeit his right hand.

"*Demángs*,

mutilation. These the Earl of Minto immediately abolished, by his proclamation of the 11th September 1811, in which, besides this beneficial and humane enactment, he laid down clearly and distinctly the liberal and enlightened principles which should guide the local government in the subsequent revision of the civil and criminal code of the colony. The result was the enactment of the code of judicial and police regulations which will be found in the Appendix to this work.* The outlines of these regulations, and the principles which dictated them, are contained in a Minute which I recorded on the 11th February 1814, when they were completed and promulgated; and the following quotations from that document may be sufficient to put the reader in possession of the change which was effected.

"It was essential, in conducting the revenue arrangements, that the "measures taken for the establishment of a good and efficient police, and "the full and impartial administration of justice throughout the island, "should preserve an equal pace.

"Rights were not to be bestowed and defined, without a suitable pro- "vision for their being effectually guarded against any invasion; and it "became an object of the first moment, to form such an adequate and "consistent code of regulations, as should serve, in every instance, to guide "the executive officers of government in the performance of their duty, "and to make known, and secure to the people, the means of obtaining "redress, whenever they felt themselves in any way aggrieved.

"The system found existing on our first arrival was at once complicated "and confused. In the principal towns there were established courts, but "these were constituted in all the troublesome formalities of the Roman "law;

"A *Demáng*, or other chief of a *dèsa*, being acquainted with any conspiracy tending to the "injury of the state, and not giving intimation thereof, shall be punished by losing one ear, "his head shall be shaved, and he shall be banished.

"Any person daring to offer violence to a priest in the mosque or among the tombs shall "forfeit one hand.

"If a woman kills a man she shall be fined 500 reals *batú*.

"If a superior kills an inferior he shall be fined 1,000 doits.

"If a person puts out the eyes of another he shall be fined 500 reals *batú*; if one eye only, "50 reals."

There were also different fines for maiming different parts of the body. For cutting out the tongue, 500 reals; for knocking out the teeth, 25; for breaking the thumb, 500; for breaking the finger, 100; and the like.

See Collection of Native Laws at Banyuwangi.

* Appendix D.

" law; and in the different residencies were provincial courts, styled " *landraads*, where the native form and law was left to take its course, with " all its barbarities and tortures.

" The Dutch government, proceeding entirely on the system of commer- " cial monopoly, paid very inferior attention to their internal administra- " tion. They had little other connexion with their best subjects, the " cultivators of the soil, than in calling on them, from time to time, for ar- " bitrary and oppressive contributions and services; and for the rest, gave " them up to be vassals to the various intermediate authorities, the Regents, " *Demángs*, and other native officers. These either at first purchased their " situations, or stipulated for a certain tribute, in service or money, in " consideration of which all the inferior classes of inhabitants were made " over, to be dealt with by them as most pleasing to themselves. Policy, " and the common attention to their own good, suggested to these a cer- " tain equity of procedure, and it was generally the custom to leave each " village to its own management with respect to police and settling the " petty quarrels that occurred within its limits; but for the continuance " of what was good in such a system, there was no security whatsoever, " and oppression and injustice must have constantly occurred. Where " the will of the lord was the paramount law, his vassals could only " have depended on his natural goodness of disposition for being " equitably treated. No remedy was afforded where the reverse was " the case, and they possessed, in short, no security, no freedom what- " soever.

" On the propriety of the measures to be adopted by us to remedy such " evils, no doubt could exist.

" The first proclamation of the enlightened founder of the present go- " vernment adverted immediately to this subject. As a step thatcould " not, consistently with British ideas, admit of a moment's delay, it " instantly ordained, that torture and mutilation should no longer make " part of any sentence to be pronounced against criminals; and it then " proceeded to define clearly the relative situation of the English and " Dutch inhabitants, laying down rules for the future guidance of govern- " ment concerning them. This proclamation, dated 11th September, 1811, " has long been before the world, and it would be superfluous, in this " place, to dwell on that love of justice and benevolence of disposition,

" which is to be traced through every part of it. It forms the basis of the " present respective European rights in this colony.*

" As a continuation of the measures so ably sketched out by my prede- " cessor, I issued the proclamation, dated the 21st January 1812.

" In this I attempted to simplify the clumsy and unwieldy structure of " the former courts, by abolishing some, lessening the number of the " judges in the remaining ones, and by defining, as accurately as I could, " the limits of their respective jurisdictions.

" It was found that, formerly, there were separate courts for investigating " the conduct of the immediate European servants of the Dutch Company, " and of Europeans not included in that service. This distinction, as " Lord Minto observed, never could have been grounded on any sound " principle; and it being resolved, that justice, under the British go- " vernment, should be administered equal and alike to all classes and " denominations, the judicial power of the College of Schepenen was abo- " lished, and transferred to the jurisdiction of the courts of justice.

" The great number of judges who, under the Dutch administration, " formed a court, was reduced in each to a president and three mem- " bers.

" One court was established in each of the three principal towns, Ba- " tavia, Semárang, and Surabáya, the jurisdiction of which extended over " its European inhabitants; proceeding, in civil cases, in the mode before " established, but in criminal ones, so as to conform as much as possible to " that established in Great Britain; in all cases confronting the prisoner with " the evidence, and a jury being called to judge of the fact on the evi- " dence so adduced.

" To relieve these courts from numerous inconsiderable causes, courts, " of the nature of Courts of Requests, were also established in these three " towns, for the recovery of small debts.

" For matters of police within the towns, magistrates were ap- " pointed; but they were ordered to confine themselves entirely to this " branch.

" An abuse which had been discovered to be usual, the compounding " crimes and offences in consideration of a sum of money paid to the " Fiscal or other officer, had also met with Lord Minto's most severe repre- " hension,

* See Appendix D.

" hension, as being one of an abominable nature, and to be suppressed " without delay. The practice was accordingly strictly prohibited, and " consonantly with British ideas was termed scandalous.

" Thus much had been done with regard to Europeans, and it has been " found fully sufficient.

" But with respect to the native inhabitants of the island, it was to " be expected that much greater changes would be necessary.

" In the first instance, it was ordered that courts should be established " in the different districts, in which the chief civil authorities should pre- " side, aided by the Regents and other native officers, for the purpose of " hearing and trying all causes in which natives only were concerned; the " amount of their civil decisions, when exceeding fifty dollars, being sub- " mitted for confirmation to the courts of justice; and all criminal cases, " of a capital nature, being made over by them to judges of circuit, who " were ordered to be sent on this duty twice a year, from among the mem- " bers of the superior courts.

" Thus much was known not to militate either against the principles of " universal and natural justice, or against the particular laws and usages " of the country; and thus much was only, at first, done, because it " was resolved to obtain the fullest knowledge of the subject, with regard " to the manners, habits, and institutions of our native subjects, before " we established one general code of regulations for the internal administra- " tion of the country.

" In effecting this grand object, it was rather my wish to have it " maturely and well done, than by accelerating it too much, to run the risk " of taking up a crude system, which would require to be afterwards " reconsidered, and perhaps entirely new modelled.

" On the principle, however, which would eventually guide me, there " was no doubt, nor is it necessary for me to dilate on the impolicy, the " inconvenience, or the injustice, of subjecting the natives of Java to " any other laws, than those of their ancient government and established " faith.

" The tranquillity of the country and the duties of police have been " provided for, by preserving the original constitution of the villages, " and continuing the superintendence and responsibility in the hands of " those, whose rank enables them to exert a due influence, and to command " respect. For the administration of justice, the duties of the Resident,

" as judge and magistrate, have been considerably extended. In civil " cases, the mode of proceeding, and the establishment of petty courts, " are founded on the practice of the country; in criminal, the jurisdiction " and authority of the Resident has been considerably extended. Hither- " to, his duties had been strictly confined to police; but considerable " delay and injury to the parties accused, as well as to the witnesses, " had been occasioned by allowing all causes of a higher nature to lie over " for the Court of Circuit: and as the separation of the collection of the " revenue would afford more time to the Resident, it was resolved to " extend the criminal jurisdiction of the Provincial Courts to all cases, " in which the punishment for the crime alleged does not amount to " death. In these courts, which instead of being termed *Landraad*, as " heretofore, are now styled the *Resident's Courts*, the *Panghúlu*, or chief " priest, and the superior *Jáksa*, or native fiscal, attend to expound the " law. The *Bopátis*, or Regents, with their *Pátehs*, are present, to aid " and assist the Resident with their opinion in the course of the investi- " gation, but they have no vote in the decision. If the opinion of the " law officers appears to the Resident to be according to substantial justice, " and is in accordance with his own opinion, the sentence is immediately " carried into effect, provided the punishment does not extend to transpor- " tation or imprisonment for life.

" In cases where the punishment adjudged is more considerable, or " wherein the opinion of the law officers may be at variance with that of " the Resident, a reference is to be made to the Lieutenant Governor; and " in all cases where the punishment for the crimes charged is of a capital " nature, the prisoner is committed to jail, to take his trial before the " Circuit Judge.

" On the first establishment of the Courts of Circuit, it was directed " that the President, and one other member of the Courts of Justice, " should proceed once in six months, or as much oftener as circumstances " might require, to the different Residencies in their several jurisdictions, " for the trial of offenders. Much inconvenience, however, was found to " arise from the absence of those members of the courts from the towns " in which they were established, as it necessarily followed, that all civil " business was at a stand while they were away. On the other hand, to " prevent delay on the trial of criminals, it was necessary that they should " visit the Residencies more frequently than once in six months.

" To

" To remedy this in future, and to provide for the prompt and due " administration of justice among the native inhabitants, in a manner that " is not repugnant to their notions of right and wrong, one member of " each of the courts of justice has been appointed a Judge of Circuit, " who will be present in each of the Residencies at least once in every " three months, and as much oftener as necessary. In the mode of " proceeding, they are to avoid the formalities of the Roman law. A " native jury, consisting of an intelligent foreman and four others,* " decide, upon the fact: the law is then taken down, as expounded by the " native law officers, and the sentence, with the opinion of the Judge of " Circuit, and on the application of the Dutch and Colonial law on the " cases, is forwarded for the modification or confirmation of the Lieutenant " Governor.

" Hitherto the jury required by the Court of Circuit did not exceed " five in number, and these, as justly observed, ' were chosen from a " ' class of men (Europeans) who had no common feelings, no common " ' rights; who were, in no shape or consideration, the equals of the " ' person tried. The law was the law of Europe. The jury, under their " ' best prejudices, were influenced by that law; and its meanings and " ' penalties were applied to people who reason in a different manner, and " ' who often never knew any thing of the laws of Europe, before they " ' found themselves its convicted victims.'

" The general jurisdiction of the Courts of Justice at Batavia, Semárang, " and Surabáya, is now confined to Europeans and foreigners and to the " inhabitants of those towns and their suburbs; and a line has been " drawn, which distinctly separates the police of the country from that of " the towns.

" Collections of the different law-books and institutions of the country " are now making, and a native establishment has been formed at Buiten- " zorg, under my immediate superintendence, for examining and revising " the judicial proceedings, and for affording to the native inhabitants that " facility of appeal, which the remoteness of the Government, and the " rules of Dutch administration, did not formerly admit of, but which is

" so

* The number required to compose the jury was fixed in conformity with the ancient usages of the country, in which five persons are considered necessary to assist in the deliberation upon any matter of importance.

" so consonant to the principles on which the new system of internal " economy has been established."

Military establishment.

Under the native government, the whole of the male population capable of bearing arms was liable to military service; but the number of people required to cultivate the land, and to perform other public services, did not admit of more than one-third being spared for military purposes, except in cases of extraordinary emergency. The extent of the force permanently kept up by the sovereign in time of peace varied, of course, with the probability of approaching hostilities: when this was smallest, the number seldom exceeded what was required for the state and pomp of the court, and might have amounted to four or five thousand men. Until within the last sixty years, when the Dutch first obtained a supremacy over the whole island, the provinces under the native administration had for several centuries been in a continual state of warfare; but since that period the military spirit has been gradually subsiding, and, by the existing treaties with the native princes, they are restricted in the number of troops which they may maintain. Those of the *Susúhúnan* are limited to a body guard of one thousand men: such further number as may be required for the tranquillity of the country, the European government undertakes to furnish.

Before the native sovereign was under this restriction, he used to raise the requisite force by a demand upon the governor of each province for a specified number, to be furnished at a certain time, varying according to circumstances. The governor or chief of the province apportioned this demand among the subdivisions, and the village chiefs selected from among the villagers as many as were required of them; and thus, in a country where every man wears a *krís* or dagger, and the spear or pike is the principal military weapon, an army, or rather a numerous armed mob, was easily collected in a few days. The men furnished from the villages, and of whom the mass of every large army necessarily consisted, were distinguished from the soldiers by profession *(prajúrit)*, by the term *árahan*, or *prajúrit árahan*. During their absence from home, they were provisioned by the sovereign, and their wives and families were maintained by the head of the village, who required of the remaining cultivators to assist in working their fields or gardens.

The sovereign, as the head of the military and the fountain of military honour, assumes among his titles that of *Senapáti*, or lord of war. When

an

an army is to be raised, he appoints a certain number of his chiefs to be *widánas*, or commanders of corps of three hundred and twenty men. Under each *widána* are four *lúrahs* or *tíndihs*, who command companies of eighty men, and have each two subaltern officers, called *babákals* or *sesábats*, each having the command of forty men. The *widánas* were remunerated for their services by grants of land, to the amount of a thousand *châchas*, from which they had again to make assignments for the maintenance of the inferior officers, who were always nominated by them.

When troops march through the country, or supplies are required, a demand is made upon the neighbouring districts, which are obliged to contribute according to their means, without payment. When in an enemy's country, the troops, of course, subsist by plunder, the disbursement of money for provisions or supplies being unknown.

The native armies of Java consisted chiefly of infantry, but the officers were invariably mounted, and when cavalry was required, each province furnished its quota: the troops, whether on foot or mounted, joined the army properly equipped for action. It was thus unnecessary for the sovereign to keep up a store of arms. Each village has its provision of spears, and sometimes of fire-arms; the officer of subdivision keeps a further reserve for contingencies; and as the chief of the province is responsible for the proper equipment of the men, he generally has also a further store to supply any deficiency.

The annexed plates will exhibit the different weapons used in Java. Of these, the most important and the most peculiar to the Eastern Islands is the *kris*, which is now worn by all classes, and as an article of dress has already been noticed. Weapons.

The Javan *kris* differs from the Malayan, in being much more plain, as well in the blade as in the handle and sheath: it differs also in the handle and sheath from the *kris* of *Madúra* and *Báli*, as may be seen in the plate. The varieties of the blade are said to exceed an hundred; and as a knowledge of the *kris* is considered highly important by the Javans, I have, in a separate plate, offered specimens of the most common.

In the plates are also exhibited the different kinds of spears, darts, and other weapons, either said to have been in use formerly, or actually used at the present day. These are the bow and arrow (*gendewa*, *pana*) which are seldom used in modern days, except on state occasions. The arrows, termed *chákra*, *paspáti*, *trisúla*, *waráyang*, *diwál*, *róda dedáli*, and others of a similar

similar form, as well as the clubs called *indán*, *gáda*, and *dénda*, are represented as the weapons used by the gods, demigods, and heroes of antiquity, and are constantly referred to in the mythological and historical romances of the Javans, and exhibited in their scenic and dramatic entertainments. The *túlup* and *páser* represent the tube and the small arrows which are rendered poisonous by the *úpas:* these have not been used on Java for centuries, but they are common in the less civilized islands of the Archipelago, and particularly on Borneo. The *gánjing* is an iron bar, formerly used by the Javans. The *bandríng*, or sling, is still used with considerable effect, and was employed in resisting the British troops in 1812. The *pedáng*, *bandól*, *badík*, *golók*, *mentók*, *lámang* or *klewáng*, and *chundrík*, are varieties of the sword. The *kúdi-tránchang* is a weapon which was formerly general on Java, but not now much used. The *wedúng* is a peculiar weapon, in the shape of a chopper, worn on occasions of state by all chiefs when in presence of the sovereign. Of spears and darts, there are several varieties distinguished by different names. Small round shields are still in use; the long shield is not. The matchlock exhibited in the plate is a representation of a piece manufactured on *Báli*.

Besides these instruments of war, the Javans have long been acquainted with the use of cannon, muskets, and pistols. Previous to the reduction of *Yúgya-kérta*, in 1812, by the British forces, the sultan cast brass guns of considerable calibre, and at *Grésik* they are still manufactured for exportation. Round the *kráton* of *Súra-kérta* are mounted several very large pieces of artillery, and great veneration is paid to some of them supposed to have been the first introduced on the island: two, in particular, are considered to be part of the regalia. For muskets and pistols they are principally indebted to Europeans. Gunpowder they manufacture, but to no considerable extent, and the quality is not esteemed.

From an army raised only on emergency, and composed of people who do not make the military life a profession, much discipline cannot be expected. The veneration, however, which the common people pay to their chiefs, the well defined gradations of rank, and the devotion with which all classes are willing to sacrifice themselves in support of their ancient institutions and independence, seem to render the Javan troops, while acting under their own chiefs, orderly and tractable. In their tactics and conduct they endeavour to emulate the examples given in their ancient romances; and in the plans for their pitched battles, the march of their armies, and the individual

Javan Weapons.

Parts of the Gris.

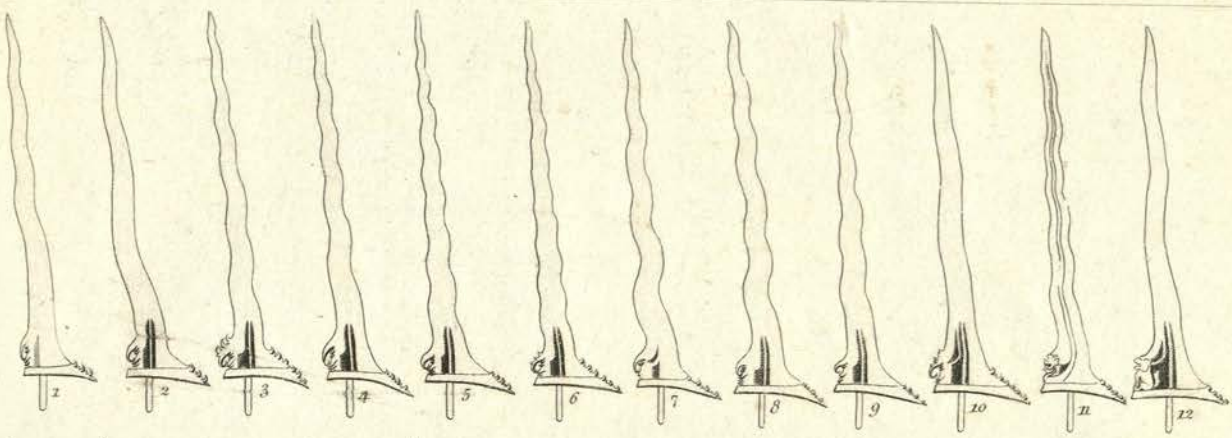
1 Landean or Wukiran.
2 Mendak or Uwar.
3 Warungka or Sarungan.
4 Gandar.

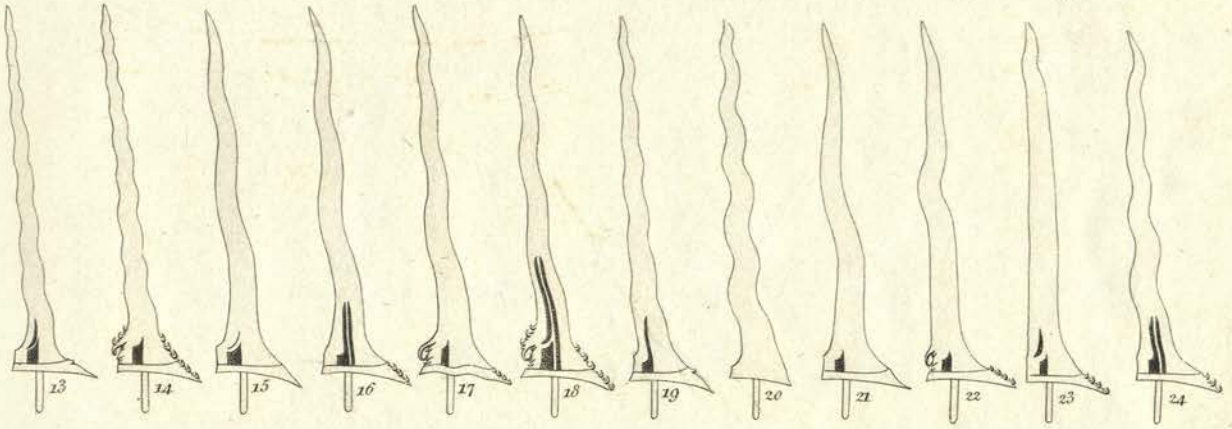
1 Pakri.
2 Ganja.
3 Gandik.

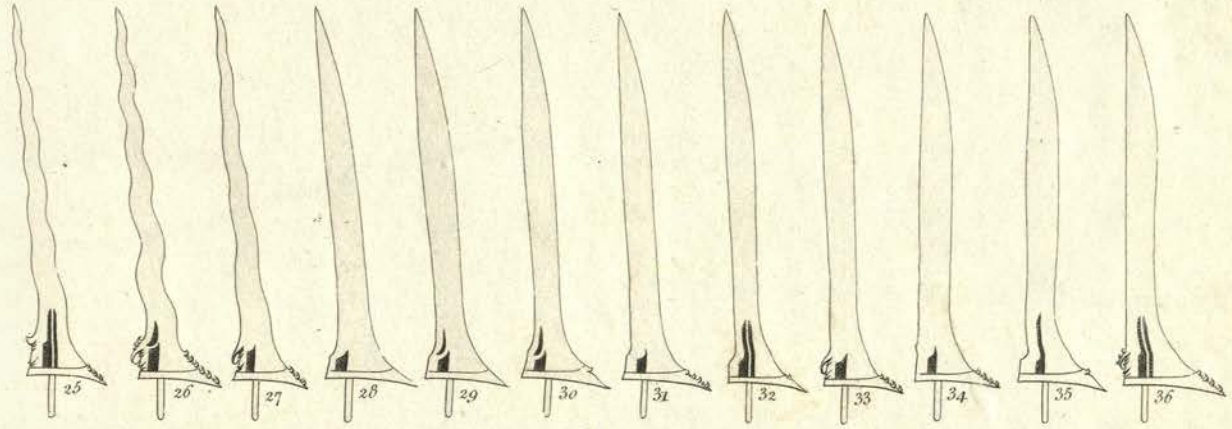
Parts of the Blade.

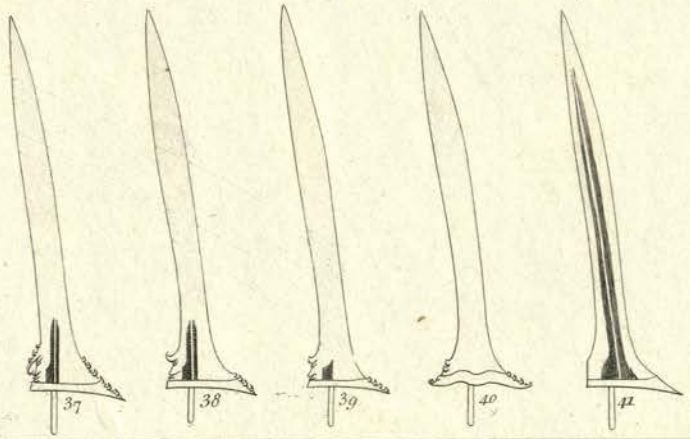
5 Ring-i.
6 Cambang cachang.
7 Jenggot.

10 Sogoan.
11 Ndas Cheehak.
12 Puchuk.









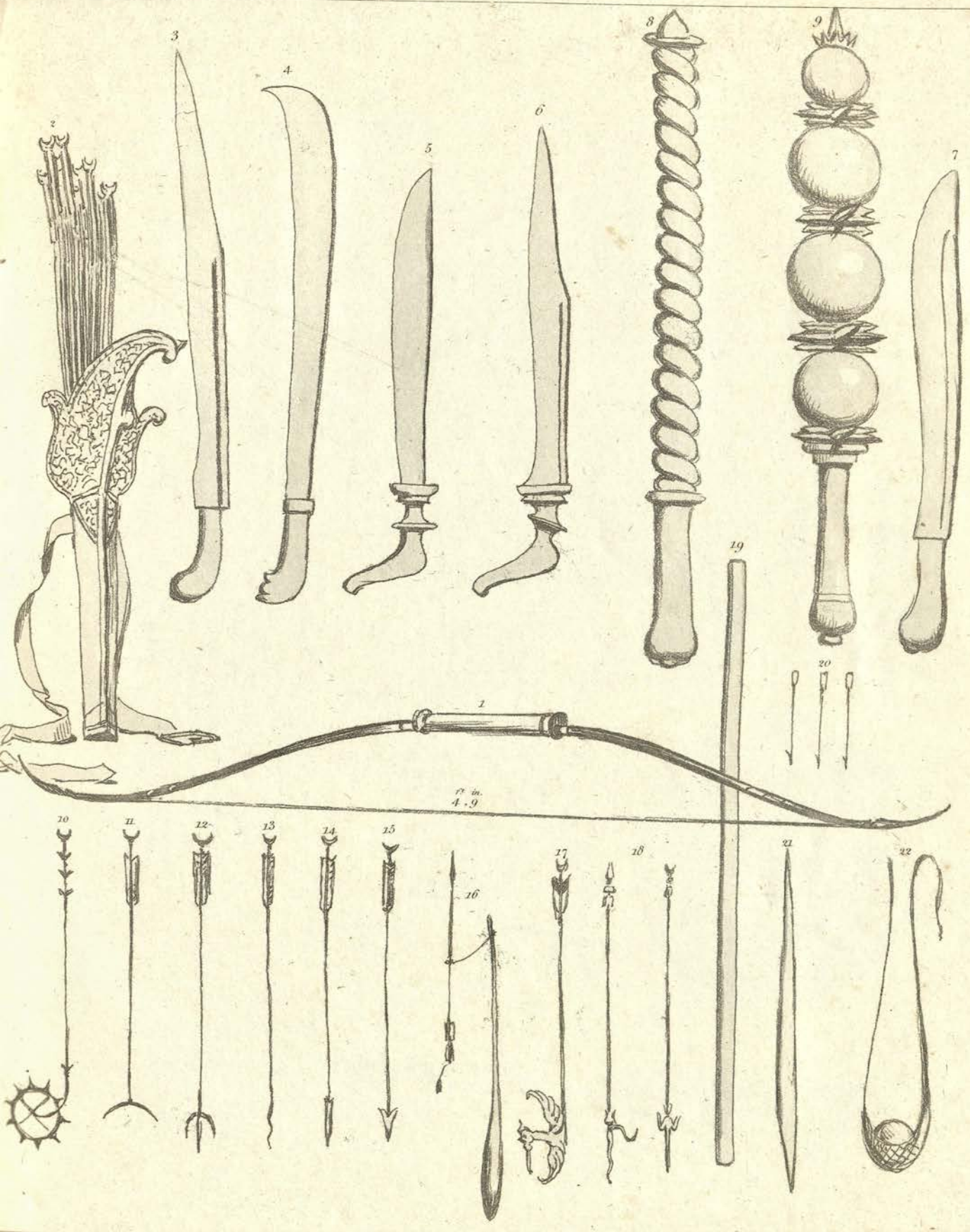
1 *Megantara.*
2 *Pendawa China rita.*
3 *Sangkelat.*
4 *Cherita.*
5 *Cherita Kelintang.*
6 *Kerachan.*
7 *Chirang-soka.*
8 *Balebang.*
9 *Sabuk-intin.*
10 *Anoman.*
11 *Naga-sasra*
12 *Singa.*

13 *Sapokal.*
14 *Bima kroda.*
15 *Bakung.*
16 *Pendawa.*
17 *Panji sekar.*
18 *Cherubok.*
19 *Jarunan.*
20 *Chengkrong.*
21 *Bango dolog.*
22 *Lara sidua.*
23 *Urub damer.*
24 *Panimbal.*

25 *Paniwen.*
26 *Santan.*
27 *Sampana.*
28 *Brojol.*
29 *Tilam upih*
30 *Jalak dinding*

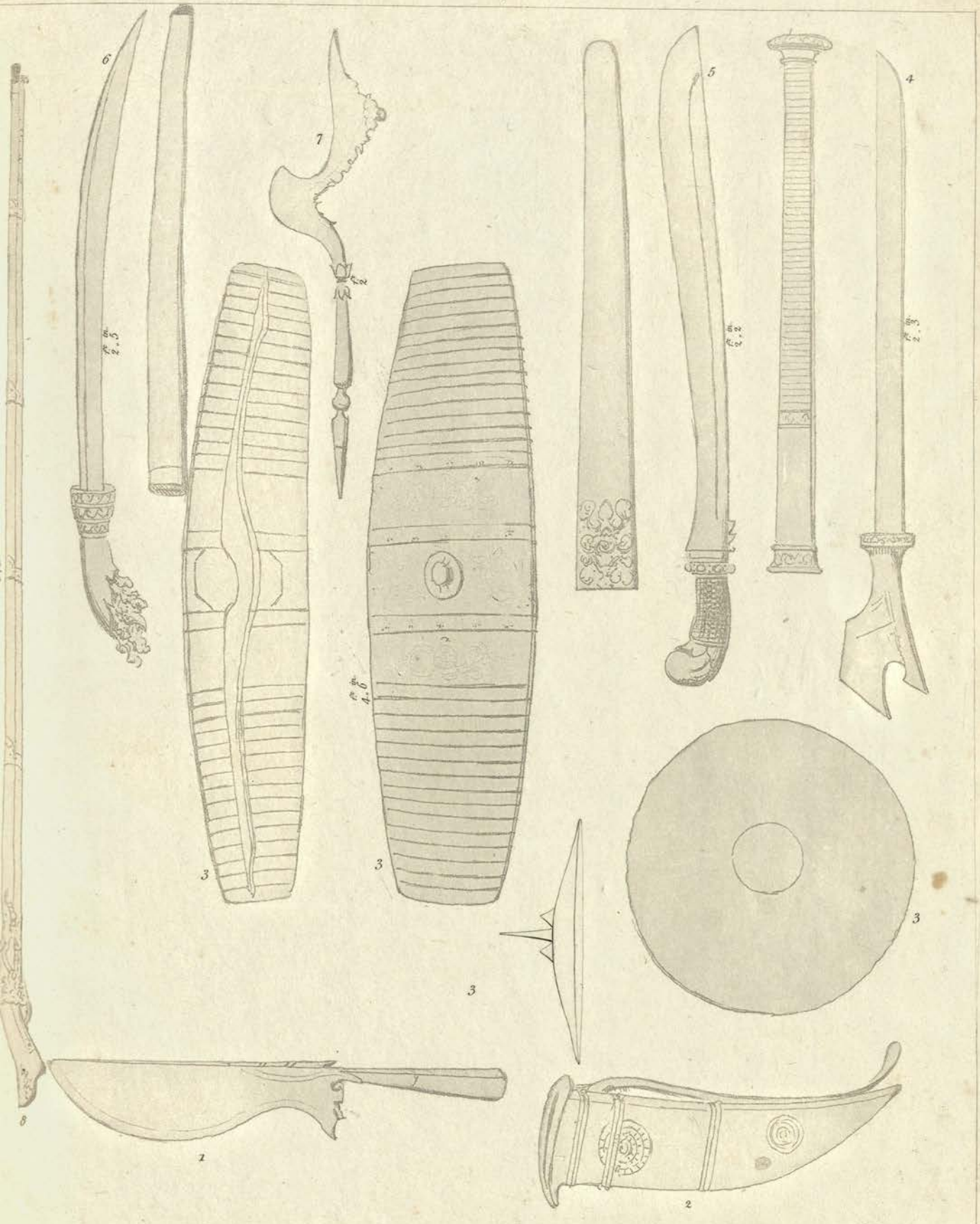
31 *Jalak ngore.*
32 *Sangu tumpang.*
33 *Sampana bener.*
34 *Kebo lajar.*
35 *Gandring.*

36 *Kala misani.*
37 *Sinom.*
38 *Paso-pati.*
39 *Yuyu-rumpung.*
40 *Sepang.*



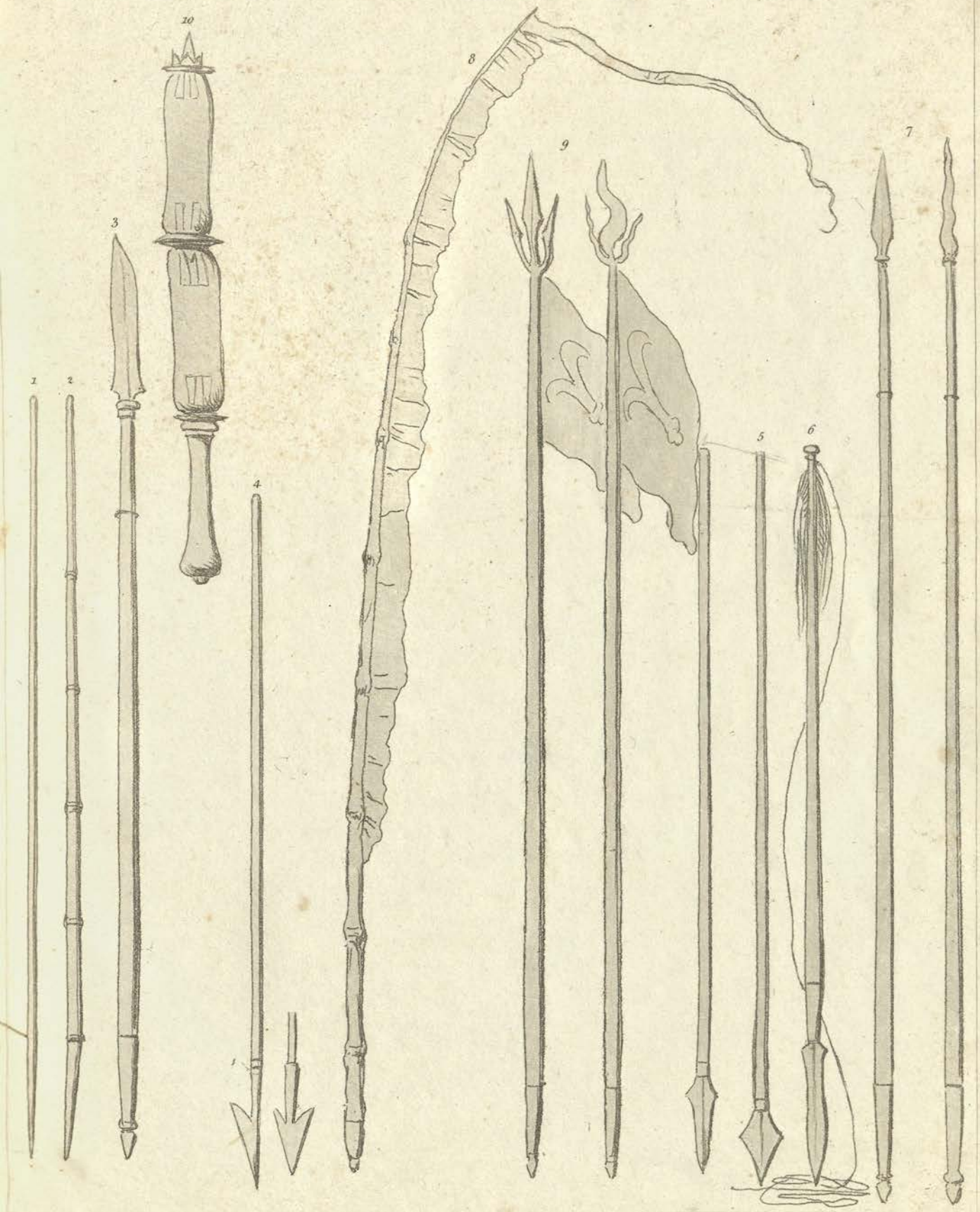
1 & 2 Gendewa, Endong, pana.
3 Pēdang.
4 Bandal.
5 Badik.
6 Golok.
7 Mentok.
8 Indan.
9 Gada.
10 Chacra.
12 Trisula.
13 Warayang.
14 & 15 Bedor or pana.
16 Diwal.
18 Other Arrows.
19 Tulup.
20 Peser.
21 Gaujina.

Javan Weapons.



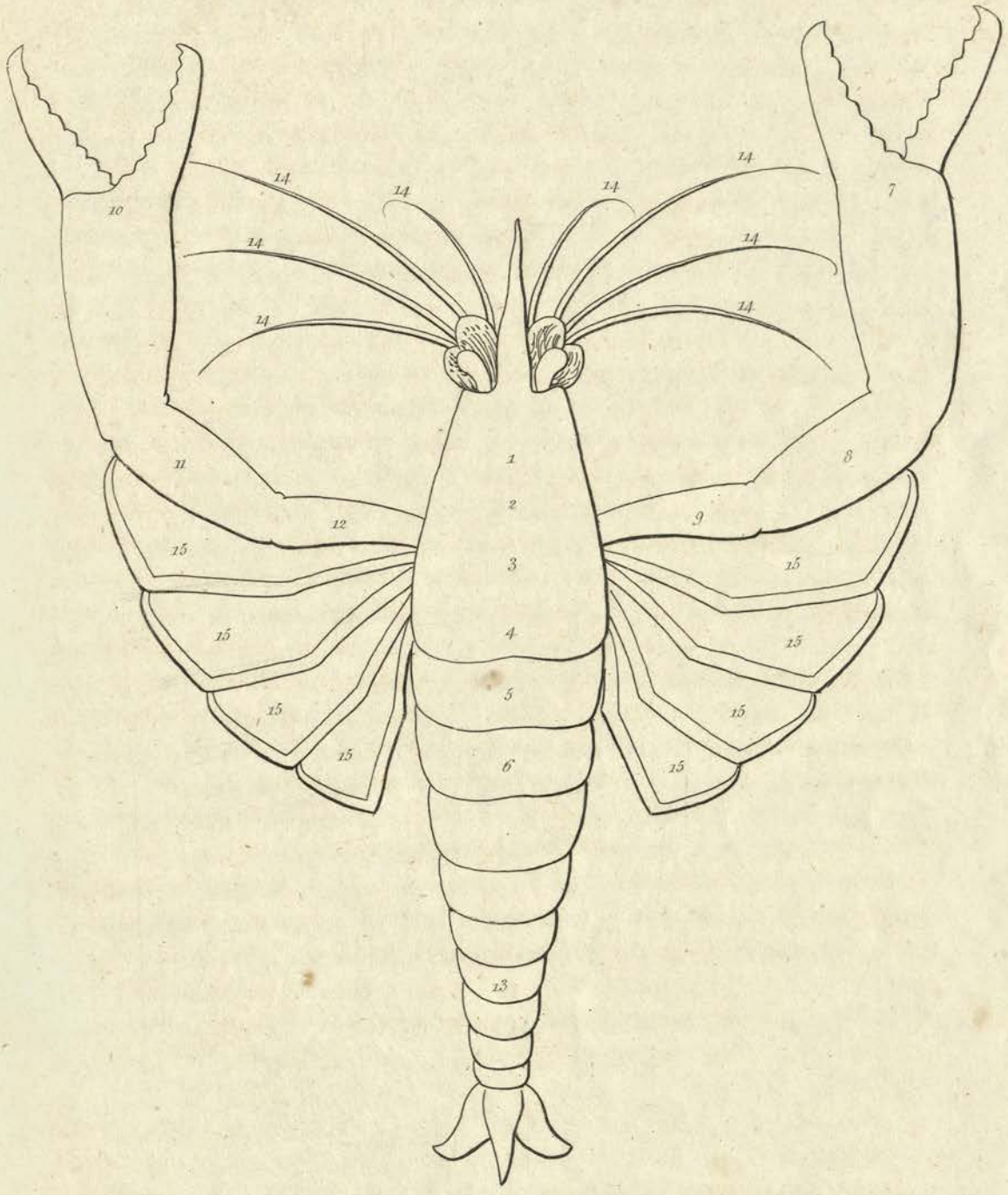
1 Wedung.
2 Sheath of Dº
3.3 Tameng.
4 Lamang or Clewang.
5 Mentok.
6 Chundrisk.
7 Kudi tranchang.
8 A Bali Matchlock.

Javan Weapons & Standards.



1 Sligi.
2 Granggang.
3 Telampak.
4 Tumpuling.
5 Tawok.
6 Bandang.
8 Umbul-umbul.
9 Lalayu or Daludag.

The Mangkara-buhia representing the supposed disposition of the Javan Army in the Matarem War.



1 Mantris.
2 Senapáti.
3 Princes & relatives of the Sovereign.
4 The Sovereign.
5 Pangiran Adepati (Heir Apparent.)
6 Pini Sepuh elders of Rank.
7 Bupati Bumi.
8 Wadana teng'en
9 Mantris of the Sovereign.
10 Bupati Mancha nagara.
11 Wadana Kiwa.
12 Mantri Katang gung.
13 Majegan.
14 Pegurit or Troops of the Senapati.
15 Pegurit or Guards of the Sovereign & Heir Apparent.

individual heroism of their chiefs, they strive to imitate the romantic exhibitions contained in the poems of antiquity. In the great *Matárem* war, for instance, the result of which was the establishment of the present family on the throne, the disposition of the army is said to have been in the form of a shrimp or prawn, as represented in the annexed plate. This form is termed *mangkára bóyewá*, or the shrimp which hides its soul, alluding to the sovereign who is in the centre and not to be approached. The plan of this order of battle is said to have been taken from the poem of the *Bráta Yúdha*, and was adopted by *Bimányu*, the son of *Arjúna*. The *díráda máta* is another form, said to have been used by the army of *Astína*, and has likewise been adopted by the modern Javans.*

Of the bravery and heroism required of a soldier, some notion has been given in the account of the Javan ethics; and a reference to their history, for the last three centuries, will abundantly prove, that although unacquainted with those evolutions and tactics which contribute so largely to the power of an European army, the Javans, as soldiers, have not been deficient, either in personal courage, or in such military principles as might be expected from the general state of society among them, and as are well suited to the nature of the country and the weapons they are accustomed to carry.†

It is the national boast, that it was not so much by force of arms as by intrigue and stratagem, that the Dutch obtained the superiority in the country. The history of the Dutch administration on Java will abundantly testify this, and at the same time prove, that among Asiatics there are few nations who have fought more obstinately in support of their independence than the Javans. It was by corrupting and bribing the chiefs, and sowing disunion among them, that the Dutch succeeded in dismembering an empire, already shaken, at the period of their arrival, by the constant wars which attended the establishment of Mahometanism. The comparison which has

* In joining the battle it is usual for the warriors to shout, and for the trumpets *(sarenen)*, gongs, and drums used in the martial music of the country to be sounded.

† The following verse from the *Níti Sástra Káwi* may be adduced, in further illustration of the notions entertained by the Javans regarding the bravery of a soldier.

" The brave man who has been successful in war obtains his heart's desire.
" The brave man who dies in war is received into heaven and cherished by the *Widadaris*.
" If a man is cowardly in war and dies, the keepers of hell seize upon him in a rage:
" Should he not die, he is reprobated and despised by all good men, even to his face."

been drawn by the Javans themselves of their own character, in contrast with that of the Dutch, may serve to illustrate the nature of the military feeling still existing in the country. "The Dutch," say they, "are superior "to the Javans, inasmuch as they have good heads; they can calculate and "they understand policy better, but then they have cold hearts: the Javans "are poor simple beings, but they love their country and will never quit it; "their heart glows and often burns."

The phrenzy generally known by the term *muck* or *ámok*, is only another form of that fit of desperation which bears the same name among the military, and under the influence of which they rush upon the enemy, or attack a battery, in the manner of a forlorn hope. The accounts of the wars of the Javans, as well as of the *Maláyus*, abound with instances of warriors running *ámok*; of combatants, giving up all idea of preserving their own lives, rushing on the enemy, committing indiscriminate slaughter, and never surrendering themselves alive.* Even at present, there are to be found among the Javans men who profess to be and are considered invulnerable; and there are some who, by a dextrous manner of receiving the spear, and other such artifices, completely impose upon the too credulous people. Nothing is so easy as for an artful man to persuade the common Javans that he possesses supernatural power. At the present day this pretension, and the artifices by which it is supported, are more generally of a religious nature, but during the wars, every fortunate chief was considered as partially vested with it.

The general term for a soldier is *prajúrit*: the guards of the sovereign are distinguished by the term *tantómo*. *Sara g'ni* is the name given to those who carry fire-arms. *Gándek* are the couriers or messengers who convey the orders of the commanders. In every army there is a certain number called *jága béla*, whose duty it is to prevent the body of the troops from deserting, and to see that every man does his duty. *Páná káwan* is the term by which the youths who accompany their fathers and relations to battle are distinguished. *Semút gátat* is the general term for attendants, retainers, and followers of an army. But besides distinctions of office, there are others purely of merit and honour: those are called *niútra*, who are selected as superior to their comrades in person and strength: the

prawireng

* It is on these occasions that the parties frequently increase their desperation by the use of opium.

prawireng are those who have once distinguished themselves in battle: *magátsíh*, those who sacrifice all other prospects in life in order to pursue the love of arms: *trúna-láyang*, gallant youths: *jága súra*, those whose courage is undisputed and who keep a good look out: *júdi páti*, those who hazard their lives in battle, as they would hazard a die in any common game of chance; literally, who play with death: *nirbáya*, those who are above a sense of pain or fear: *jáyeng sekár*, flowers of victory.* This latter term was chosen by Marshal Daendels for the native militia raised for the service of the Dutch government during his administration.

In the Dutch armies, the Javans were considered as inferior to the other islanders as soldiers, and from the facilities offered for desertion while serving on Java, it was with great difficulty that they could be disciplined. The men were invariably raised by conscription, and instances have occurred of their deserting by companies. Under the British, a corps of about twelve hundred men was raised, with little prospect of advantage for the first two years; but by the perseverance and ability of the officer who commanded them, they afterwards became a well disciplined corps, and on all occasions behaved themselves with fidelity and courage when called into action. As individuals, they are, for the most part, physically weaker than the *Maláyus* and other islanders; and as a nation, their agricultural habits have considerably obliterated the military character which they once possessed. Their country however, particularly in the interior, is naturally very strong, full of ravines and fastnesses, and their mode of warfare is perhaps the best adapted for its defence. Were the whole energies of the nation united under one chief, with the experience which they now have of European tactics, it may be assumed, that they would render it impregnable to any open attack, either of a European or an Asiatic force; but, unfortunately for their independence, it has been their lot, as their history will shew, to be continually disunited, either by religious or political feuds. Their greatest resistance appears to have been made against European influence. They maintain with pride, that although virtually conquered, they still, as a nation and as individuals, pertinaciously adhere to their ancient institutions,

* "As to their military character, it is certain," says Plutarch, "they were able commanders, both by sea and land. But as the champions, who in one day gain the garland, "not only in wrestling but in the *pancration*, are not simply called victors, but by the custom "of the games, the *flowers of victory*; so Cymon, having crowned Greece with two victories gained in one day, the one at land, the other at sea, deserves some preference in the "list of generals."—*Langhorne's Plutarch: Cimon and Lucullus compared.*

Revenue. and have a national feeling, very different from that which is usually to be found among a conquered people.

The subject of revenue, for the support of the various establishments under the native government, has been so repeatedly touched upon, and came so much into view in the account given of Javan agriculture, that many further details here would appear tedious and unnecessary. All public officers, it has been often observed, from the highest chief to the lowest menial, are remunerated by grants of land revokable at pleasure, and all expences of the courts of justice, all police and military services, defrayed out of the same fund. There is no public treasury. When public works are to be executed or supplies are to be furnished, each village is called upon to furnish its quota of men, of provisions, &c.; and on the equitable regulation of these services and contributions, depends the reputation of the native chief. The land constitutes the only treasury of the prince, and this is valuable according to its fertility, and the extent and number of its cultivators. There are, to be sure, certain general taxes and imposts levied throughout the country; but these appear to have been of comparatively modern introduction, and unconnected with the genuine principles of the Javan government. The nature of several of these imposts and taxes has been explained, in treating of the landed tenure and the condition of the peasantry. The following statement, extracted from the Report of a Dutch Commissioner,* appointed to inquire into the subject of taxation in the year 1812, though it refers to the particular province of *Surabáya*, may be considered as applicable to the greater part of the island; and I here produce it, in preference to any more general or more concise account of my own, because it will shew that the opinions I have so often expressed, concerning the oppressions of the Dutch authorities, the patient submission, the industry, and other good qualities of the lower classes of Java, are not peculiar to the English, but entertained by some of the subjects of a government, which profited by the abuses complained of, and must have been anxious to conceal their enormity.

Taxes in the district of Surabáya. "The ordinary taxes annually levied in the district of *Surabáya* are as "follow.

"1. The *grabág* or *petèk*, or as it is sometimes called, the *chácha* or capi- "tation tax, is generally levied at the rate of four rupees for each *chácha* "a year; that is to say, for such a quantity of profitable land as may be "cultivated by one family. "2. The

* Mr. Rothenbuller.

" 2. The contingent or contribution of rice to government, being from " fifteen to nineteen *píkuls* of clean rice from each *jung*, according to its " situation and fertility.

" 3. *Pári pánajúng* (from which, however, are excused the distant " districts), consisting generally of three *ámats* of *pári*, equal to from eight " to ten *káti* of rice, from each *jung*. This is destined for the maintenance " of those *Mántris* and chiefs who were not at all or insufficiently provided " with rice fields of their own.

" 4. *Pári pagondíkan*, levied only in the districts near the capital, con- " sisting generally of two *gédings* or double heaps of *pári*. This was des- " tined for the extraordinary expences of the districts; as the maintenance " of the government, state prisoners, native ambassadors from the opposite " coast, and the like.

" 5. *Pári pakásak*, consisted of three *gédings* from each *jung*, destined " for the maintenance of those who superintend the direction of the water- " courses, &c.

" 6. *Pári zákat*, consisted of one *ámat* of *pári* from each *jung*, and was " destined for the maintenance of the church and chief priests.

" 7. *Pítrah*, consisted in the payment of twenty *káti* of rice from each " *jung*, also destined for the maintenance of the priests.

" 8. *Málamán*. This consisted of a payment made to the Regent or " chiefs of the districts, at each of the three festivals of *Múlut*, *Púasa*, " and *Besár*, of ten *káti* of rice and three and a quarter stivers in money " from each *jung*, one large fowl, five eggs, four cocoa-nuts, one bunch of " plantains; and from those who held three or four *jungs*, was further " required a bottle of oil, to add to the solemnity of the ceremony, to " which persons of this condition were universally invited.

" It is easy to conceive, that the common Javan was not able to make Oppressiveness of them. " any money after paying these taxes and contributions, at least not so " much as he wanted for himself and family; particularly if we take into " consideration, that it is very seldom one man is the sole proprietor of a " *jung* alone, but that it is often divided between three and four persons, " and that, with the most successful harvest, such a *jung* does not produce " more than thirty to thirty-five *ámats* of *pári*. With all this, however, " the common Javan would feel himself satisfied, if he had no other taxes " to pay, having generally a good many fruit trees, and a little cottage

" farm,

" farm, in which he cultivates *síri*, &c. and sometimes a small fish-pond in " the vicinity of his dwelling, which is usually free of tax. But this is not " the case; he must submit to other oppressions, which not being regu- " lated, are for that reason the heavier, because they are called for in an " arbitrary way, and because self-interest does not fail to seize every " possible opportunity of extortion.

Other contributions,

" When a chief has occasion to travel, when a marriage, birth, circum- " cision, recovery from illness, or any such subject of festivity, occurs in " his family, it is advertized immediately to the subordinate towns and " villages, the inhabitants of which feel themselves obliged, each in pro- " portion to his means, to carry him fruits, rice, fowls, and even buffaloes " and money. These are called free presents, but in fact, are as much an " obligatory contribution as any of the others; to say nothing of the many

and exactions.

" demands for fowls, eggs, ducks, fruits, &c. for which payment is made, " but always at a rate, far below their value; or of the numerous fines " which are continually exacted from the people, in compensation, or as " hush money for disputes and offences of every description; the taking " away of *bámbus*, and sometimes of fruit trees, when wood is required, " either for government or the chief; to which must yet be added, that for " the execution of the duties of government, and on the conveyance of " orders, *Mántris*, and other subordinate chiefs, were continually, in the " neighbourhood of the villages, just like so many voracious birds, who " think themselves entitled not only to take something for their trouble, " but to be provided during their stay with every thing gratis, even opium " if they require it. This custom, adopted on Java, extends to every " other chief, although not in employment, and even to the Regents, their " relations, &c. None of these persons will pass through a town or village, " without demanding what he wants for his maintenance or journey; and " very often he asks what he does not want, to the great oppression of the " common Javan. Much is wasted by this practice, and no particular ad- " vantage appears to result from it.

Reflections.

" We must, indeed, be astonished to see all the oppressions, &c. to " which the common Javan must submit. It is usually said, indeed, that " the Javan is not accustomed to an easy life, and ought not to have more " than barely enough to keep him alive, with many more such expressions; " but this is not the manner of reasoning of any well-thinking man, who, " though he sees very well the imperfections and weak nature of the Javan,

" yet

" yet bears in mind that he is a man like himself; who, although he has " been conquered, it is true, by the greater valour and knowledge of the " European, has still an equal right to be treated like a man.

" But, alas! these are not all the vexations and oppressions which fall Feudal services. " to the lot of the common people, who bear all without murmuring. The " feudal service was as grievous as almost all the other charges united. " The origin of those services must be sought for in the feudal system of " the native government, long ago adopted throughout Java. It was con- " sidered that all the land was the property of the prince, who only made " provisional assignments thereof to his subjects, in remuneration for " military and other services rendered. This was the cause of all the lands " being divided into as many allotments as could be cultivated, called " *cháchas*, each of a size to be cultivated by one man. A certain number " of these was assigned to the different chiefs, according to his rank; the " custom of the country fixing not only the amount of contributions to be " paid from the produce, but the number of men to be constantly kept in " attendance upon him. The lands thus assigned to chiefs were exempt " from service to them, and the inhabitants were only expected to watch " the villages, to make and repair the roads, and to perform other general " services of the state. This was the situation of the people with regard " to service, when the coast districts were first ceded to the European " government. The system of trade and fixed contributions did not admit " of any change, and the services were at that time of very little conse- " quence, and such as could be performed without oppression to the inha- " bitants; but the case is now quite different. Successively and particu- " larly of late years, much heavier services have been demanded than were " ever before known, and it naturally follows, that the Javan must be kept " more at work than before. Besides, it is not possible to apportion those " services equally, on account of the situation of the places where the ser- " vices are required, and because the chiefs, who have the direction of the " works, from indifference and laziness, generally make a requisition on " the nearest village; and it not unfrequently happens, that many people " are thus taken for the public service, who have no lands whatever allotted " to them.

" Were the requisitions made for the public service alone, it would still " be comparatively nothing, it being admitted, that the state has a right to " the labour of its subjects; but the Regents, their relations, their *Pátehs*,

" and

" and the subordinate chiefs of every description, assume the right of dis-
" posing of the services of the common people as they think proper, and
" themselves employ many of them in menial labour of all descriptions,*
" from which it arises, that the number of people employed away from their
" homes, on what is called public services, is almost incredible.

Reformation necessary.

" It is therefore more than time and highly necessary, that an end be put
" to this monstrous system of government. Humanity looks forward with
" pleasure to this step. Government, who are essentially interested, have
" the most perfect right to take it; but the change must be entire and
" radical. Where the machine is entirely bad, it would be vain to attempt
" the repair of a few of the parts of which it is composed: the whole would
" still remain worthless, and it would only result that the main defects being
" hidden by a specious covering, the whole labour would be worse than
" thrown away."

The British government did accordingly alter the whole system of revenue. The subject was forced upon its attention, not only by the desire which every humane and liberal administration must feel, to promote the happiness of its subjects, but by considerations of a prudential nature. The resources of the country had sunk under a capricious and tyrannical system of exaction; industry was paralyzed, and confidence was destroyed. The opportunity for effecting a reformation was favourable, our means ample, and we had nothing to dread from the opposition of those interested in supporting abuses: it was, therefore, resolved to abolish all oppressive taxes, and to come immediately upon the soil for the support of our establishments, by appropriating a fixed portion of its produce, leaving the full enjoyment of the remainder to the cultivator, with every facility for turning his industry to account. What was done in consequence, by the land revenue arrangements, has been seen in the account given of landed tenure.

The subjects of the colony were freed from the sway of their chiefs, who were no longer permitted to demand at pleasure their services or their property. These chiefs were compensated for the loss of their former influence by salaries in money or allotments of land, which they either held on condition of performing the police duties, or collecting the revenue. When paid by the rent of land, they were permitted to exact no more than the assessment settled by government. No arbitrary power was allowed them

* This was the practice of the Europeans also.

them to disturb the peasant in the enjoyment of the remainder, or to drag him from his home and his duties to his family, for the purpose of swelling their idle pomp, or performing services about their person or household. The Chinese farmers of the revenue in *Chéribon* and other districts, having oppressed the people by every rapacious and tyrannical expedient, were, by the discontinuance of the farms, deprived of the power they had exercised over the persons and property of the natives. Forced services and all deliveries of produce at inadequate rates on government account were abolished; and for whatever colonial produce or supplies might be required for the public service, the fair market price was ordered to be paid. Duties on the transport of goods from one part of the country to another, and on the sale of commodities at markets or bazars, were, for the most part, abolished, as injurious to trade and discouraging to agricultural industry. The system of farming the import and export duties, which existed under the Dutch, was likewise annulled, and collectors were appointed to receive the duties immediately for government. Internal duties, of the nature of tolls and market dues, had been universally, though secretly, levied by the Chinese, in *Chéribon* and other places, in direct opposition to the orders of government and the terms of their engagement. This abuse, engrafted on the farming system, incalculably aggravated its evils and called loudly for redress. The farmer thrust his rapacious hand into every place where there was the least prospect of gain, and limited his demand only by the capacity of the merchant to satisfy it, or by an ill-defined custom, which might be perverted almost at pleasure, so as to accommodate itself to any exaction. The evils resulting from this mode of raising a revenue may easily be calculated, when it is stated, that, for a very trifling contribution to government by the farmer, duties were levied upon internal transport amounting to nearly fifty per cent. on the value of the commodities transported. Rice, on its transport from one part of the island to another, had been liable to duties of about forty-six per cent. Regulations were made for fixing the amount of import duties, and equalizing them over the island.

The restoration of the Dutch Indian empire to the sovereign of the Netherlands, at a period when these important changes were only in progress, may have perhaps prevented the full accomplishment by the English of the details in some districts, but the principles of the new system were not only introduced and thoroughly understood in all the more populous districts

under the European government, but an experience of three years fully demonstrated the advantages resulting from it to the public revenue. It would have been attended with great immediate loss, without any corresponding future gain, to have abolished at once all the former sources of revenue; but the thorough change of system was declared, and the principles of it were acted upon, as far as was consistent with the security of public tranquillity and the realization of the current resources of the country; and the results of these arrangements, as far as they went, proved that a land rent might, even with the existing taxes in the capitals, &c. be realized at the rate of at least six rupees annually from each cultivator, or after the abolition of the taxes bearing on agriculture, at the average rate of four Spanish dollars from each cultivator, giving in the one case a rental for the whole island of about six millions of rupees, and in the other of four millions of Spanish dollars, or at five shillings the dollar, a million sterling. Of this one-fourth would accrue to the native princes, and the remainder to the European government. The particulars of the land revenue settlement effected in each district, and the detailed resources of the different parts of the island, will be particularly noticed in the statistical accounts which will appear in a subsequent part of this volume, when the subject of revenue will be again adverted to; and, in the mean time, it may be sufficient, for the purpose of shewing the general resources, to refer to the annexed table, exhibiting the revenues and expenses of the Javan government for a period of three favourable years under the old Dutch Company, for three years under the administration of Marshal Daendels, when its real resources were first called forth and the revenue was higher than before known, and for the first three years under the British government, of which alone, the accounts are yet closed. The dependencies included in this table do not include the Moluccas or Spice Islands, the administration of which under the British government was kept distinct from that of Java.

By this statement it will appear, that the revenues actually realized in cash, on Java, in the year 1814-15, and before the land revenue arrangements had become fully effectual, amounted to upwards of six millions and a half of rupees: to this may be added one-third more for the revenue of the native provinces, making a total revenue of the island exceeding eight millions and a half of rupees, or above a million sterling.

From

ABSTRACT STATEMENT of the actual REVENUES and EXPENCES of the EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT of JAVA and its DEPENDENCIES, during a Period of Nine Years, viz.

This Table to face Page 306, Vol. I.

REVENUES.	ANTERIOR TO THE ARRIVAL OF MARSHAL DAENDELS.						SUBSEQUENT TO THE ARRIVAL OF MARSHAL DAENDELS.						UNDER THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.					
	In the Year 1806-7.		In the Year 1807-8.		In the Year 1808-9.		In the Year 1809.		In the Year 1809.		In the Year 1810.		In the Year 1813-14.		In the Year 1813-14.		In the Year 1814-15.	
On the Island	Java Rupees.	Cts.	Java Rupees.	Cts.	JavaRupees.	Cts.	Java Rupees.	Cts.	Java Rupees.	Cts.	Java Rupees.	Cts.	Java Rupees.	Cts.	Java Rupees.	Cts.	Java Rupees.	Cts.
Land Rent	—		—		—		34,663	6	34,663	6	23,839	12	—		1,253,516	48	2,473,228	8
Subsidies from the Regents in Specie	—		—		—		224,603	11	224,602	0	224,603	23	191,996	11	72,804	18	42,862	86
Do. in Oil, Rice, &c.	48,952	60	44,609	42	84,534	33	353,716	0	353,716	0	354,332	0	469,339	33	409,666	42	13,927	44
Several Farms	594,293	32	595,259	42	762,449	59	288,460	0	720,208	0	558,200	15	1,518,319	73	1,025,040	13	1,090,898	20
Opium do.	54,464	0	54,416	0	61,248	0	1,525	50	215,848	0	549,005	15	614,086	24	583,259	65	375,318	73
Custom-House	532,704	0	520,698	26	616-400	0	290,262	12	182,522	0	515,666	15	953,206	83	627,332	7	442,589	39
On Bazars, &c.	112,800	0	110,900	0	113,400	0	3,918	0	18,264	0	86,961	15	23,134	19	34,038	9	218,583	44
Port Duties	3,234	24	1.926	32	1,498	40	450	0	1,100	0	1,573	0	23,806	64	38,497	51	28,869	97
Stamp do.	34,563	50	33,854	61	36,100	39	48,159	0	26,156	0	33,910	0	30,430	29	26,619	27	20,706	52
Duties on Legacies and Successions	187,134	62	66,982	24	54,525	25	20,109	15	20,782	0	20,661	15	45,005	86	40,323	29	24,643	14
Do. on Transfers on Houses and Land	67,331	37	111,150	98	89,006	27	40,877	15	59,237	0	74,597	0	70,843	54	125,531	8	87,108	41
Registry of Vessels, Port and Achorage Money	17,511	19	8,288	80	8,396	36	6,422	0	6,161	0	18,974	15	66,683	39	48,140	79	54,490	13
Toll on Roads and Bridges	5,711	18	5,689	0	5,913	28	9,870	0	10,560	0	12,300	0	3,293	20	4,860	92	6,152	30
Orphan Chamber	—		—		—		—		—		15,090	0	—		—		—	
Vendue Department	90,397	53	57,811	23	77,741	20	51,150	0	56,193	0	60,300	0	129,006	37	92,044	6	54,142	0
Lombard Bank	—		—		—		15,807	15	26,400	0	30,150	0	—		—		—	
Town Duties	*Included in the above.*						*Included in the above.*						—		18,942	88	22,817	84
Printing Office	—		—		—		—		—		—		—		4,679	47	13,037	90
Taxes on Slaves	—		—		—		—		—		—		81,672	96	59,001	69	20,864	53
Do. Houses and Lands	—		—		—		—		—		—		69,463	44	70,560	53	29,091	48
Do. Horses	39,180	0	35,812	0	36,987	0	—		19,450	0	20,000	0	28,178	48	30,897	0	6,150	0
Do. Cocoa-nut trees	—		—		—		—		—		—		—		—		338	30
Head Money	—		—		—		—		—		—		117,430	72	52,251	32	9,061	93
Salt Department	—		—		—		25,752	0	224,620	0	271,557	0	—		213,440	13	346,979	0
Coffee	*Sent to Europe.*		*Sent to Europe.*		98,377	0	534,818	0	348,197	0	463,811	60	—	7	132,492	88	700,376	0
Fines and Fees	34,622	31	4,737	16	6,684	86	—		—		—		14,475	67	17,336	64	17,298	18
Birds' Nests collected at Surakerta and Yugyakerta	—		—		—		—		—		—		173,294	0	275,334	40	308,200	0
Teak Timber felled	—		—		—		—		8,318	0	12,519	0	368,251	36	103,459	84	85,941	7
License for a China Junk to trade to Macasar	129,200	0	117,871	74	130,529	32	37,325	0	60,000	0	65,000	0	—		44,440	0	35,860	0
Do. cutting Timber	—		—		—		—		—		—		—		—		6,240	4
Tax on civil Employés of one-fifth of their Income	205,522	92	145,527	42	221,589	32	—		—		—		—		—		—	
Miscellaneous	68,801	3	63,611	32	53,235	35	18,319	0	15,890	0	27,300	0	4,067	85	13,551	65	13,817	61
Java Rupees	2,226,423	81	1,979,145	92	2,458,815	92	2,056,307	27	2,632,897	20	3,440,352	77	4,995,986	20	5,418,723	49	6,549,594	49
From the Dependencies.																		
Revenues and Duties at Banjermasin	33,903	27	18,816	99	18,817	68	17,221	23	19,343	17	—		—		—		32,542	28
Do. do. .. Makasar	66,889	9	76,175	59	65,937	94	72,874	48	72,546	30	114,224	90	139,602	32	107,754	55	85,473	4
Do. do. .. Palembang and Banka, the Revenues collected in Tin, and disposed of	48,000	0	16,000	0	—		—		—		—		264,156	90	363,146	0	853,371	14
Total Receipts, Java Rupees	2,375,216	17	2,090,138	50	2,543,571	74	2,146,402	98	2,724,786	67	3,554,577	67	5,399,745	42	5,889,624	4	7,520,980	95
EXPENSES.																		
On the Island.																		
Charges of the General Department	745,556	68	855,369	94	827,714	51	571,336	7	1,266,866	97	1,833,211	0						
Do. Judicial do.	169,851	49	190,981	67	174,119	70	105,677	45	15,886	36	11,293	50						
Do. Revenues do.	119,465	88	114,640	45	134,368	72	17,018	23	98,632	59	353,131	26	3,659,972	78	4,116,699	86	4,292,824	87
Do. Commercial do.	55,098	93	166,280	88	168,628	71	56,504	47	37,088	10								
Do. Marine do.	588,863	78	609,492	50	600,738	28	225,388	3	614,015	23	941,829	53						
Do. Military .. do.	2,025,731	50	2,019,887	68	2,038,662	63	1,096,067	30	2,302,944	7	3,074,440	33	440,854	39	327,203	36	352,910	24
Do. on Expeditions	—		—		—		—		—		—		4,101,380	80	2,745,908	32	3,062,250	52
Freight on Ships and Vessels	104,983	69	127,051	57	174,481	41	65,950	64	78,299	50	175,286	10	241,091	55	79,640	68	160,409	51
Account of Interest and Miscellaneous	6,172	81	5,587	19	6,528	0	117,137	14	298,445	59	580,328	40	—		—		—	
													—		—		—	
Java Rupees	3,815,724	76	4,089,291	84	5,145,311	93	2,255,119	31	4,712,178	32	6,969,520	6	5,443,209	52	7,269,346	22	7,808,395	14
On the Dependencies.																		
At Banjermasin	33,757	78	36,861	13	42,194	10	48,143	39	66,027	77	—		102,422	23	97,503	94	297,439	75
Makasar	133,929	56	181,032	89	168,881	15	211,449	33	216,138	14	112,916	60	141,259	12	126,513	79	246,025	47
Palembang and Banka	23,720	91	23,937	86	26,639	37	17,785	33	20,451	88	19,345	10	420,809	84	567,967	40	740,558	24
Total Expenses, Java Rupees	4,007,133	1	4,331,123	72	4,383,026	55	4,532,497	36	5,014,797	11	7,101,781	76	9,107,700	71	8,061,331	35	9,091,418	60
Deduct the above Revenues	2,375,216	17	2,090,138	50	2,543,571	74	2,146,402	98	2,724,786	67	3,554,577	67	5,399,745	42	5,889,624	4	7,520,980	95
More Expences than Receipts, Java Rupees	1,631,916	84	2,240,985	23	1,839,454	81	2,386,094	38	2,290,010	44	3,547,204	9	3,707,955	29	2,171,707	31	1,571,437	65

BATAVIA,
Accountant's Office, the 16th February, 1816.

(Signed) J. G. BAUER, *Accountant.*

From a colony which was able to furnish at such a moment so extensive a revenue from its own internal resources, after the drains, checks, and restrictions to which it had been subjected during the last two centuries, what might not have been expected, had confidence been once established in the permanency of the government, and the tide of British capital been once fairly turned into it?

CHAPTER VII.

Ceremonies of the Court.—Deference paid to superior Rank.—Regalia.—Processions.—Pomp.—Rank and Titles.—Ambassadors.—Ceremonies attending Births, Marriages, and Funerals.—Account of the People called Kálang, and of the Inhabitants of the Téng'ger Mountains.—The Bedui.—Festivals.—Amusements.—The Drama.—Wáyangs.—The Dance.—Tournaments.—The Chase.—Tiger Fights.—Combat of Criminals with Tigers.—Bull Fights, &c.—Games of Skill and Chance.—Other Customs and Usages.

HAVING, in the preceding Chapter, endeavoured to pourtray the natural and moral character of the people of Java, and to convey to the reader a general idea of the nature and principles of the government to which they have been subjected, I shall now proceed to detail some of the usages and customs which prevail among them.

Ceremonies of the Court.

Of these the ceremonies of the court are the most obvious, and a stranger cannot fail to be struck with the extreme deference and respect towards their superiors, by which the Javans are characterized. Respect for rank, for experience, for parents and old age, have been already noticed among the features of their character; but the excess to which deference to rank is carried by the political institutions of the country, deserves more particular remark, whether we consider it as illustrative of the nature of the government and the quiet and orderly disposition of the people, or endeavour to trace in the early periods of their history, the causes which may have contributed to the existing constitution of society among them.

Deference paid to superior Rank.

The respect shewn to superior rank on Java is such, that no individual, whatever his condition, can stand in the presence of a superior; neither can he address him in the same language in which he is spoken to. Not even the heir apparent, or the members of the royal family, can stand in the presence of the sovereign; and the same restriction applies to the family of each subordinate chief. Were this mark of respect confined to the royal family alone, it might perhaps find a parallel in other eastern countries,

countries, where it is usual for the subject to prostrate himself before the sovereign, but in Java the nature of the government is such, that each delegated authority exacts the same marks of obeisance; so that, from the common labourer upward, no one dares to stand in the presence of a superior. Thus when a native chief moves abroad, it is usual for all the people of inferior rank among whom he passes, to lower their bodies to the ground till they actually sit on their heels, and to remain in this posture until he is gone by. The same rule is observed within doors; and instead of an assembly rising on the entrance of a great man, as in Europe, it sinks to the ground, and remains so during his presence.

This humiliating posture is called *dódok*, and may be rendered into English by the term *squatting*. The practice is submitted to with the utmost cheerfulness by the people: it is considered an ancient custom, and respected accordingly. It was, however, in a great measure discontinued in the European provinces during the administration of the British government, who endeavoured to raise the lower orders, as much as was prudent, from the state of degradation to which their chiefs, aided by the Dutch authority, had subjected them; but it continued in force in the native provinces, in *Madúra*, and to a certain extent in most of the districts at a distance from the seats of European government.

In travelling myself through some of the native provinces, and particularly in *Madúra*, where the forms of the native government are particularly observed, I have often seen some hundreds drop on my approach, the cultivator quitting his plough, and the porter his load, on the sight of the *Túan besár's* carriage. At the court of *Súra-kérta*, I recollect that once, when holding a private conference with the *Susúnan* at the residency, it became necessary for the *Ráden adipáti* to be dispatched to the palace for the royal seal: the poor old man was as usual squatting, and as the *Susúnan* happened to be seated with his face towards the door, it was full ten minutes before his minister, after repeated ineffectual attempts, could obtain an opportunity of rising sufficiently to reach the latch without being seen by his royal master. The mission on which he was dispatched was urgent, and the *Susúnan* himself inconvenienced by the delay; but these inconveniences were insignificant, compared with the indecorum of being seen out of the *dódok* posture. When it is necessary for an inferior to move, he must still retain that position, and walk with his hams upon his heels until he is out of his superior's sight.

Besides

Besides this deference in the posture of the body, a deference, equally striking and still more defined, is shewn in the language used to a superior. The vernacular language of the country is never allowed to be used on such occasions, but only an arbitrary language, distinguished by the term *bása*, the language, or *bása kráma*, the polite language, or language of honour. The common people are thus not permitted to use the same language as the great, or in other words, are by the political institutions of the country, in a great degree, deprived of the use of their mother tongue. This subject will however be more particularly treated of in another chapter. That a set of people who have received some mental culture will necessarily discover it in their language, and that a line of distinction will be thus drawn between the well informed and the ignorant, is natural; and of the employment of a different number of persons in the verbs and pronouns, according as supremacy, respect, or familiarity is to be expressed, the modern European languages afford abundant example: but that one class of words should be exacted from the lower orders as a homage to the powerful, and another class given in exchange, serving to remind them of their inferiority, is a refinement in arbitrary power, which it would be difficult to parallel.

Having thus seen the nature and extent of the general deference paid to a superior on Javâ, the reader will be prepared, in some degree, for the still further humiliations which are expected from a subject on public occasions. No one approaches his sovereign or immediate chief, no child approaches his father, without (*súmbah*, that is obeisance) closing his hands and raising them to his forehead, in token of respect. On public or festival days, it is usual for the inferior chiefs, not as in Europe, to kiss the hand, but to kiss the knee, the instep, or the sole of the foot, according to the relative distance of rank between the parties.

Regalia. The royal seat is a large stool or bench of gold or silver with a velvet cushion: it is called *dámpar*, and attends the sovereign wherever he may go.

Among the regalia (*upachára*), which are always carried in procession when the sovereign moves abroad, and are arranged behind him while seated on the *dámpar*, are the following golden figures:—the *hásti* or *gája*, that of an elephant; the *hárda walíka* or *nanágan*, that of a serpent; the *jajáwen sánting*, that of a bull; the *sángsam*, that of a deer; and the *sáwung gáling*, that of a cock fowl; each of a size to be borne in the hand. These, with the *kútuk* and *chapúri* for tobacco and *síri*, the *paka-chohán* or golden spitting-pot, and a variety of golden salvers, bowls, &c. distinguished

distinguished by their respective names applicable to their different purposes, have descended as *pusákas*, or heir-looms, in the royal family, and are esteemed with the highest degree of veneration.

Processions. When the sovereign moves abroad, he is attended by numerous spear-men (*wáhos*), the duty of eight of whom is to attend the figures of the sacred elephant and bull, near which are also led four horses richly caparisoned. The royal *páyung*, or state umbrella, is carried in front of the procession on these occasions, in which are also invariably carried four trunks or boxes (*brókoh*), each borne by two men, and containing the clothes of the sovereign, caparison for his horses, his personal arms, implements, provisions, and in short every thing required for an establishment: this rule is observed whenever the sovereign moves out of the palace. His mat (*lánté*) is likewise borne in procession, together with two saddle horses for his use when necessary.

Pomp. The ceremonies and state of the native courts have lost much of their genuine character, from the admission of European customs, introduced by the Dutch after the last Javan war. Salutes are regulated after the European order, and the Javans have availed themselves of many of the customs of Europeans, to render the ceremonies of state more striking. Thus both the *Susúnan* and *Súltan* are furnished with large gilt carriages, after the fashion of those used by the Lord Mayor of London. When the former drinks wine with the governor, the rest of the company are offered white wine, while they alone drink red, and a flourish of trumpets sounds as the glass approaches their lips.

It may be observed, that few people are more attached to state and show than the Javans; that, in general, the decorations employed and the forms observed are chaste, and at the same time imposing, calculated to impress a stranger with a high idea of their taste, their correctness and yet love of splendour. The ornaments of state, or regalia, are well wrought in gold; the royal shield is richly inlaid with precious stones, and the royal *krís* is hung in a belt, which, with its sheath, is one blaze of diamonds. In processions, when the European authority is to be received, each side of the road, for miles, is lined with spear-men in different dresses, and standing in various warlike attitudes; streamers flying, and the music of the *gámelán* striking up on every side. *Páyungs*, or umbrellas of three tiers, of silk richly fringed and ornamented with gold, are placed at intervals, and nothing is omitted which can add to the appearance of state and pomp.

Among

Among the ensigns displayed on these occasions are the *Monkey* flag of *Arjúna*, and a variety of other devices taken from the poems of antiquity, as well as the double-bladed sword, and a variety of inscriptions from the Arabs.

The chiefs of provinces, and the petty chiefs in their gradation below them, keep up as much of the form and ceremony of the chief court as is consistent with their relative rank and means; and, in their turn, exact from their vassals the same degree of respect which the sovereign exacts from them.

On occasions when the Regents are anxious to shew particular respect to Europeans, as on the entrance of the Governor, or other high officer travelling, it is the custom, particularly in the *Súnda* districts, to erect triumphal arches of *bámbu* at the entrance of the principal villages; and the taste and variety displayed on these occasions have been often noticed, as evincing a refinement beyond what the general results of their present state of civilization might justify.

Rank and titles.

In a former place I noticed, that the gradations of rank among the Javans were, in some instances, marked by the dress they wore, and by the manner of putting on the *kris;* but a more defined line is drawn by the *páyung*, or umbrella, which is subject to the following regulation from immemorial custom:

1. The Sovereign alone is entitled to the golden *páyung*.*

2. The *Rátu*, or Queen, and the members of the royal family, to the yellow *páyung*.

3. The family of the *Rátu*, and the family of the Sovereign by his concubines, to the white *páyung*.

4. The *Bopátis* and *Tumúng'gungs* to the green *páyung*, edged and mounted with gold.

5. The *Ang'ebáis*, *Ráng'gas*, *Mántris*, &c. to the red *páyung*.

6. The heads of villages, and other petty officers, to the dark *páyung*.

In order to convey an idea of the different titles and the gradations of rank among the Javans, it becomes necessary, in consequence of the confusion which has arisen among them of late years, to revert to what they were supposed to be in the days of *Májapáhit* and previously, when the Hindu faith and institutions exclusively prevailed.

The usual term for the sovereign was then *Rátu*, and in the literary compositions which have descended to us, he was either distinguished by such epithets as *Nára-náta*, *Nára-dípa*, *Nára-páti*, *Narindra*, *Narária*, *Aji*, *Prábu*, *Kátong*, *Ajung*, or *Mahaŕája*. The queen was called *Pramiswári*.

The

* The same is assumed by the European Governor, or his representative.

The children of the sovereign were called, the princes *Ráden*, and the princesses *Dewi*, which titles were hereditary in their families. The brothers of the sovereign had the title of *Ráden aria*.

When a sovereign was advanced in age, and quitted his government to become a devotee, he was called *Begáwan*.

The minister who administered the country in the name of the sovereign, and issued his orders to the governors of provinces, &c. was always termed *Páteh*; and the chiefs employed in administering the government of the provinces, or otherwise in the government of the country, were entitled either *Pratíwa*, *Pung'gáwa*, *Niáka*, or *Bopáti*. The chiefs below these, and subject to their orders, such as *Ráng'ga*, *Ange'bái*, *Demáng*, *Praméa*, *Ménak*, *Klíwon*, and others were included in the class of *Mantris*.

The heads of villages were called either *Umbul*, *Patíng'gi*, *Babákal*, *Babáhu*, *Lúra*, or *Kúwu*.

The commanders-in-chief in war had the title of *Senapáti*. The general term for soldiers was *prajúrit*; and those employed in guarding the country from the approach of an enemy were called either *Pechát tánda*, *Támping*, or *Ulubálang*.

In judicial affairs the *Jáksa* was the chief. His assistant or deputy was *Paliwára*, and the officers of his court *Kérta*.

Wadána gédong was the title given to the officer entrusted with the charge of the sovereign's purse and personal property, and with the collection of his revenues: the secretary or writer was called *Chárik*. *Tánda* and *Sabándar* was the title of the officers who collected the duties in the markets and along the high roads.

When it was necessary for the sovereign to move from one part of the country to another, there was always a class of *Mántris* in attendance, to whom the title of *Pang'alasan* or *Kajíneman* was given.

On the establishment of the Mahometan religion, in the Javan year 1400, a new gradation of rank and order of titles was introduced by the sultan of *Demák*, as follows.

The sovereign, instead of being called *Rátu*, took the name of *Susuhúnan*,* or *Sultan*, and the queen was called *Rátu*. The title of *Panámbahán* was conferred as the highest in rank next to the sovereign, and above the princes of the blood, who were now termed *Pang'éran* or *Pang'éran ária*;

* The titles at present assumed by the *Susúnan* are *Susuhúnan Páku Buána Sena-páti heng Alága Abdul Rahmen Sáyedin Pánatagáma*.

the princesses born of the queen were termed *Rátu*, and the daughters by concubines *Ráden áyu*. The sons of the princes were called *Ráden mas*, until they were married, when they were termed *Ráden* only: their daughters before marriage were called *Ráden ajéng*, and after marriage *Ráden áyu*. The *Susuhúnan's* great grandchildren by his wife were allowed to assume the title of *Ráden*, and those by his concubines bore the title of *Mas*, the latter title continuing to descend in the family to the offspring by a wife, those by a concubine taking the title of *Bágus*, which is considered as the lowest title appertaining to royalty. It would be tedious, in this place, to detail the minor titles common in the *Súnda* districts, they will be more particularly noticed in the statistical accounts of those districts.

When a *Bopáti*, or governor of a province, is appointed, he is furnished with a *piágam* or *nawála*, or letter patent, fixing his rank, and the extent of assignment of lands conferred upon him; * also with a *báwat*, or stick, similar to that of the *páyung*, or umbrella, measuring about eight feet long, with which it is his duty to measure the *sáwah* or rice fields.

When

* *Form of a Piágam, or Patent of Javan Nobility.*

Let it be observed, this is the writing of me, the Sultan, &c. &c. &c.

Be it known to the *Nayáka* (high officers of the palace), *Bopátis* (the class of *Tumung'gungs* or Regents), and *Mantris* (the petty noblesse) of *Yúgya-kérta* and *Mánchanagára*, that I have invested ..... with this letter, to raise him from the earth, and permit him to bear the title of ....., and wear the dress appointed for the ....., bestowing upon him for his subsistence lands to the amount of eleven hundred *cháchas*, the labour of eleven hundred men (families).

* These are the names of the land bestowed. * * *

Translation of a Nawála for the Mánchanagára, or distant Districts.

Let all persons observe this, the royal letter of us, the exalted Sultan, &c., which we give in charge to .....

Be it known to you, our servants, chiefs of *Yúgya-kérta Adiníngrat*, whether *Bopátis* or *Mántris*, and to you our *Bopátis* and *Mantris*, chiefs of *Mánchanagára*, that our royal letter is given in charge to ....., in order to exalt him. Moreover we prefer our servant to the rank of a *Bopáti*, to be chief of the *Bopátis* of *Mánchanagára*, bearing as heretofore the name of ..... We also entitle him to wear such dress as is appointed for the *Widána* of *Mánchanagára*, and we give for his estate (seat), our own royal lands ....., amounting to two thousand *chachas* ..... thousand productive (living), of which last ..... thousand are assigned for a maintenance and ..... thousand are charged with rents, to the amount of ..... dollars annually, payable twice a year, *viz.* at the festival *Mulud* ....., and at the festival of *Puasa* ....., each dollar to consist of thirty *wangs*, and the whole to be subject to an office fee of one *wang* in each dollar. Moreover we direct, that each year an account be rendered to us of the increase or decrease of the *sáwah* (rice lands). The date of giving the royal order is the .....

When a chief of the rank of *Mántri* is appointed, he is furnished with a *kris* handle and with a mat, which is carried behind him when he moves about, as well for use as to shew his rank.

The Javans include in the general term of *Priáyi* all persons above the rank of common people, a term which in its general application on Java is not very unlike that of gentlemen, or latterly of esquires, in England.

Among the forms of an eastern court, few are more particularly observed than those relating to ambassadors. The Javans have long ceased to send or receive ambassadors, but the following extracts from the *Níti Prája*, will shew what they conceive ought to be the qualifications and conduct of such an officer. Ambassadors.

" A person entrusted with a message from his prince, must never abuse " the trust placed in him, but always keep in sight that on such occasions " he is the representative of the prince. And chiefly, if he is sent with a " letter from the prince to a foreign country, in this case he must be less " submissive than before his own prince. According to circumstances, he " must conduct himself with dissimulation, and before he enters any foreign " country, by some secret means or other, occasion his own name, and that " of the prince his master, to be spread over the country, at the same time " that he obtains every possible information regarding the state of the " country and people. On entering the country, he must assume a digni- " fied appearance, and not speak or look about him more than is necessary. " Such conduct will inspire the people with respect for him.

" The letter must be carried on the shoulder, and in his gait and speech " he must conduct himself with propriety. In delivering the letter he " must present himself with dignity, approach first, and then retire from " the person to whom the letter is directed, speak with him at a distance, " and not too familiarly.

" In all cases he must be careful not to go beyond his orders. His " deportment must be unassuming yet dignified; and having received an " answer for his prince, it is his duty to depart immediately, and to proceed " with it direct to the prince, without even going to his own house first. " If the letter is from some person lower in rank than his master, he must " not immediately shew it, but conceal it for a time; but if it is from a " prince of equal rank, then must he carry the letter before him. When " a letter is from a prince to one of his subjects, it must be carried high. " Coming in the presence of his prince, he must carefully watch his eye,

" that he may deliver the letter on the first intimation given by the prince
" that he is ready to receive it.

" Whoever dictates a letter must be careful that a letter to a superior is
" not couched in the same terms as a letter to an inferior."

The three most remarkable events in the history of the individual are his birth, his marriage, and his death; to these accordingly have the greatest number of forms and ceremonies been attached.

Births. As soon as it is observed that a Javan woman is in the third month of pregnancy, the event is communicated to all the nearest relations, to whom, at the same time, presents are made, consisting of yellow rice, sweet-scented oils, and wax candles. People of condition add some cloths, gold, silver, or brass cups, as also needles, either of those metals or of iron.

After seven months' pregnancy, a festival is given to the relations and friends, at which yellow rice forms invariably a part of the entertainment.

The pregnant woman must afterwards wash her body with the milk of a green cocoa-nut, on the shell of which has been previously carved two handsome figures, one of each sex, by which the parents intend to represent a standard of beauty for their expected offspring, and to engrave on the imagination of the mother, impressions which may extend to the lineaments of her infant. The nut must be opened by the husband. She is next to bathe in water, into which many sweet-scented flowers have been thrown, and to dress herself with a new cloth, making a present of the old one, together with money, raw rice, *síri*, and cocoa-nuts, to the midwife, who assists in her lustrations. On the night of these ceremonies there must be a *wáyang* or scenic shadow performed, the object of which is to represent the life and adventures of a certain prince in the line of *Déwa Batára Bráma.*

If the woman is delivered of a son, the after-birth is immediately cut off with a very sharp knife of *bámbu*, wrapped in a piece of paper on which is written the Javan alphabet; then laid in a new pot, and buried in the ground, at which place a lamp, covered with a basket of *bámbu*, and adorned with leaves of the *pandánri*, is put, and kept burning till the umbilical cord of the child falls off. When this takes place, the child is watched the whole night, by persons who read the history of the *Déwas*, or of famous princes, or amuse themselves with a *wáyang*.

As soon as the child is nine months old, the parents entertain their relatives and friends with a *wáyang* and festival.

Marriages

Marriages are invariably contracted, not by the parties themselves, but by their parents or relations on their behalf. Such interference (which was common among the Greeks, without the same apology) is rendered necessary by the early age at which the matrimonial union is formed, and the incompetence of either of the intended couple to form a discreet and prudent choice. During the period that intervenes between the application of the friends of the boy to the parents or guardians of the girl for their concurrence in the match, and the obtainment of it, her condition is distinguished by the term *tétákon* (enquired for): when the consent of her parents is obtained, it is termed *lámar* (solicited). According to ancient custom, after matters proceeded thus far, a present of different valuables, termed *paníng'sat* is sent by the intended bridegroom to the bride, and her acceptance of it, implying that she concurs in the previous steps taken towards her settlement, renders the contract binding. The general prevalence of similar customs cannot fail to strike those who are acquainted with the nature of the *sponsalia dona* of the Romans, and the marriage ceremonies detailed in various passages of Scripture (Genesis, ch. xv. 2; xxiv. 5, &c.) A present of this kind is described as being sent by *Pánji Kérta Páti* to the Princess *Chándra Kirána* of *Daha*,* and we are told that it thence became a custom among the Javans. Marriages.

By any reluctance to complete his engagement, the bridegroom forfeits to his betrothed these earnest gifts (as they may be called); while, on the other hand, if the obstacles to the completion of the marriage originate with her, she is bound to return them. This present is also called *patiba sámpir.*

This custom, however, is now not so common as formerly: it is in a great measure discontinued or confounded with the next ceremony, termed *sárdhan* (delivered up). This consists in making various presents to the bride a short time before the day fixed for the marriage, after the delivery of

* "Thereupon *Klána Jáyang Sári* (another name for *Pánji Kérta Páti*,) called his sister, and "the Princesses of *Báli* and *Balem-báng'an*, and directed them to proceed to the Prince of "*Daha*, and to present to him a handsome present, composed of the most beautiful and rich "ornaments and articles of dress for adorning a princess, placing the same in a *kendăga* "(or box), in order that if the prince was pleased to allow it to be delivered to his "daughter *Dewi Chándra Kirána*, it might be a proof that he confirmed the contract with "*Klána Jáyang Sári*, and that his daughter, *Dewi Chándra Kirána*, would be accepted by "*Klána Jáyang Sári*, in which case he was ready to attack the enemies of the prince."—See the Adventures of the celebrated *Pánji.*

of which, the bride and bridegroom are confined to the house, until the ceremony takes place. The period varies; but with people of distinction there generally elapses an interval of forty days between the *sárahan* and the marriage.

Marriage contracts.

On the day of the marriage (for which one that is considered fortunate* is previously selected) the father of the bride proceeds to the mosque, accompanied by the bridegroom, and informing the *Panghúlu* that the lad whom he presents has agreed to give the *sri káwin* (generally about two dollars), requests him to marry him to his daughter: on which the *Panghúlu* inquires of the bridegroom, whether he has paid the amount, or is willing to do so? and upon the affirmative being declared, he sanctifies the marriage by words to the following effect:

"I join you, *ráden'mas* (bridegroom), in wedlock with *sátia* (the bride), "with a pledge of two reals weight in gold or silver.† You take (*sátia*) "to be your wife for this world. You are obliged to pay the pledge of "your marriage (*sri káwin*), or to remain debtor for the same. You are "responsible for your wife in all and every thing. If you should happen "to be absent from her for the space of seven months on shore, or one "year at sea, without giving her any subsistence, and are remiss in the "performance of the duties which you owe to your sovereign, your mar-"riage shall be dissolved, if your wife requires it, without any further "form or process; and you will be, besides, subject to the punishment "which the Mahometan law dictates."

Should any circumstance occur to prevent the bridegroom from attending at the mosque on the day selected for the marriage, he follows the singular custom of sending his *kris*‡ to the ceremony, which is deemed sufficient by the *Panghúlu;* and afterwards he may appoint a proxy, to represent him in the processions which follow. But this is seldom done when a man marries for the first time.

After

* Fortune was so much considered in the making of these matches among the Romans, that the augurs were always called along with the witnesses to a marriage contract, to pronounce upon the happy results of the settlement which the latter attested:

"Veniet cum signatoribus Auspex."—*Juvenal.*

† The Jews marry in nearly the same way, the husband delivering a sum of money as a pledge. The Greeks were in the habit of presenting gifts on similar occasions.

‡ A description of this instrument, on account of the importance attached to it among the Javans, the constancy with which it is worn, and the care with which it is preserved through different generations, will be found in another place.

A Pengänton Widon or Bride.

After the ceremony, the bridegroom pays the priest the marriage fees (*salárwat*), which ought, according to strict Mahometans, not to exceed fifteen stivers. In most instances, the fees are raised to five times that sum in money, besides in many places a fowl, a hank of cotton-yarn, four *kátis* of rice, two cocoa-nuts, *síri*, and fruit.

On the wedding day, or sometimes the day following, the bridegroom, dressed in his best clothes, mounted on horseback, accompanied by all his friends, and attended with music in the front and rear, proceeds at noon to the dwelling of the bride, who, on his approach, comes out to meet him at the door. In some districts, before their nearer approach, the bride and bridegroom throw simultaneously a bundle of *síri* at each other with considerable force, with the intention, it is said, of learning, from the dexterity with which the parties respectively perform this singular feat, and the success that attends it, which of them will be able best to maintain their privileges, or gain an ascendancy during the continuance of their union. They prognosticate that, if the bundle of the bridegroom touch the head of the bride, it is an infallible sign that he must rule; otherwise, the reverse.

The bride, after this, receives the bridegroom with a low obeisance, in testimony of her regard for him, extending similar marks of respect to his parents, who attend him. The married couple are then placed in a situation elevated above the rest of the company; and in token of their afterwards living together, and sharing the same sustenance, commence eating *síri* from the same *síri*-box.

In some districts, after leaving the mosque, the bridegroom and his father proceed to the house of the bride's parents, where they obtain her company in a procession through the village or town. On these occasions, the bride is carried on a litter, which is generally fashioned in the form of a *garúda*, and the bridegroom is mounted on horseback. All the relations and friends of the parties attend, carrying flowers and refreshments, together with the presents made to the bridegroom on his marriage. The procession moves on to the sound of the national music, and the occasional firing of cannon. A feast is given in the evening at the house of the bride's parents, at which the new married couple remain for the night. The term given to the bride and bridegroom is *peng'ánten*, and the marriage ceremony is called *láki rábi*.

On the next day in some districts, and on the fifth in others, the bridegroom (or *peng'ánten lánang*), and bride (*peng'ánten wádon*), together with the

the whole train of relations and friends, visit in like manner the house of the bridegroom's father. This ceremony is called *únduh mántu* (accepting the daughter-in-law). There they both again sit down to eat *síri* in some place of distinction; similar entertainments are repeated, and on the following day they return with the same pomp and form to the bride's dwelling, the ceremony being now completed.

With the exception of the delivery of the *sri káwin*, and the procession to the mosque, there is very little in these ceremonies conformable to the Mahometan precepts.

Marriages are frequently contracted between children, and then termed *gántung káwin* (hanging-on marriages); but in this case the parties are kept separate, and the principal ceremonies are reserved till they attain the age of puberty. Such contracts proceed from a laudable solicitude, on the part of parents, to provide a suitable and advantageous match for their children as early as possible; and to the same cause, as much, perhaps, as from the influence of climate and intemperance of manners, may be attributed the early age, at which matrimonial engagements are sometimes consummated.

Divorce. Whatever may be the reasons for such early marriages, one of the most serious consequences is the facility with which they are dissolved. The multiplication of divorces is mentioned by the poets, the moralists, and the historians of the Roman empire, as one of the greatest causes and symptoms of the corruption and degeneracy of the period in which they lived; and certainly it had proceeded to great lengths, when Seneca could say that a woman computed her age, not by the annual succession of consuls but of husbands.* The Javans, though a simple people, are in this respect too like the profligate and dissolute Romans.

In no part of the world are divorces more frequent than on Java; for besides the facilities afforded by the Mahometan ordinances, a woman may at any time, when dissatisfied with her husband, demand a dissolution of the marriage contract, by paying him a sum established by custom, according to the rank of the parties: about twenty dollars for a person of the lower orders, and fifty dollars for those of the degree of *Demăng* or *Mántri*. The husband is not bound to accept it; but he is generally induced to do so, from a consideration, that the opinions and custom of the country require

* "Non consulum sed maritorum numero annos suos computant." *Seneca, de Benef.*— But this is short of Juvenal's account: "Fiunt octo mariti, quinque per autumnos."

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A Pengänten Lanang or Bridegroom.

require it; that his domestic happiness would he sacrificed in a contest with his reluctant companion; and that, by continuing his attachment, he would incur the shame of supporting one who treated him with aversion or contempt. This kind of divorce is termed *mánchal.* The husband may at any time divorce his wife, on making a settlement upon her sufficient to support her according to her condition in life.

A widow may marry again at the expiration of three months and ten days after her husband's death.

When a person of rank or property dies, all his relations, male and female, meet at the house of the deceased, to testify their grief at the death and their respect for the memory of the departed. On that occasion, what is termed *seldmat* money is distributed among all according to circumstances. The priests, who are to perform the service at the place of interment, receive a Spanish dollar, a piece of cloth, and a small mat each. Interment.

When the corpse is washed * and wrapped in a white cloth, it is carried out of the house on a bier covered with coloured chintz, on which garlands of flowers are hung as drapery. On this occasion, no means of costly pomp or impressive solemnity are neglected in the use of umbrellas (*páyung*), pikes, and other insignia of honour. All the relations and friends accompany the corpse to the grave, where the priest addresses a prayer to heaven and delivers an exhortation to the soul of the deceased; of which the substance commonly is, "that it should be conscious of being the work "of the Creator of the universe, and after leaving its earthly dwelling "should speed its way to the source whence it issued." After this ceremony the corpse is interred, and the other priests continue their prayers and benedictions.

For seven successive nights, the same priests meet and pray at the house of the deceased, in the presence of his relations.

On the third, seventh, fourteenth, hundredth, and thousandth day or night after the death of a person, are observed particular festivals or solemn

* The Romans likewise were in the habit of washing the dead body several times before interment with water, which in their case was warm.

"Pars calidos latices et ahena undantia flammis
"Expediunt: corpusque lavant frigentis et ungunt."

Virgil: Æneidos, lib. vi. *lin.* 218.

By referring to the Old and New Testament, the same practice will be found to have prevailed among the Jews: indeed, it seems to have been very general.

feasts in his commemoration, on which occasions prayers are offered up for the happiness of his soul.

The body is interred after the usual manner of the Mahometans, and a *sambója* tree is usually planted by its side. It is the universal practice of the relatives of the deceased to strew the graves several times in the year with the sweet-scented flowers of the *sulási* (the *tulsi* of Bengal), which are raised exclusively for this purpose. The burial-grounds are, in general, well chosen. In *Kedú*, where the most beautiful eminences have been selected for this purpose, and where the *sambója* tree grows with the greatest luxuriance, they form very interesting objects in the landscape. The burial-places of the royal family and of the nobles of the country are usually called *astána*; they are surrounded by one or more high walls, and in general by stately *waring'en* trees. The tombs are sometimes ornamented with sculptural devices and well-executed inscriptions, either in the Javan or Arabic character. They are kept clean and repaired by contributions from all parts of the country, under the superintendence of priests appointed to that particular duty, and are respected and guarded with religious veneration and zeal. The burial place of the family now on the throne is at *Megíri*, in the province of *Matárem*, a few miles distant from the modern capital of *Yúgya-kérta*.

Ancient customs relating to births, marriages, and deaths.

As the Javans are still devotedly attached to their ancient customs and ceremonies (few of which they have sacrificed to their new faith), I shall, in order to give a better idea of those still observed on the most remarkable occasions, present a short account of their state anterior to the introduction of Mahometanism, as far as it can be ascertained. Though, as Mahometans, they are averse to an open avowal of Pagan practices, they still preserve them more or less, according as the parties happen to be less or more under the influence of Arab priests.

Birth.

When a woman was pregnant with her first child, at the expiration of four months a feast was given, at which yellow rice was served up. This entertainment was insignificant compared with that which was observed at the expiration of seven months, when the guests were presented with cloth, gold, silver, and steel, according to the means of the parties, a piece of steel never failing to be one of the gifts, though it did not exceed the size of a needle. On this occasion a new bath was prepared in the evening, and watched during the night by the light of a lamp. At the side of the bath were laid two stalks of the dark coloured sugar cane, as an offering to

Batára

Batára Kála, a painted cloth of the pattern *túwuh wátu*, and a young cocoa-nut (*chéngkir gáding*), on which was engraved the resemblance of *Pánji Kérta Páti* and his wife *Chándra Kirána* of *Dáha*. In the morning the wife, after putting on the cloth, entered the bath, when the water from the young cocoa-nut was poured over her: during the day it was also incumbent on her to change her dress seven times. At the feast given on this occasion, fish, flesh, and fowl were invariably served up, and performances of the *wáyang* were exhibited.

Immediately on the birth of the child it was placed in a kind of basket made of *bámbu* (in form similar to the sieve or farming basket used for separating the chaff from the rice), the relations were assembled, and the remains of the umbilical cord were carefully cut off by means of a piece of sharpened *bámbu*. The part abstracted by this operation was deposited in the interior of a cocoa-nut, with a lump of turmerick placed under it. This cocoa-nut was ornamented on the outside with the twenty letters of the Javan alphabet. It was afterwards put into an earthen pot, and either buried under ground or thrown into the sea. A stone rolling-pin, dressed up like a baby, was placed in the basket in its stead. The female relations relieved each other through the day and night, in constantly supporting the child in their arms, till the navel was healed; the male relations all the while reading and reciting the history of *Ráma*, and other mythological and historical romances. As soon as the child was recovered, a grand feast was observed, with performances of the *wáyang*. Near the *Dálang* (director of the *wáyang*) was placed a bowl of pure water, into which fresh and sweet-scented flowers were cast, two black sugar-canes, a cloth of the *túwuh wátu* pattern, and a piece of white cloth, together with a bundle of *pári* and different kinds of eatables. On this occasion was exhibited the drama of *Batára Dúrga* and *Sang Yang Jágat Náta* (one of the designations of *Gúru*), at that passage where, during the first two quarters of the moon, the former appeared in her amiable character of *Uma*,* and where, in the city of *Kúru Sétra Gándamáyu*, she is delivered of a son, *Batára Kála*, having the form of a *Rasáksa*, "greedy to destroy and devour mankind." At that part of the performance when *Sang Yang Jágat Náta* takes the child on his lap, the *Dálang* did the same with the infant, repeating the invocation, "*hong! ila-heng!*" several times, and afterwards returning it into

 the

* During the two latter quarters of the moon she is considered as appearing in the form of a *Rasáksa*, and is then more properly called *Dúrga*.

the hands of the father. On this occasion the *wáyang* was performed from seven o'clock in the evening till eight o'clock in the morning.

When the child was forty days old, its head was shaved, as directed by the parent, and the ceremony took place of giving it whatever name should be determined on by the father and the elders.

The *Dúkun* (midwife) who attended at the delivery, was entitled to receive for her trouble fourteen *wang* (about a rupee) if it was an ordinary birth, but in difficult cases her allowance was proportionately increased. Her attendance continued for the mornings and evenings of forty days, at the expiration of which she was further entitled to receive a present of two pieces of cloth, one small and one large, four *kátis* of rice, two cocoa-nuts, and some *síri*. If required to attend beyond that period, she was paid accordingly. A *Dúkun* once employed, could not be exchanged on any account during the forty days. Women invariably acted as midwives; in other cases the medical art was practiced exclusively by the men.

On the child's attaining its seventh month, a feast was given, when it was for the first time placed with its feet on the ground. At this entertainment rice cakes and sweetmeats of different colours and kinds were served up; and if it happened that the child had come into the world either as the sun was just rising or setting, a bundle of grass or rubbish was thrown into the basket, upon the top of which it was placed for a few minutes; after which one of the elders taking the child into his arms repeated the following words: "*Hong! 'amilam mastúna masidam! súming'gáha yéwang "Kala'ing w'ru ajal amúla-níra ana-níra, Sang-yang Sába lan Batári Dúrga:*" which after an invocation to the Deity would express, "Begone, oh God "*Kála*, for I am not ignorant of thy nature, nor of thy being descended "from *Sang Yang Sába* (*Gúru*) and *Batára Dúrga.*"*

When

* A custom somewhat similar to this is said to be practiced in South America.

"They lighted a great number of torches, and the midwife taking up the child carried it "through the yard of the house, and placed it upon a heap of leaves of sword-grass, close "by a basin of water, which was prepared in the middle of the yard, and then undressing it "said, 'my child! the gods *Ometeuctti* and *Omicihautl*, Lords of Heaven, have sent thee to "'this dismal and calamitous world: receive this water, which is to give thee life:' and "after wetting its mouth, head, and breast, with forms similar to the first bathing, she bathed "its whole body, and rubbing every one of its limbs said, 'where art thou, ill fortune? in "'what limb art thou hid? go far from this child!'"

History of Mexico by Clavigero, translated by Cullen, vol. i.

When the child attained the age of one year, another feast was given in commemoration of its nativity, and this universally among all classes of people; those who possessed the means kept the anniversary of their birthday until their death.

Marriages were invariably contracted by the relations of the parties, by the paternal grandfather or grandmother if living, if not by the parents, and in case of their demise, by the natural guardian. Thus the brother, on the death of his parents, was permitted to dispose of the hand of his sister; and a deviation from this course was deprecated, as laying a foundation for quarrels and dissentions. Marriage.

The consent of the relations being obtained, the bridegroom was bound to serve the parents of the bride for a year.*

For forty days previous to the celebration of the marriage, the parties were not allowed to go to a distance from their homes, or to be employed in any severe labour.

At sunset on the wedding day, the bridegroom went in procession to visit the parents of the bride, after which she was visited by his parents, who on these occasions gave the married couple their blessing, wishing them happiness as lasting as that enjoyed by the god *Kámajáya* with his consort *Kámaráti.*

One of the elders, or an *Ajar*, then repeated the following benediction:

" *Hong! Gáng'ga-trigáng'ga? pináyung hana kala chákra kinásih hána* " *pra-dewáta hipáta'ing sapudénda tulúsa amándan waríng'en.*" " Hail!" " holy water, thrice holy water! be it as a covering to shield you from harm: " may the gods be merciful unto you: henceforth be flourishing as the " *pándan* and *waríng'en* trees."

In these processions the bridegroom was obliged to prepare whatever ornaments, trinkets, or gifts, the mother of the bride had fixed her fancy upon, either at the birth of her daughter or on any other occasion, whether they consisted in the representation of a white elephant, a white tiger, or the like.

Five days after the consecration of the marriage, the parents of the bride, with whom she staid for that period, prepared a feast, at which was invariably

* It is curious to observe how exactly this corresponds with the patriarchal history of Scripture, and the early accounts of the manners of ancient nations. The daughter was always considered the property of the parent, the wife as the purchase of the husband, and the marriage contract as the deed of transfer.

invariably served up among other things yellow rice. This entertainment was given to mark the period of the consummation: and after celebrating such an event, it was thought proper that the bride should be on a visit to the parents of her husband, remain under their roof, share their protection, and subsist at their expense for forty days without going abroad, at the expiration of which the new married couple were at liberty to go to their own house and pursue their own plans of life, becoming liable to contribute their share to the revenues and demands of the state.

The dresses worn on the nuptial day are thus described in the romance of *Pánji.*

" It being arranged that at the same time when *Rádin Pánji* was to " receive the princess *Déwi Chándra Kirána* in marriage, *Rétna Jinóli,* his " sister, should also be married to *Gúnung Sári,* son of the Prince of *Dáha,* " the Prince of *Dáha* departed with a joyful heart, and gave the necessary " directions to prepare the clothing and ornaments necessary for the two " brides.

" *Klána Jáyang Sári,** accompanied by his sister, *Rétna Jinóli,* and his " numerous followers, then entered the *dálam* of the prince. *Klána* " *Jáyang Sári* wore on the occasion a *dódot* of silk stamped with flowers of " gold; his *chelána* were of the green *chindi* ornamented with golden lace " round the bottom, and studded with *kúnang-kúnang* (golden ornaments " made to represent the fire-fly); his *sumping* (ornaments at the back of the " ear) were of golden flowers studded with diamonds. On the third " finger of each hand he wore two diamond rings. His waistband or " belt was a painted cloth, of the pattern *gríngsing sang'u-páti;* his *krís* " of the *kaprábon;* his *jámang,* or head ornament, of gold set with dia- " monds, and scented with all kinds of sweet-scented oils. He appeared " more beautiful than a deity descended from heaven, all looking upon him " with delight and astonishment.

" His sister, *Rétna Jinôli,* was dressed nearly after the same fashion as " the Princess *Ang'réni.*

" The dress of *Déwi Ang'réni,* when married, was as follows: her *dódot* " was of a pink colour stamped with golden flowers; her *kéndit* (zone, of " which the ends hang in front) was *mandála gíri* (yellow with red at each " end); her *jámang* of golden flowers; her golden earrings of the *bápang* " fashion, with a diamond in the centre; her hair according to the *glung*

" *mdlang*

* One of the names of Pángi.

" *málang* (a particular kind of knot), in which were placed beautiful and " sweet-scented flowers; the fine hair round her forehead fashioned into " small curls, with a sprinkling of powder; her eyebrows shaped like the " *imba* leaf. She wore golden armlets of the *kálung* pattern, ornamented with " drops. Her *kálung*, or necklace, was of the *méng'gah* fashion. She " wore two rings on the little and third finger of each hand, like unto a " *widadári.*"

There were three modes of disposing of the body of a deceased person: by fire, termed *óbóng;* by water, termed *lárung;* or by exposing it upright against a tree in a forest, where it was left to decay, termed *sétra.* When the body of a chief or person of consequence was burnt, it was usual to preserve the ashes, and to deposit them in a *chándi* or tomb. Funerals.

It was the custom with all classes of people on Java to give an entertainment or feast on the decease of their friends and relations.* The first feast was given on the day of the death, a second on the third day after, a third on the seventh day, a fourth on the fortieth day, a fifth on the hundredth day, and a sixth on the thousandth day after the decease of the party; after which an annual feast was observed, with more or less pomp, according to the respect in which the deceased was held, or the circumstances of the friends and relatives who celebrated his memory.

Besides these regular feasts and ceremonies, others prescribed by the *wúku*† were religiously observed. When the day *ang'gára* fell on the *páncha klíwon*, it was considered a propitious time for preferring petitions to the gods. On the seventh day of the *wúku galingán*, sacred to *Batára Kámajáya*, they relaxed from all wordly pursuits, and offered praises and prayers to the gods collectively, it being supposed that they were assembled on that day. On the *wúku gúmreg*, sacred to *Batára Sákra*, every villager joined in a feast sacred to the earth (*púja búmi*); and this *wúku* was particularly observed by the people termed *Kálang*, who during the seven days performed no work, but employed themselves in visiting the tombs of their deceased friends and relations, or in feasting with their living relatives. During the whole of that period they kept in their houses a lighted lamp, which they carefully preserved from extinction.

It may not be inappropriate to introduce in this place a short digression, containing an account of some of the customs peculiar to the people termed *Kálang*, People called Kálang.

* The prevalence of this practice must strike every one.

† See Astronomy.

Kálang, and to the inhabitants of the *Teng'ger* mountains. The former are said to have been at one time numerous in various parts of Java, leading a wandering life, practising religious rites different from those of the great body of the people, and avoiding intercourse with them; but most of them are now reduced to subjection, are become stationary in their residence, and have embraced the Mahometan faith. A few villages in which their particular customs are still preserved, occur in the provinces of *Kendál*, *Káliwúng'u*, and *Démak*, and although the tradition of the country regarding their descent from an unnatural connection between a princess of *Mendang Kamúlan* and a chief who had been transformed into a dog, would mark them out as a strange race, they have claims to be considered as the actual descendants of the aborigines of the island.* They are represented as having a high veneration for a *red dog*, one of which is generally kept by each family, and which they will, on no account, allow to be struck or ill used by any one. When a young man asks a girl in marriage he must prove his descent from their peculiar stock. A present of rice and cotton-yarn, among other articles, must be offered by him, and carried to the intended bride, by an elderly man or woman of his own race, which offering must, in like manner, be received by an elderly relation of the girl: from this moment until the marriage is duly solemnized, nothing whatever is allowed to be taken out of either hut. On the marriage day, a buffalo's head, covered with white, red, or black rice-powder, is placed on the ground near the place intended for the bride to sleep upon, and the elderly people and relations being assembled, they dance by pairs, at the end of each dance presenting the bride to the bridegroom, and making such offerings as they think proper. The bridegroom is, on this occasion, accompanied to the house of the bride's father by as many friends as he can procure, and is bound to bring with him not less than a pair of buffaloes, a plough, harrow, hoe (*páchul*), and whip, with a bundle of *pári*. Those who are in good circumstances are further bound to add a cart (*pedáti*) to the above-mentioned stock. Prior to the equipment of the bride and bridegroom for the entertainment, it is essential that their bodies be rubbed over with the ashes of a *red dog's* bones. At sunset they both eat rice together off the same leaf. On the following night they jointly partake of the buffalo's head, which is previously laid by the side of the place where they sleep. On the third day they proceed to the house of the bridegroom's father, making as much show as possible, and go

* See Historical Chapters.

go round the extent of the village confines, preceded by people carrying a bed, cooking utensils, a spinning-wheel and loom. On the death of a *Kálang* the body is carried in procession to the dwellings of the relations, who join in the ceremony and proceed with it to the place of interment: they then pass round the corpse three times before it is lowered into the grave, the women crying aloud. A young cocoa-nut is then split in two, and the water from it poured into the grave, one half of the shell being placed at the head, the other at the feet of the deceased. On their return home, the feasts and ceremonies are the same as those noticed in the practice of the other inhabitants of Java. Whenever the *Kálangs* move from one place to another, they are conveyed in carts, having two solid wheels with a revolving axle, and drawn by two or more pairs of buffaloes, according to the circumstances of the party. In these they place the materials of which their huts are constructed, their implements of husbandry, and other articles of necessity or value. In this manner, until of late years, since they have been subjected to the regulations of the Javan chiefs, they were continually moving from one part of the island to another. They have still their separate chiefs and preserve many of their peculiar customs. Those who are Mahometans employ in their religious functions priests who differ from others in being less scrupulous. They have always been treated with so much contempt by the Javans, that *Kálang* is an epithet of reproach and disgrace.

Inhabitants of the Teng'ger mountains.

To the eastward of *Surabáya*, and on the range of hills connected with *Gúnung Dásar*, and lying partly in the district of *Pasúruan* and partly in that of *Probolíngo*, known by the name of the *Teng'ger* mountains, we find the remnant of a people still following the Hindu worship, who merit attention, not only on account of their being, (if we except the *Bédui* of Bantam, who will be hereafter noticed) the sole depositaries of the rites and doctrines of that religion existing at this day on Java, but as exhibiting an interesting singularity and simplicity of character.

These people occupy about forty villages, scattered along this range of hills in the neighbourhood of what is termed the sandy sea. The site of their villages, as well as the construction of their houses, are peculiar, and differ entirely from what is elsewhere observed on Java. They are not shaded by trees but built on spacious open terraces, rising one above the other, each house occupying a terrace, and being in length from thirty to seventy, and even eighty feet. The door is invariably in one corner, at the end of the

building, opposite to that in which the fire-place is built. The building appears to be constructed with the ordinary roof, having along the front an enclosed veranda or gallery, about eight feet broad.[1] The fire-place is built of brick, and is so highly venerated, that it is considered a sacrilege for any stranger to touch it. Across the upper part of the building rafters are run, so as to form a kind of attic story, in which are deposited the most valuable property and implements of husbandry.

The head of the village takes the title of *Petíng'gi*, as in the low-lands, and is generally assisted by a *Kabáyan*, both elected by the people from their own village. There are four priests, who are here termed *Dúkuns* (a term elsewhere only applied to doctors and midwives), having charge of the state records and the sacred books.

These *Dúkuns*, who are in general intelligent men, can give no account of the era when they were first established on these hills; they can produce no traditional history of their origin, whence they came, or who entrusted them with the sacred books, to the faith contained in which they still adhere. These, they concur in stating, were handed down to them by their fathers, to whose hereditary office of preserving them they have succeeded. The sole duty required of them is again to hand them down in safety to their children, and to perform the *púja* (praisegiving) according to the directions they contain. These records consist of three compositions, written on the *lóntar*-leaf, detailing the origin of the world, disclosing the attributes of the deity, and prescribing the forms of worship to be observed on different occasions.

Births. When a woman is delivered of her first child, the *Dúkun* takes a leaf of the *álang álang* grass, and scraping the skin of the hands of the mother and her infant, as well as the ground, pronounces a short benediction.

Marriages. When a marriage is agreed upon, the bride and bridegroom being brought before the *Dúkun* within the house, in the first place bow with respect towards the south, then to the fire-place, then to the earth, and lastly on looking up to the upper story of the house, where the implements of husbandry are placed. The parties then submissively bowing to the *Dúkun*, he repeats a prayer, commencing with the words, "*Hong! Kendága Bráma ang'-gas siwang'ga ána ma siwáha sangyang g'ñi sira kang,*"* &c.; while the

* These prayers will be found at length in the Transactions of the Batavian Society, vol. ix. The word *hong!* used by the Javans at the commencement of their invocations to the deity, is doubtless the mystical *om!* of the Hindus.

the bride washes the feet of the bridegroom. At the conclusion of this ceremony, the friends and family of the parties make presents to each of *kríses*, buffaloes, implements of husbandry, &c.; in return for which the bride and bridegroom respectfully present them with betel-leaf.

At the marriage feast which ensues, the *Dúkun* repeats two *púja*. The marriage is not, however, consummated till the fifth day after the above ceremony. This interval between the solemnities and the consummation of marriage is termed by them *úndang mántu*, and is in some cases still observed by the Javans in other parts of the island, under the name *únduh mántu*.

Interments.

At the interment of an inhabitant of *Teng'ger*, the corpse is lowered into the grave with the head placed towards the south (contrary to the direction observed by the Mahometans), and is guarded from the immediate contact of the earth by a covering of *bámbus* and planks. When the grave is closed, two posts are planted over the body; one erected perpendicularly on the breast, the other on the lower part of the belly; and between them is placed a hollowed *bámbu* in an inverted position, into which, during seven successive days, they daily pour a vessel of pure water, laying beside the *bámbu* two dishes, also daily replenished with eatables. At the expiration of the seventh day, the feast of the dead is announced, and the relations and friends of the deceased assemble to be present at the ceremony, and to partake of entertainments conducted in the following manner.

A figure of about half a cubit high, representing the human form, made of leaves and ornamented with variegated flowers, is prepared and placed in a conspicuous situation, supported round the body by the clothes of the deceased. The *Dúkun* then places in front of the garland an incense-pot with burning ashes, together with a vessel containing water, and repeats the two *púja* to fire and water; the former commencing with "*Hong! Kendága Bráma gangsi wang'ga ya nama siwáha,*" &c.; the latter with "*Hong! hong gang'ga máha tirta ráta mejil sáking háti,*" &c.; burning *dúpa* or incense at stated periods during the former, and occasionally sprinkling the water over the feast during the repetition of the latter.

The clothes of the deceased are then divided among the relatives and friends; the garland is burned; another *púja*, commencing with "*Hong! dwigna mastúna ma sidam, hong! aráning,*" &c. is repeated, while the remains of the sacred water are sprinkled over the feast. The parties now

sit down to the enjoyment of it, invoking a blessing from the Almighty on themselves, their houses, and their lands. No more solemnities are observed till the expiration of a thousand days, when, if the memory of the deceased is beloved and cherished, the ceremony and feast are repeated; if otherwise, no further notice is taken of him: and having thus obtained what the Romans would call his *justa*, he is allowed to be forgotten.

Religion. Being questioned regarding the tenets of their religion, they replied that they believed in a *déwa*, who was all-powerful; that the name by which the *déwa* was designated was *Búmi Trúka Sáng'yáng Dewáta Bátur*, and that the particulars of their worship were contained in a book called *Pángláwu*, which they presented to me.

On being questioned regarding the *ádat* against adultery, theft, and other crimes, their reply was unanimous and ready, that crimes of this kind were unknown to them, and that consequently no punishment was fixed, either by law or custom; that if a man did wrong, the head of the village chid him for it, the reproach of which was always sufficient punishment for a man of *Teng'ger*. This account of their moral character is fully confirmed by the Regents of the districts under whose authority they are placed, and also by the Residents. They, in fact, seem to be almost without crime, and are universally peaceable, orderly, honest, industrious, and happy. They are unacquainted with the vice of gambling and the use of opium.

Population. The aggregate population is about twelve hundred souls; and they occupy, without exception, the most beautifully rich and romantic spots on Java; a region, in which the thermometer is frequently as low as forty-two. The summits and slopes of the hills are covered with Alpine firs, and plants common to an European climate flourish in luxuriance.

Language. Their language does not differ much from the Javan of the present day, though more gutturally pronounced. Upon a comparison of about a hundred words with the vernacular Javan, two only were found to differ. They do not marry or intermix with the people of the low-lands, priding themselves on their independence and purity in this respect.*

The

* The following are the only traditions respecting these people which are current in the eastern provinces. " The people of the *Teng'ger* mountains say that they received that name from " a person from *Matáram*, of an inquisitive and travelling turn (*wong malána*), who having " ascended the highest of them, and being struck with astonishment at the view all around, " gave them the above mentioned name of *Téng'ger*, from the Javan ward *anjeng'ger*, which " signifies wonder or astonishment.

The *Bédui* are in numbers inconsiderable, and found in the interior of Bantam: they are the descendants of those who escaped into the woods after the fall of the western capital of *Pajajáran** in the fifteenth century, and would not change their religion, remaining firmly attached to that of *Prábu Séda*. There is a tomb of one of them which they hold sacred, and will not allow any one but themselves to approach even to this day. When the *Bédui* subsequently submitted to the Sultan of Bantam, and shewed no disposition Bédui.

" Before *Gúnung Bráma* had received that name, or had become a volcano, there lived a " man, called *Kiai Géde Dádap Pútih*, who had no children. He petitioned of his deity to " grant that he might have children, to the number of twenty-five, promising, in that event, " that he would cast away one of them into the sea. In the course of a short time children " began to be born unto him. As soon as he had the number he had prayed for the people " of *Teng'ger* were inflicted with a pestilence, so dreadful in its effects, that those who were " attacked by it in the morning never failed to die before the evening. *Dádap Pútih* was so " distressed and afflicted at the lamentable situation of the *Teng'ger* people, that he loathed his " food and neglected his rest, till it was communicated to him in a vision, that the pestilence " had been sent in consequence of his having omitted to perform his vow, of casting into the " sea one of the twenty-five children whom the deity had granted him. *Dádap Pútih* then " assembled all his children, and inquired which of them was willing to be sacrificed, in order " to appease the angry deity. All of them signified their unwillingness to become the victim " except the youngest child, who voluntarily came forward and agreed to suffer, in which ever " way its father thought proper. *Dádap Pútih*, however, reflecting that the sea was at a " very great distance, carried this child only to that extensive sandy plain at the foot of " *Gúnung Bráma*, which bears the name of *Sagára wédi* or *Laut Pásir*, and there abandoned " it. No sooner had he done so, than *Gúnung Bráma* began to send forth hollow sounds, and " immediately after burst forth into a volcano. *Sagára wédi* is so called from the resemblance " of its sandy surface to a sea when surveyed from *Bráma's* heights: its original name is " *Dassar*.

" *Bima* being asked by *Kresna* if he was able, in the course of one night, to make an " inland sea below the *Teng'ger* mountains, and having answered in the affirmative, *Kresna* " challenged him to do it, telling him at the same time, that it must be done before the cocks " were heard to crow, or the people of the villages began to weave or beat out rice. By three " o'clock in the morning his work was so far advanced, as to convince *Kresna* that it would " be completed in the prescribed time. To prevent this, therefore, *Kresna* immediately went, " and rousing all the cocks and people of the villages, caused the former to crow and the latter " to begin to weave and beat out rice. By this maneuvre, *Bima* was obliged to leave off the " work, which otherwise would have been completed within the fixed time; and so incensed " was he against the people, who had so untimely begun to weave and beat out their rice " (whereby he failed to perform the task which was given to him to prove his power) that he " cursed them, and swore that they should never again perform either the one act or the " other, and to this day the *Teng'ger* people neither weave cotton nor beat out rice."

* See History.

disposition to oppose the Mahometans, they were not compelled to become converts; but it was agreed, at the time they submitted, that the number of the *Rawá-ian* (the name given to their little societies) should be limited to three or four.

The *Bédui* attend to all orders they receive through the medium of the village chief. They subsist by cultivating rice: all they raise beyond what is required for their own consumption they sell to the hill people, who are in the habit of going to them for it once a year, on account of the superior quality of the rice, or rather superior estimation in which it is held. It is an established rule among them to allot but one day for each of the different successive operations of husbandry: one day for cutting down the trees and underwood, one day for clearing what has been so cut down, one day for sowing the grain, one for weeding the field and one for reaping, one for binding up the grain and one for carrying it home. If any part of what has been reaped cannot be carried home in one day, it is left and neglected. The *Gírang póhon* (which is the title of the chief) is the first who commences the work of the field, and many of the hill people follow him in regard to the period for sowing their *pári*.

Their dress consists of white and black cloths. They wear rings and silver scabbards to their *krises*, but gold and *swasa* they dislike. Spanish dollars are the only coin they prize.

Festivals. The festivals or feasts of the Javans are of three kinds: the *grébeg*, or religious festivals; the *banchákí* or *nealamáti*, so called from the Arabic *salámat* (a blessing), held on the celebration of marriages, births, and circumcision; and the *sedékah*, appointed in honour of the dead, and for the celebration of their memory.

The principal and most important of these are the national entertainments corresponding with the Mahometan festivals of *múlut*, *pása*, and *bésar*; the two first answering to the half-yearly festivals of the Arabs of *mohárem* and *ramázan*, and the latter with that of *kháji*, in the month of *dulkhija*. On these occasions the sovereign appears in public, and the *álun álun* is crowded with an assemblage of people from all quarters, every one being dressed in his most splendid attire, and accompanied by all his armed followers. The same is observed in the more distant provinces of the country, where the petty chiefs, in like manner, assemble in the *álun álun* of the Regent. Presents of fruit, poultry, and other kinds of provisions, are brought

brought from every part of the country: offerings are made by the chiefs to the mosques, and a public festival is given by the chief authorities. The men only partake of these public feasts; but the female part of the family of the chiefs assemble together, and enjoy corresponding entertainments within their chambers. The festival seldom lasts above one day.

Of the *banchâki* and *nealâmâti* it may be only necessary to observe, that those given during the ceremonies consequent upon the birth of the first child are most important.

The *sedêkah* are solemnities observed on the occasion of the funeral, or in honour of the memory of a departed relative, on the seventh, fortieth, one hundredth, or thousandth day after his decease: they are distinguished from the feasts of *grêbeg* and *nealamâti* by the absence of music. Those who intend to observe them, assemble on the preceding evening in order to read some portion of the *Koran*. Before the guests partake of the meal, the principal person present generally addresses the Almighty in a prayer, which alludes to the occasion, and expresses gratitude for the repast which his bounty has provided. Thankfulness to the earthly donor of the entertainment often mingles itself with gratitude to heaven, and the praises of both are celebrated at the same time. This grace before meals is called *dúng'a*.

Amusements.

Reserving for a subsequent chapter a sketch of the music and poetry of the Javans, I shall in this place endeavour to give some account of their national drama and dances, as constituting, next to music and poetry, the most conspicuous and refined of their amusements.

The Drama.

The dramatic entertainments are of two kinds; the *tópeng*, wherein the characters are represented by men, who except when performing before the Sovereign wear masks;* and the *wáyang*, in which they are represented by shadows.

The Tópeng or masks.

The subject of the *tópeng* is invariably taken from the adventures of *Pánji*, the favourite hero of Javan story. In the performances before the Sovereign, where masks are not used, the several characters themselves rehearse their parts; but, in general, the *Dálang*, or manager of the entertainment, recites the speeches, while the performers have only to "suit the "action to the word." The music of the *gámelân* accompanies the piece, and varies in expression, according to the nature of the action or the kind of emotion to be excited. The actors are splendidly dressed after the ancient

* See Plate.

ancient costume, and perform their parts with grace, elegance, and precision; but the whole performance has more the character of a ballet than that of a regular dramatic exhibition, either of the tragic or comic kind, in which human passions, human follies or sufferings, are represented in such appropriate language and just action, as to seem only a reflection of nature. Love and war are the constant themes, and the combats of contending chiefs generally close the scene. Those who perform before the sovereign and repeat their parts, previously study their characters from written compositions expressly prepared for the purpose; but in other cases, the *Dálang*, well versed in the principal incidents, descriptions, and speeches of the history, furnishes the dialogue between the actors extempore. A party of *tópeng* generally consists of ten persons, besides the *Dálang*, of whom four play the *gámelan* and six perform the characters. They are engaged to play by the night, for about ten rupees (twenty-five shillings) and a supper.

Buffoonery.

Buffoonery is sometimes introduced, to increase the zest of these entertainments with the multitude, but it does not interfere with the regular course of the performance, the actors being only disturbed occasionally by the actions of an extraneous character, who whether representing a dog, a monkey, or an idiot, seldom fails to excite considerable mirth, and not unfrequently in the most interesting part of the performance.

There is also a kind of pantomine, or rather an assemblage of wild beasts called *Barúng'an*; in this entertainmenment men dressed up to represent various animals are made to appear in procession and combats. This is generally performed for the amusement of children, and is only accompanied by the beat of the *gong* and drum.

Wáyangs.

In the *wáyangs*, or scenic shadows, the subject of the performances is taken from the earliest period of history and fable, down to the destruction of the Hindu empire of *Majapáhit*. These are distinguished according to the periods of the history which they represent, by the terms *wáyang púrwa*, *wáyang gédog*, and *wáyang klítik*.

The different characters in the history are in these *wáyangs* represented by figures, about eighteen inches or two feet high, stamped or cut out of pieces of thick leather, generally of buffalo's hide, which are painted and gilt with great care and at considerable expense, so as to form some supposed resemblance of the character to the individual intended to be personified. The whole figure is, however, strangely distorted and grotesque, the

Topeng or Masks

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY ...

Rajámala.

Déwa Kasióna
Prince of Janggala.

Chandra Kirana
Wife of Panji.

Malang Sumérang

Wara Sumbadra.

Arjuna.

Bitára Ráma.

Bitára Guru.

the nose in particular being unnaturally prominent.* There is a tradition, that the figures were first so distorted by the *Susúnan Mória*, one of the early Mahometan teachers, in order to render the preservation of the ancient amusements of the country compatible with a due obedience to the Mahometan precept, which forbids any exhibition or dramatic representation of the human form. "By these means," said the *Susúnan* with much ingenuity, "while the world in general will not imagine the figures to be human, the "Javans, from recollecting their history, will yet be able to comprehend "the characters they are intended to represent, and enjoy in secret their "national amusements. Or if, in time, they should forget the originals, "and confound them with the distorted resemblance, they will be impressed "with the idea, that it was only after conversion to the faith of the Prophet "that their ancestors assumed the present shape of man." But the comparatively recent alteration in the figures is rendered doubtful from the circumstance of similar figures being found on many of the more ancient coins, thus affording ground for an opinion, that they existed nearly in their present form before the introduction of Mahometanism. Their antiquity is further confirmed, by the existence of similar figures in the Hindu island of *Báli*, where, though not so much distorted, they are still far from natural. These figures are fastened upon a horn spike, and have a piece of thin horn hanging from each hand, by means of which the arms, which are jointed at the elbow and shoulder, can be moved at the discretion of the manager. A white cloth or curtain is then drawn tight over an oblong frame of ten or twelve feet long and five feet high, and being placed in front of the spectators, is rendered transparent by means of a hanging lamp behind it. The several figures are made in turn to appear and act their parts. Previous to the commencement of this performance, the *Dálang*, who is seated behind the curtain, arranges the different characters on each side of the curtain, by sticking them into a long plantain stem which is laid along the bottom. The *gámelan* then commences, and as the several characters present themselves, extracts of the history are repeated, and the dialogue is carried on, generally at the discretion and by the invention of the *Dálang*. Without this personage nothing can be done; for he not only puts the puppets in motion, but repeats their parts, interspersing them with detached verses from the romance illustrative of the story, and descriptive of the qualities of the different heroes. He is the soul which directs and animates

* See Plate.

the whole order and machinery of the piece, regulating the time of the music with a small hammer which he holds in his hand, while he recites the speeches suited to the occasion.

Wáyang purwa. In the *wáyang púrwa*, or *wáyang* of the most ancient times, the subject is taken from the earliest periods of fabulous history, down to the reign of of *Parikésit* inclusive. This is the age of interesting story and marvellous fiction, the reign of the gods, demigods, and heroes of the Hindu and Javan mythology, who in these representations are exhibited with the attributes, and in the situations with which their names are connected in the most popular poems and romances. The fables thus turned to account, are generally taken from the poem of *Ráma*, the poem of *Mintarága* containing the penance of *Arjúna* on the mountain *Indra*, and the celebrated epic of the *Bráta Yúdha*, or the war of the *Pandáwa*. These poems are all written in what are termed the high measures, and are accompanied in their recital by the *gámelan saléndro*. In the performance of this *wáyang*, the *Dálang* first recites a few verses in the *Káwi* language, chaunting afterwards an interpretation of the passage in Javan, for the use of the unlearned. As the several characters are brought forward, he himself supplies the minor dialogue between the dramatis personæ, keeping in general close to the original story, when there is any person present who could detect his deviations: if he is performing before the ignorant, however, he frequently digresses from the main story, in any way which he thinks may most readily amuse his audience; and on this account, the practice of rendering the *Káwi* into Javan, which furnishes an opportunity for such deviations, is termed *charángan*, literally a branch from a tree. In the course of the entertainment, all the varieties of ancient weapons named in these poems are represented behind the transparent curtain. The interest excited by such spectacles, connected with national recollections, is almost inconceivable. The eager multitude will sit listening with rapturous delight and profound attention for whole nights to these rude dramas. By means of them, the lower class have an opportunity of picking up a few *Káwi* terms, and of becoming acquainted with the ancient legends of the country.

Wáyang gédog. The subject of the *wáyang gédog* is taken from the period of history subsequent to *Parikésit*, commencing with the reign of *Gandra-yána* and including the adventures and reign of the celebrated *Pánji*, and that of his successor *Laléan*, until he established himself at *Pajajáran*. These poems being

being composed in a different measure, the *gámelan pélog* is employed as the accompaniment; and although the history of the early part of this period is written in the *Kâwi*, the *Dálang* always employs the Javan translation. The adventures of *Pánji* compose the most popular portion of it. The characters are numerous, and the figures in general more highly coloured and better finished than those of the *wáyang púrwa*. In bringing any hero on the stage, the *Dálang* recites those verses of the history which relate to him, and introduces such dialogue as may give a dramatic effect to the exhibition, together with such explanations as may make it intelligible to common capacities.

In the *wáyang klítik* the figures exhibited are more properly puppets than shadows: they are of wood, about ten inches high, and made to perform their parts without the intervention of a curtain. In these are represented that portion of the history commencing with the establishment of the western empire of *Pajajáran* and ending with the destruction of the eastern empire of *Majapáhit*. Of this, by far the most favourite scenes are found in the popular story of the adventures between the *Ménak Jíng'ga*, a chief of *Balambáng'an*, and *Dámar Wúlan* (the light of the moon), on account of the Princess of *Majapáhit*. Wáyang klitik.

The compositions which thus serve as the basis of these popular and interesting entertainments, comprise the legends from which the account of the earlier periods of Javan story, detailed in another part of this work, is principally derived. The most popular and interesting events and adventures are preserved and related in various compositions, whilst more recent actions and events, which possessed less interest, have fallen into oblivion. The constant exhibition of these plays in every part of the country, but more particularly in the eastern districts, has served to keep alive the recollections of "days long since gone by," and to disseminate a general knowledge of native legendary history among many, with whom, from the ignorance of letters, the stories might otherwise have been irretrievably lost or more grossly distorted.

The *Dálangs*, who manage and conduct these amusements, are treated with considerable respect. In many points, their office strongly resembles that of the ancient bards. The ceremony of giving his blessing to the first born infant, in the repetition of some particular passages of the ancient legends, gives this part of his office a very peculiar interest. The usual Dálangs.

payment to the *Dálang* who owns a set of *wáyangs*, and brings his own *gámelan* players, is from two to three dollars for the night; but the nobles and chiefs generally have several sets of *wáyangs* of their own, and keep a *Dálang* in their service.

Another representation of this nature is that of the adventures of *Ménak Jíng'ga* and *Dámar Wúlan*, which are exhibited, but not very commonly, by means of drawings on folded leaves of strong paper, while the *Dálang* repeats the story and furnishes dialogue to the characters. This is termed *wáyang béber*. An entertainment of a similar description, though not accompanied by the exhibition of figures, is termed *trébang*: it was invented in the time of the kingdom of *Démak*. The story is taken from the Arabic account of *Begínda Ambia*, which being rendered into Javan, is repeated by the *Dálang*, who with a small drum before him, and accompanied by the music of the *gámelan*, gives spirit to the different parts, by beating time with his hand, and varying the strength of the sound or quickness of time according to the subject. These two latter are of comparatively modern invention, and not much esteemed.

The Dance. The dance with the Javans, as with Asiatics in general, consists in graceful attitudes of the body, and in the slow movement of the arms and legs, particularly of the former, even to the distinct motion of the hand and fingers.

The S'rimpi. Of the dancing girls who exhibit at public entertainments, the first in rank and the most skilful in their profession are the concubines of the sovereign and of the hereditary prince. They alone are allowed to perform the *s'rímpi*, a figure dance by four persons, distinguished by an unusual degree of grace and decorum.

The dancers are decorated according to the ancient costume of the country, and nearly in the same manner as a modern bride. The *tápih*, or petticoat, is of silk of different colours, often green stamped with golden flowers, and hanging in the most graceful manner, a part of it falling between the feet and serving as a short train, which in the course of the dance is frequently thrown aside by a quicker motion of the foot than ordinary. The *údat*, or waistband, is of the *chíndi* pattern; and on these occasions is worn the *mer*, or cestus, composed of plates of gold highly ornamented with diamonds at the clasp in front. The body is enclosed in a kind of corset (*pemákak*) passing above the bosom and under the arms, and confining the waist in the narrowest possible limits. The ends of the *sém-*

bong,

bong, or sash, fall gracefully on each side on the back of the hip and reach the ground. Sometimes, indeed, this graceful appendage to the dress is brought from the back to a point between the breasts, whence being fastened in a rosette, the ends flow towards the ground in front of the person, the usual bending attitude during the dance causing them to hang distinct from the rest of the apparel. The triple necklace, richly chased armlets, bracelets, and tiara, are of gold studded with precious stones; and the hair is gracefully ornamented with buds of white and sweet-scented flowers. On their fingers they generally display brilliant rings, and the face, neck, shoulders, and arms, which remain uncovered, are tinged by a delicate shade of yellow powder. The music is slow and solemn, and the performance is on the *gámelan saléndro*; verses from the romances of *Pánji*, descriptive of the attire and beauty of the wives and concubines of that hero, being chaunted as a prelude to the entertainment and during its continuance. On occasions when the *s'rímpi* are exhibited before Europeans at the Residency house, they are brought with great care, and under a guard, from the *kráton*, in a large enclosed palanquin, or rather box, borne on men's shoulders. When they reach the door of the residency, they glide behind the prince into the chamber appropriated for his accommodation, and when they come forth for the dance, seat themselves on the ground in front of him. On his intimating that they should commence, they slowly, and to the sound of music, close their hands, and raising them to the forehead, bend in reverential awe, and gradually extending their arms and swaying in unison with each other from side to side, assume an erect posture. The dancers seldom exceed the age of fourteen or fifteen. The birth of a child generally puts an end to their performances, and removes them from the profession. They are the choicest beauties of the country, selected for the royal bed. Throughout the whole performance their eyes are directed modestly to the ground, and their body and limbs are by slow movements thrown into every graceful attitude that the most flexible form is capable of exhibiting. In the figure of the dance they occasionally approach and recede from each other, and sometimes cross to the opposite side. It frequently happens, that the delicate corset by falling too low, exposes more of the body than is considered correct. On such occasions, one of the trusty matrons always in attendance raises it again, without interrupting the dance or embarrassing the movements of the dancer. At the conclusion of the dance they gradually place themselves on

on the ground, in the same manner as before its commencement, and after closing their hands, and raising them to the forehead in token of respect, remain seated with a downcast look and captivating modesty, until the signal is given to the matrons to relieve them by others, when they again glide into the same apartment.

The Bedáya. The *bedáya*, who perform a figure dance of eight persons, are in some respect to the nobles what the *s'rímpi* are to the sovereign: but, at present, few of the nobles can afford to maintain a sufficient number of youthful concubines to compose this dance; it is frequently therefore performed by boys trained for the purpose. They are dressed nearly in the same manner as the *s'rímpi*, though not so expensively. The action moves to the same music and song.

The Róng'geng. But the common dancing girls of the country, who appear to approach more nearly to the usual dancing girls of Western India, are called *rông'geng*, and are generally of easy virtue. They make a profession of their art, and hire themselves to perform on particular occasions, for the amusement of the chiefs and of the public. Though to be found in every principal town, their performance is most highly esteemed in the western, and particularly among the rude mountaineers of the *Súnda* districts, where the superior graces of the *bedáya* are unknown. Here they are constantly engaged on every occasion of festivity, and the regents frequently keep the most accomplished in their service for years. Their conduct is generally so incorrect, as to render the title of *rông'geng* and prostitute synonimous; but it not unfrequently happens, that after amassing considerable wealth in the professsion, they obtain, on account of their fortune, the hand of some petty chief. In this case, they generally, after a few years retirement and domestic quiet, avail themselves of the facility of a divorce, and repudiating their husbands, return to their former habits. The *róng'gengs* accompany the dance with singing, the words being generally extempore to the music of the *gámelan saléndro* and *pélog*. Their dress is coarse, but in other respects resembles that of the more select dancers. They do not, however, wear any tiara on the head nor armlets; bracelets are only worn occasionally. Their hair is dressed after a peculiar fashion, abundantly oiled, and ornamented with flowers of various kinds. They sometimes exhibit singly and sometimes in groupes, following and approaching each other, or receding at pleasure. They perform at any time of the day, but chiefly in the evening, and endeavour to exhibit their best attitudes

* See Plate.

attitudes round a lamp which hangs suspended. Generally speaking, both their action and their song are rude and awkward, and on that account often disgusting to Europeans, although there are some among them whose performance does not deserve to be so considered. Their action is usually distorted, their greatest excellence seeming to consist in bending the arms and hands back in an unnatural manner, and giving one or two of the fingers a tremulous motion. The voice, though sometimes harmonious, is often loud, dissonant, and harsh to a European ear. They generally have a handkerchief thrown over the shoulder, and usually a fan in their hand, which occasionally serves to conceal one half of the face, not so much out of any affectation of bashfulness, as, in the manner of a huntsman, to assist the louder tones of the voice. At other times it is employed to strike against the back of the arm, so as to give a greater effect to different parts of the action and music. Generally speaking, the *rónng'gengs* do not descend to the performance of those disgusting and disgraceful postures and motions, which are stated to be frequent on the continent of India, but they are not free from the charge of impropriety in this respect. Their song, though little esteemed and less understood by Europeans, sometimes possesses much humour and drollery; and in adapting their motions to the language, they frequently excite loud bursts of laughter, and obtain great applause from the native audience.

The nobles of the highest rank are accustomed, on particular occasions of festivity, to join in the dance with a *rónng'geng*. To dance gracefully, is an accomplishment expected in every Javan of rank; and in the western districts, particularly, all the chiefs are, on days of festivity, accustomed to join in the exercise, one after the other, commencing with the youngest. On these occasions, the nobles of the highest class vie with each other in pointing the toe with grace, in exhibiting elegance of movement, in displaying adroitness by intricate evolutions, or beauty of person by an ingenious management of attitude. So devoted are they to this exercise, that although their wives and daughters never dance, the happiness of a festive occasion is considered incomplete, where an opportunity is not afforded to the chiefs themselves of introducing their favourite amusement. In the *Súnda* districts there are some individuals distinguished as regular posture or dancing-masters.

It is not unusual for the performances of the *rónng'gengs* to be varied by the action of a fool or buffoon. Mimicry is a favourite amusement, and beside imitating,

imitating, in a ludicrous manner, the actions of the *róng'gengs*, there are not wanting performers of this description, who occasionally direct their wit against all classes of society, and evince a considerable degree of low humour.

Gámbuh and Niutra.

These are the only public exhibitions of the female sex ; but the posture dances by the men are numerous, and contribute to the state of the sovereign and chiefs. Among these, the *Gámbuh*, with a shield on one arm, gracefully raises the *dódot* (or petticoat) with the other hand ; the *Niutra*, having a bow and arrow in the hand, goes through the motion of its exercise, stringing und unstringing it to the sound of the *gámelan*. Both throw their limbs and body into the most graceful postures, as they slowly move in procession before the chiefs, or are arranged on the side of the passage through which he is to pass. Both the *Gámbuh* and *Niutra* are naked from the waist upwards, while the *dódot* hangs to the ground on one side in the manner of full dress, shewing the knee on the other. Their bodies are generally covered with yellow powder, and from round their ears hang suspended in front, strings of the young *meláti* flowers.

The *Gámbuh* are occasionally employed to exhibit before the prince, when with a *krís* in their right hand and a shield on their left arm, they go through all their evolutions to the sound of music.

Béksa.

But the chief description of male performers are the *Béksa kémbang* or *Béksa róng'geng*, who have flowers, shields, or serpents in their hands, and in dancing seem to resemble the South Sea Islanders, though more elegant in their attire, and perhaps more graceful in their motions. Neither have any covering above the waist ; but the yellow, and sometimes green powder which is upon the body, gives it an appearance very like dress. The term *Béksa láwung* is applied to the petty chiefs, who on public days dismount from their horses and go through the exercise of the spear for the amusement of the prince. Another description of performers are termed *Unchélang* ; their art consists in throwing the spear into the air, and catching it again as it falls with great dexterity. Similar exhibitions of these persons combating with sticks, called *újung*, were formerly common.

Sintren.

In the domestic circle, the women and elderly people are partial to a peculiar amusement termed *sintren*, which paints very forcibly the notions they possess of the power of music. A boy or girl, properly attired and skilled in the dance, is placed under a reversed basket which is carefully covered with cloth. Round it music and song are struck up by all present, those who do not play on any instrument, or who do not sing, joining in beating

beating time by clapping their hands. When the excitement has continued sufficiently long to be supposed to have effected the charm, the basket is seen to move, and the boy or girl rising from under it, apparently unconscious of what is doing, moves and dances gracefully but wildly, in unison with the music. At length tired out, the dancer falls and seems to sink into sleep, and when awakened pretends not to recollect any thing that has passed. The perfection of this amusement consists in the performer's giving himself up so completely to the power of music as to be charmed by it, and perfectly unconscious of every other sense.

For the amusement, principally however of children, a cocoa-nut shell is carved with the features of a man, and affixed to the top of a reversed basket, covered with cloth. This basket, after being for some time exposed by the side of a river or under a large tree, in order, as is supposed, that some supernatural spirit may enter into it, is brought again into the house, and rocked according to the swaying motion of the Javan dance by two children, to the music of the *gámelan*. An amusement of this kind is termed *bríndang*.

Tilts and tournaments (*wátang*) form a favourite and constant diversion with the Javans: they are exhibited principally in the *álun álun*, or great square in front of the *kráton* or palace, and compose an essential part of the ceremony of the *pásar senén*, on the day in which the sovereign and regents appear in public. This, with the sovereign, is Saturday; with the chiefs, Monday. On the afternoon of this day, all the princes, nobles, and public officers, assemble, and arranging themselves in the places assigned to their respective ranks, await the coming out of the sovereign, who as soon as he descends from the *setíngel* mounts a horse richly caparisoned, and rides round the *waríngen* trees, the several chiefs joining in his suite as he passes the circle. Several of the chiefs, and particularly their sons and youthful relations, then join in pairs, tilting and striking their long and blunted spears as they pass the sovereign. The same thing is observed on the afternoon of every Monday, at the capitals of the different provinces throughout the island, where the native government and institutions are at all preserved. The assemblage of people on these occasions is frequently very great. The trappings and housings of the horses are extremely rich, and the riders perform their feats with some dexterity, being seldom unhorsed.* At the Tournaments.

* It has already been noticed, that the island is plentifully supplied with a fine breed of small horses. Almost every petty chief and public officer is mounted, and those who possess the

conclusion of the exhibition on horseback, it is not unusual for the youths and petty chiefs who have contended in the saddle, to dismount and practice the attack and defence of the spear on foot: they are then termed *Béksa láwung*. Tilts are likewise exhibited in the *álun-álun*, on the days of public festival when the chief appears.

The Chace.

The Javans have long advanced beyond that state, in which the chace was considered as connected with their subsistence.

The stag is hunted chiefly in the eastern and western extremities of the island, by the descendants of the *Báli* and *Súnda* races: the Javans inhabiting the central districts are not practised in the diversion nor much acquainted with it. They uniformly pursue the animal on horseback. In the eastern districts he is killed with a spear: in the western he is cut down with a *klébwang* or cutlass; here the chace is conducted with more regularity and method, and many of the inhabitants, particularly the chiefs, are passionately addicted to it, employing the best and swiftest horses and dogs they can procure for the purpose.

Combat between the buffalo and tiger.

A favourite and national spectacle is the combat between the buffalo and the tiger. A large cage of *bámbu* or wood is erected, the ends of which are fixed into the ground, in which the buffalo is first, and the tiger afterwards admitted, through openings reserved for the purpose. It seldom fails that the buffalo is triumphant, and one buffalo has been known to destroy several full grown tigers, in succession. In these combats the buffalo is stimulated by the constant application of boiling water, which is poured over him from the upper part of the cage, and of nettles, which are fastened to the end of a stick and applied by persons seated in the same quarter. The tiger sometimes springs upon the buffalo at once: he very generally, however, avoids the

the means pride themselves upon a respectable establishment. They have an aversion to some colours, and there are particular marks, the possession of which renders a horse valuable to the natives; if a few hairs on the neck curl, or have the appearance of a star, the horse is highly prized. Previously to the cession of *Kedú* to the European government in 1812, the native princes maintained a very respectable stud in that province. Horses are never shod on Java, nor are they secured in the stable, as is usual in Europe and Western India. A separate enclosure is appropriated for each horse, within which the animal is allowed to move and turn at pleasure, being otherwise unconfined. These enclosures are erected at a short distance from each other, and with separate roofs. They are generally raised above the ground, and have a boarded floor.

The Javans use an extremely severe bit, and in consequence have the horse always under command. The saddle, bridle, &c. are extremely heavy, and disproportioned to the size of the animal.

the combat, until goaded by sticks and roused by the application of burning straw, when he moves round the cage, and being gored by the buffalo, seizes him by the neck, head, or leg. The buffalo is often dreadfully torn, and seldom survives the combat many days. In these entertainments, the Javans are accustomed to compare the buffalo to the Javan and the tiger to the European, and it may be readily imagined, with what eagerness they look to the success of the former. The combat generally lasts from twenty minutes to half an hour, when if neither of them is destroyed, the animals are changed, and the tiger, if he survives, is removed to be destroyed in the manner called *rámpog*, which is as follows.

Rámpog, or spearing the Tiger.

On receiving information of the retreat of a tiger, the male inhabitants are sometimes called out in a body, by the order of a chief, each man being obliged to be provided with a spear, the common weapon of the country. The place where the animal is concealed is surrounded; a double or triple range being formed according to the number of hunters, and he is roused by shouts, by the beating of *gongs*, or by fire. The place where he is expected to attempt his escape is carefully guarded, and he is generally speared on the spot.

In many districts, where the population is not deficient, the appearance of a single *tiger* rouses the neighbourhood, and he is infallibly destroyed by the method described.*

When the *rámpog* is resorted to by way of amusement at the capital of the sovereign, a hollow square of spearmen, four deep, is formed on the *álun álun*, in the center of which are placed the tigers in small separate cages, or rather traps, with a sliding door, in the manner of a rat trap. Two or three men, accustomed to the practice, at the command of the sovereign, proceed into the center of the square, and placing plaited leaves in front of the cage, to supply the place of the wooden door, set it on fire, and drawing the wooden door up, throw it on one side, themselves retreating from the spot at a slow pace to the sound of music. As soon as the tiger feels the fire, he starts, and in endeavouring to make his way through the spearmen is generally received upon their weapons. Instances however have occurred, in which the animal has made good his retreat, but he was soon afterwards

 killed;

* "The fruit of a species of *contorta*, called *kálak kámbing*, has a deadly effect on tigers. It is prepared by the admixture of other vegetables, and exposed on a piece of rag at the places frequented by them. In some districts their number has been sensibly diminished by this poison."—*Horsfield.*

killed ; sometimes the tiger, particularly if he has been opposed to the buffalo, will not move from the center of the square ; in which case the sovereign generally directs six or eight of his choice men (*gándek*) to advance towards him with spears. This they do with surprizing coolness and intrepidity, never failing to pierce the animal, by fixing their spears into him at once. The smaller species of the tiger is generally selected for this amusement.

Combat of criminals with tigers.

The exposure of criminals in combat with tigers was formerly practised, and is said to have been common on the first establishment of the *Matúrem* empire ; but of late years, such a method of deriving amusement from the infliction of judicial punishment had almost become obsolete, and is now, as well as mutilation and torture, altogether abolished by treaty. Several instances are said to have occurred during the reign of the sultan of *Yúgyakérta* who was deposed by the British Government in 1812. In an exhibition of this kind, which took place about ten years ago, two criminals were exposed for having set fire to a dwelling. They were provided each with a *kris*, which was long, but broken off or blunted at the point, and the tiger, was let in upon them separately in a large cage constructed for the purpose. The first was soon destroyed, but the second, after a combat of nearly two hours, succeeded in killing the tiger, by repeated cuts about the head and under the ears and eyes. On this a smaller tiger, or rather leopard, was let in upon him, and the criminal being equally successful in this combat was released. His success, as in the judicial ordeals of the dark ages, was taken for a manifestation by heaven of his innocence, and not only secured his pardon, but procured for him the rank of a *Mántri*, as a recompense for the danger to which he was exposed in its vindication. Although this barbarous practice appears so recently to have been resorted to, it is not to be inferred that, as a spectacle, it is held in any estimation by the Javans in general. It seems to have been of comparatively late introduction, and adopted only in the policy of a known and avowed tyrant. The concourse of spectators to witness the combat can no more stamp the general character of the people with barbarity, than the crowds which are always present at public executions in Europe. The bare relation of the fact excites feelings of horror in the mind of the ordinary chief.

Bull-fighting.

Bull-fighting is common on *Madúra* and in the eastern parts of the island; but it is perfectly different from any species of sport derived from the courage or ferocity of that animal in Europe. Here neither dogs are employed as in England, nor men and horses as in Spain, but the bulls themselves are directed

ted against each other. The population form an extensive ring round the *álun álun*, within which the animals are first led up to a cow, until they are sufficiently excited, when the cow being withdrawn they are set at liberty and contend with each other, until one of them gives way, and is driven from within the ring by the victor. The small well formed bulls of *Súmenáp* afford considerable amusement in this way, while considerable bets are laid on the result of the combat.

Ram and Hog fight.

The combat between the ram and wild hog, which generally terminates by several dogs being let in to complete the destruction of the latter, is an exhibition which furnishes frequent amusement; a small stand is raised for the ram, to which he can retreat when in danger, and from whence he can take advantage of a favourable moment of attack upon his antagonist.

Quail-fighting.

Quail-fighting (*áduh gemár*) and cock-fighting (*áduh jágu*) were formerly very prevalent, the latter particularly, among the common people, but by no means to the same extent as practised in the other islands of the Archipelago, in many parts of which, particularly among the *Maláyus*, it forms almost the whole source of diversion and interest. On the establishment of the British power, cock-fighting and gaming, which had formerly proved a productive source of revenue to the European government, were prohibited, and are now in consequence rarely resorted to. The Javans were not in the habit of fixing spurs to their cocks: this practice, they say, belongs to the *Maláyus*.* The common people still amuse themselves with betting upon the issue of a fight between two crickets (*áduh jangkrik*), which are daily exposed in the markets for that purpose. The little animals being confined in small *bámbus* partially opened, are said to afford an amusement of considerable interest.

Among the games of skill may be reckoned those of chess, drafts, and several minor games played with pieces or balls, on boards of a somewhat similar construction.

Chess.

In chess (*chátur*) the pieces are named, the *rátū*, or king; the *pateh*, or minister, corresponding with the queen; two *práhu*, or vessels, corresponding with castles; two *mántri*, corresponding with bishops; two *járan*, or horses, corresponding with knights; the *bídak*, or pawns; and are arranged as in the English game, except that the kings are placed on the left hand of the queens, and opposite to the adversary's queen. The moves are

* The cocks reared for this purpose are of the large game breed. The cock which we improperly call the Bantam, is not found on Java, except as a curiosity: it comes from Japan.

are also the same; except that the king, if he has not been checked, may move two squares the first time, either as a knight or otherwise; and that the pawn may move two squares the first move, even though it should pass the check of an adversary's pawn. When a pawn reaches the adversary's first line, it must retrograde three moves diagonally before it can become a queen, except it has reached the castle's square, in which case it is a queen at once. There may be any number of queens on the board at once.

The king cannot castle after having been checked. Castling is performed by two moves; the castle must first be brought up to the king, after which the king may pass over the castle at any future move, provided he shall not have been checked, or that no piece has occupied the square he would move into. A piece or pawn must remain on the board till the last; if the king is left alone it is considered as *stale mate*, and he wins.

This game was formerly more general than at present.

Besides chess, there are a variety of games played upon checkers; and next to it in estimation may be considered the games of *chúki* and *dákon*. In *chúki*, the board has one hundred and twenty angular points, formed by cross lines on a checkered board, and the same is played with sixty white and sixty black pieces. The object here is to clear the board of the adversary's pieces, and the victor is he who does so first. The parties toss up who shall take off the first piece or break the board. The moves are in all directions, and the person who commences goes on as long as he can take one, three, or five of his adversary's pieces. When he cannot do either, he stops, and the other goes on in the same way. *Dákon* is played with fourteen or eighteen balls on an oblong board with holes, and is much practised by women.

Drafts &c. *Dandáman*, or drafts, is not very unlike the Indian game, but has more pieces.

Machánan is a game in which two chief pieces represent tigers, one conducted by each party, and twenty-three pieces representing cows: the tiger who destroys the most wins the game. *Máling'an* is played on squares with eighteen pieces, and the object is to surround your adversary's pieces.

Games of chance. Of games of chance there are many. That denominated *telága tári* is accounted the most ancient: it consists in guessing the number of beans enclosed within the hand. Three or four people commonly join in it. One of the party having dried beans in his lap, takes a certain number in his hand, requiring each of the others to fix by guess upon a number; if there are three persons, upon a number from one to four, and the two numbers left

fall

fall to the share of the person who holds the beans. If the number in his hand exceeds four, every four beans are thrown aside, and the residue, until they are reduced to that number or below it, only counted.

Dadu, or dice, as well as cards, are borrowed from the Chinese, and not included among the national games. The most common species of gaming, and that which is practised by the numerous and dissolute class of *báturs*, or porters, in the central districts, is a kind of pitch and toss, denominated *képlek*. Four farthings, whitened or marked on one side, are tossed into the air; if the whole or three of them fall on the side that is marked, or on the reverse, the party who tossed them wins; if only two, he loses the stake.

Bets are frequently laid on the hardness or otherwise of a particular nut, known among the *Maláyus* by the term *búa kras*, and called *áduh gemíri*. Bets also frequently depend on the flying of kites *(layáng'an)*.

Other customs and usages.

I shall conclude this chapter by referring to some peculiarities, which, although partially explained elsewhere, and falling perhaps more correctly under other heads, may not be improperly noticed in an account of the national usages and customs.

The practice of filing and dying the teeth black, and that of lengthening the lobe of the ear to an enormous size, both of which have been already noticed, appear to have extended over the whole of the eastern peninsula of India, as far as China, and throughout the islands of the Archipelago, as far at least as Papua or New Guinea.

The practice of covering the face, body, and limbs with yellow powder on state occasions, and the use of yellow silk or satin for the envelope of letters between princes, evinces the same esteem for this colour which prevails in the other islands, as well as in Ava, Siam, and China.

The *kríses* worn by the Javans are only varieties of that which is found in the islands, and on what is termed the Malayan peninsula. The Javans have a tradition that it was first introduced by one of their early Hindu sovereigns, *Sakútram* (others call him *Sa Pútram*), who is said to have come into the world with the *krís* by his side. This *krís* is supposed to have been of the kind called *pasopáti*, which is consequently considered as the most honourable at the present day. In the chapter on History will be found an account of the *krís* deposited in the tomb of the *Susúnan Gíri*, and of the virtues attributed to it by the superstitions of the country. There is a tradition, that the inhabitants of all those countries in which the *krís* is now worn, once acknowledged the authority of the Javans, and derived that custom from them. Another tradition attributes the introduction

duction of this weapon among the islanders to the celebrated *Pánji*.—The practice of poisoning the blade of the *krís* seems to have been attributed to the Javans and their neighbours without any foundation. In order to bring out the damasking, it is usual to immerse the blade in lime juice and a solution of arsenic, which, by eating away and corroding the iron, may probably render the wound more angry and inflamed, and consequently more difficult to cure, but it has never been considered that death is the consequence. After this application of the acid and arsenic, the blade is carefully smeared with some fragrant oil, to prevent it from rusting, and this is all that is ever done to it.

It has been usual to condemn these people as blood-thirsty, prone to immediate revenge, because they invariably use the *deadly krís;* but however frequent the appeals to this weapon may be in some of the more wild and uncivilized of the Malayan states, experience has proved to us, that on Java it may be universally worn without danger. I have elsewhere remarked, that the custom of wearing the *krís* among these islanders has, in its effects upon the manners of the people, proved in many respects an effectual substitute for duelling among Europeans. In these countries, where there is very little justice to be obtained from regularly established courts, and where an individual considers himself justified in taking the law into his own hands accordingly, the *Maláyu* is always prepared to avenge with his *krís* the slightest insult on the spot; but the knowledge that such an immediate appeal is always at hand, prevents the necessity of its often being resorted to, an habitual politeness ensues, and it has often been said, that if the *Maláyus* are savages, they are by far the most polite savages that we know of. If this effect is produced on the wilder and less civilized *Maláyu*, and has equal force with the more adventurous and warm-hearted *Búgis*, it may be easily conceived the Javans have not escaped it. The *krís*, among them, has for a long period been more exclusively a personal ornament, than a rapier was in Europe fifty years ago, being among the higher classes even seldomer resorted to, as a weapon of defence or offence, than the latter.

The condition of absolute slavery, as understood by Europeans, seems to have been unknown to the ancient constitution of society in these islands, and throughout all the fragments of their history, of their laws, usages, and customs, no trace is to be found of its ever having existed among the Javans.*

Throughout

* A peculiar feature in the state of society in the Eastern Islands is the law between debtor and creditor. Throughout the Archipelago, where the European government has not inter-

Throughout the more ancient laws and institutions of the country, a property of the subject in the land is clearly recognized, and it is probable that it continued to subsist till the subversion of the Hindu government. From various definitions and enactments respecting property, some of which may be seen in the *Súria Alem*,* it is obvious, that money transactions took place formerly, to a greater extent than they do at present. The change is probably attributable to the European policy of the last two centuries. Four per cent. per month when a valuable pledge is deposited, and double that amount otherwise, is the common rate of interest in small transactions between the natives and Chinese of the present day.

In the transaction of money concerns, the women are universally considered superior to the men, and from the common labourer to the chief of a province, it is usual for the husband to entrust his pecuniary affairs entirely to his wife. The women alone attend the markets, and conduct all the business of buying and selling. It is proverbial to say the Javan men are fools in money concerns.

When speaking of their fondness for show and state, I noticed that the Javans were at the same time distinguished by neatness and cleanliness, qualities not often combined with the former. That they are in most respects remarkable for their neatness cannot be denied: to their personal cleanliness there are exceptions. This is however chiefly true of the higher classes, and especially those who mix with Europeans; but the common Javan, though more cleanly than the Chinese and even the European, would suffer by a comparison in that particular with the natives of Western India.

The common people generally bathe once a day, others once only in two or three days. None of any rank anoint the body with grease, as is the case with the natives of Western India; but they abundantly oil their hair, which

fered, confinement for debt is unknown. The creditor universally has a right to the effects of the debtor, to the amount of the debt, on proving it before the proper authority, and if the effects are not sufficient to satisfy the demand, he has a right to the personal services of his debtor, and of his debtor's wife and children if necessary. Hence arises that extensive class of people commonly called slave debtors, or more correctly bondsmen. In Java they are termed *bédol*. In the provinces of Java subject to the European authority, this practice has for some time been checked; and during the administration of Marshal Daendels, in 1810, when it was usual for the common Javans to lend themselves in pawn for a certain sum of money, it was declared illegal. As an ancient institution of the country, it will perhaps be better explained hereafter, in detailing the existing practice on *Báli*, which may be considered to assimilate, in a great measure, with what the practice once was on Java.

* See Appendix D.

among the common people, on account of its length, is too often filthy in the extreme. They are accustomed to arrange the hair with a coarse comb; but theuse of the small-toothed comb is unknown, its office being invariably performed by the hands of women. Near Batavia, and some of the low capitals of the coast, it is not unusual to see on the road side women thus employed for the benefit of passengers, at a certain rate per head, who submit to it as naturally as an English labourer goes into a barber's shop to be shaved for a penny. The *Maláyus* accuse the Javans of eating what they find on these occasions; "*ítu óranǵ Jáwa,*" say they, "*mákan kútut.*" This, however, appears to be a calumny: the Javans confess to biting but deny the swallowing. The practice of the women cleaning the men's hair is referred to by the Javans as of very ancient date. It was from this practice that the mother of *Wátu Gúnung*, in the very earliest period of Javan traditionary story, discovered her lost son.*

Passing from this disgusting particular, and referring the reader to the details of the native history for the leading features of the political character of the Javan, and to the other divisions of this work, which may afford him information how to estimate their former and present state of civilization, I cannot but regret, that I am compelled to reserve, until a future occasion, a more detailed account of the constitution, usages, and customs of the village societies. It is by these that the private virtues and vices of the people are perhaps best illustrated, and an account of the municipal regulations by which the little property and happiness of each individual is protected, of the internal precautions of police, and of the mode of adjusting disputes, could not fail to be interesting, on account of their simplicity, their equity, and efficacy. Independently of the degree of rational independence and importance which the existence of these societies insures to the common people, and of the protection which, under all circumstances of greater political revolutions, they have afforded to them, it is hoped that their influence in maintaining the police and tranquillity of the country, will ever prevent the European authority from interfering in their constitution or internal arrangements.

It has long been the opinion of the Dutch authorities, that a system of European police, and the employment of European officers of police are necessary; but under the British government the contrary has been satisfactorily proved. Let the higher departments of justice be scrupulously superintended

* See Javan History.

superintended and watched by Europeans of character; let the administration of justice be pure, prompt, and steady; let what is bad in the native practice of police be gradually removed, but let the system, in its application to the common people, be supported. It is one which has grown with them, one which they are accustomed to and understand. Under the native system, the rice block of the village is used as the alarm; and according to the manner in which it is beaten, the inhabitants know whether it is to announce a single thief or a banditti, a tiger or a fire, and arm themselves suitably. As it is usual for a thief to have but little covering on his body, and to oil himself all over, that he may slip from the hands of any one who may seize him, the Javans make use of a long wooden pole, with branches of brambles inverted within a fork at the end, and by means of this simple contrivance they avoid the risk of being wounded, and effectually secure the offender, who cannot escape without tearing his skin. These, and other simple expedients, adopted from immemorial custom and according to the circumstances of the country, are certainly preferable to the watchmen's rattles and constables' staves, which Europeans would wish to introduce.

CHAPTER VIII.

Language.—Little known to Europeans.—Different Languages or Dialects.—Those of Súnda, Madúra and Báli compared with that of Java Proper.—The polite Language, or Language of Honour.—The Káwi, or sacred and classic Language.—Numerals.—Chándra Sangkála.—Literature.—Compositions in the Káwi Language and in the modern Javan.—Influence of Hindu Literature.—Introduction of Arabic Literature.—Poetry.—The Bráta Yúd'ha, a Poem.—Music.—Painting.—Sculpture.—Architecture.—Arithmetic.—Astronomy.

Language.

THE extensive prevalence of the Javan language, and its connexion with the languages of continental India, were not overlooked by those intelligent Europeans who visited these islands at an early period; for we find Valentyn* quoting the authority of Flaccourt, who published in 1661, and of the Portuguese Jan de Barros, for conclusions with regard to the extent of Javan commerce in remote ages, drawn from the resemblance then traced between the languages of Java and those of Madagascar and Ambon (Amboina). "The Javans," observes this author, "must doubtless have visited Coro-"mandel and Malabar, for the high or court language is, in three parts out "of four, derived from the Sanscrit or Brahminical language. Many Malabar "words also enter into the composition, and it is besides composed in a "great measure from the *Dekan*, which is the ancient language of India, "in the same manner as the Sanscrit is the sacred language."

Little known to Europeans.

The alphabet has been exhibited, though imperfectly, by Valentyn, Le Brun, and Reland, and an *Alphabetum Bantemense* is said to have been found amongst the posthumous papers of the learned Hyde; but the language does not appear to have been regularly cultivated by Europeans until within the last very few years. Some of the outlines of the Javan mythological stories had previously appeared in a Dutch dress, in the Transactions of the Batavian Society; and these, with the translation of the Lord's

* Vol. iv, Book 2, Chap. 1.

Lord's Prayer into the high and low languages, published by Valentyn, some short vocabularies, and a short comparative view of the Javan and Malâyan languages, which appeared in a Dutch work entitled "*Begin en vortgang* "*den Oost Ind Compen,*" or the Rise and Progress of the East-India Company, are the only contributions to our knowledge of Javan literature with which I am acquainted.

Different languages or dialects.

The native population of Java, *Madúra*, and *Báli*, islands most intimately connected with each other in every respect, use exactly the same written character, and it appears that one generic language prevails throughout these islands. Of this generic language, however, there are four dialects, differing so materially from each other as to be generally considered separate languages. It is, however, rather by admixture of other languages than by mere difference of dialect that they are distinguished. These dialects or languages are the *Súnda*, spoken by the inhabitants of the mountainous districts of Java west of *Tégal;* the *Jáwa* or Javan, which is the general language of Java east of Chéribon, and throughout the districts lying on the northern coast of the island; the *Madúra* and the *Báli*, being the dialects or languages belonging to those islands respectively.

Vocabularies.

How far these dialects or languages radically assimilate with each other, and justify the opinion that one generic language prevails throughout, may be determined by an inspection of the annexed vocabulary.* The *Lampung* is added, on account of the vicinity of that part of Sumatra to Java, and the intimate political connection which at all times subsisted between the people; and in order to enable the reader to compare them all with the prevailing language of the Archipelago, the *Maláyu* is prefixed. Under the Javan is included the *Bása kr áma*, orpolite language, which will be more particularly noticed hereafter.

In this vocabulary, such words only have been introduced as are used in conversation, and in ordinary epistolary composition; but the inhabitants of these islands possess further a classic language, altogether distinct from the ordinary languages of the country, and which is to them what the *Sanscrit* is to the *Pracrit* language of Hindustan, and what the *Pali* is to the *Birman* and *Siamese*. This language is termed *Káwi*.† The annexed vocabulary, No.

* See comparative vocabulary of the *Malayu, Javan, Madurese, Bdli,* and *Lampung* languages. Appendix E.

† The term *Káwi* seems to have been borrowed from the Sanscrit *Káwi;* meaning, in that language, poetry or poetical.

No. 2,* which affords a comparison between the *Sanscrit*, the *Pali*, and the *Káwi*, will shew how nearly these languages are allied.

These two vocabularies may serve to convey a notion of the extent, peculiarities, and antiquity of the Javan language, which will be found as intimately connected with the *Maláyu*, or general language of the Archipelago, on the one hand, as it is with the *Sanscrit* and *Pali* on the other.

Súnda. The *Súnda* language, though now confined to the mountainous districts, seems to have been formerly, and probably down to the period immediately preceding the revolution occasioned by the Mahometan conversion, the general language of the western districts, and is perhaps the most ancient vernacular language of the country. It is a simple uncultivated dialect, adapted however to all the purposes of the simple and uneducated mountaineers who now speak it, and has perhaps escaped the influence of foreign innovation, from the peculiar nature of the country and the independent character of that race. It possesses a considerable portion of *Maláyu* words, and some of Sanscrit origin: the latter being, generally speaking, proper names or terms of art and science or polity, have probably been borrowed from the eastern or proper Javans, in common with whom the *Súnda* people have adopted a *B'hasa dálam*, or *Bása kráma*, which however is by no means extensive. The *Súnda*, with reference to the Javan, may be viewed in much the same light as the Welch is to the English. The proportion of the people who now speak it does not exceed one-tenth of the population of the whole island; the remaining nine-tenths speak Javan.

Madúra. The language of *Madúra*, which is again divided into the dialects of *Madúra* proper and *Sumenáp*, will be found to contain many words in common with that of *Súnda*, but a much more extensive portion of *Maláyu*, varied in the termination by a peculiarity of dialect.

Báli. The languages of *Báli* are intimately connected with those of Java and *Madúra*. In the historical part of this work it will be shewn, that it was in *Báli* the ancient religion, and with it the literature of Java, took refuge in the fifteenth century of our æra; and although, from the difference which is at this day found to exist between the vernacular languages of the two countries, as well as in their institutions, it is evident that the language, literature, and institutions of Java, were there engrafted on a more rude and savage stock, still it is chiefly to *Báli* that we must look for illustrations of the ancient state of the Javans. The relation of the political revolutions by

* See Appendix, E, No. 2.

by which these islands have been convulsed at different periods of their history, will, in a great measure, account for the distinctions of language which at present exist; while, at the same time, these distinctions and peculiarities must serve to confirm many of the facts, for which we should otherwise have only the authority of tradition to rely.

Provincial peculiarities.

At Bantam the language is much mixed with *Maláyu* and *Súnda*. The language in ordinary use at Batavia and its immediate vicinity is a jargon of Dutch, Portuguese, Chinese, Javan, and *Maláyu*, the latter forming the principal component. In *Bógor* and *Chai-ánjur*, the *Súnda* is pronounced in a more drawling manner than in *Chéribon*, where it is probably most correctly spoken, as in the word *náh*, what? which at *Chéribon* is pronounced short and sharp, *nah*. At *Tégal* the Javan words are in like manner lengthened in pronunciation, while at *Semárang* they are spoken short and full. At the courts of *Sura-kérta* and *Yugya-kérta*, the words are pronounced short, strong, and full. In the provinces east of *Surabáya*, the language partakes much of the *Madurese*, and in the extreme district of *Banyuwángi* the *Báli* is discernable.

Alphabet.

The alphabet of Java is peculiar: it consists of twenty consonants (y and w are of the number), termed *aksára* or letters. In common with all other characters properly Indian, these letters may be considered as syllables, composed of a consonant and an inherent vowel sound, which is invariably expressed, unless contradicted by a particular sign.

Besides the *aksára*, there are twenty auxiliary characters, termed *pasáng'an*, which in this application means corresponding or similar. They have the same power as the *aksára* against which they stand, except that they are only used in connexion with and immediately after the *aksára*, for the purpose of suppressing their inherent vowel sound. Three of them are always placed after the *aksára*, the others below them.

When the inherent vowel sound in the *aksára* is not contradicted, the *aksára* is termed *lagána*. The vowel sound in this case is that of *a* in "water," or of *o* in "homo;" the *o* being at present invariably used at the native courts and their vicinity for the inherent vowel of the consonant, instead of *a*. The latter, however, is still preserved on *Madúra*, *Báli*, and in the districts of Java west of *Tégal*, and was doubtless the original inherent vowel. The consonant sounds correspond with the sounds usually attributed to the English consonants, with the exception of a second *d* and *t*, which correspond with similar sounds in the *Devanágari* alphabet; *ch* which, is used

used as *ch* in "church;" *nia*, and *ng'*, which latter is frequently used as an initial letter.

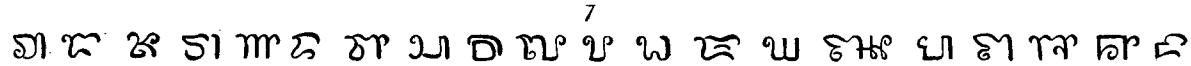
Besides these there are five vowel signs, which supplant the inherent vowel. These signs are termed *sandáng'an*, the clothing or dress. The *répa* consist of certain contractions of consonants and other signs used in composition. These, with a *pángkun*, or sign of elision, corresponding with the *báris máti* of the *Malayu*, which has no sound of its own, but being placed at the end of a word or sentence denotes its termination in a pure consonant, and some few other marks corresponding with the *Devanágari*, complete the orthographical arrangement, which though complex and intricate, is remarkable for its precision.

Some of the letters occasionally occur under a capital, or rather peculiar form, for they are of the same size; but these are seldom used, and when they are, it is not as capitals are employed in European languages. They are principally found in proper names, and titles of office, and are placed alike in the beginning, middle, or end of a word.

The annexed table is intended to exhibit the powers and application of the different letters and orthographical signs. No. 1 exhibits the characters now in general use. No. 2 contains the square characters in which the *Kawi* is usually written, and in which the different inscriptions in that language, cut in stone and copper, are found. No. 3 contains specimens of the varieties which the alphabetical characters have at different times assumed, arranged, according to the judgment of the native writers, in the order of their relative antiquity.

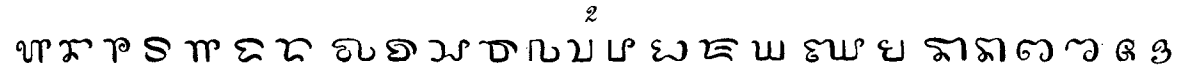
Ancient forms of the Javan Alphabet.

1



h n ch r k ḍ ṭ s w l p d j y niā m g b t ngā

2



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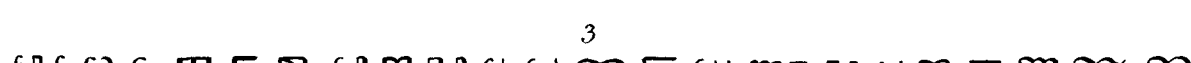
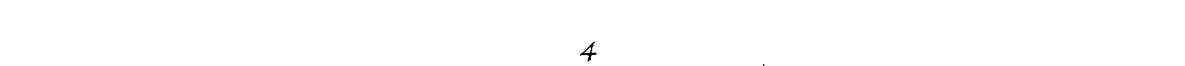


h. n. ch. r. k. ḍ. ṭ. s. w. l. p. p. d. j. y. niā m m g g b t ngā

4



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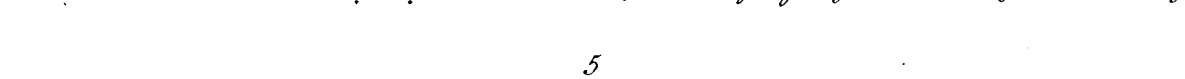
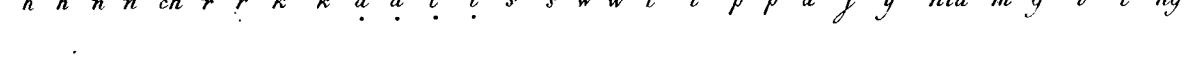


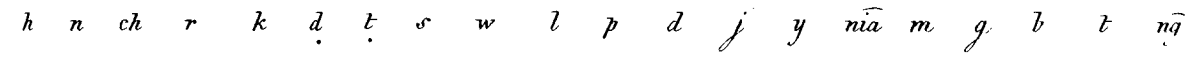
h h n n ch r r k k ḍ ḍ ṭ ṭ s s w w l l p p d j y niā m g l t ngā

6



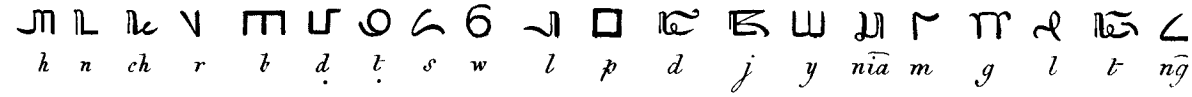
h n ch r k ḍ ṭ s w l p d j y niā m g b t ngā

7



h n ch r b ḍ ṭ s w l p d j y niā m g l t ngā

8



h h n ch r' k ḍ ṭ s s w l p d j y niā m g b b t ngā

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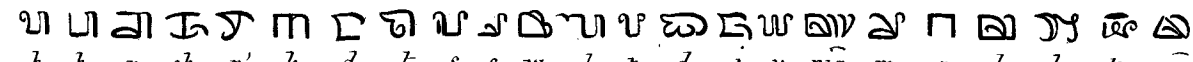


h h n ch r k ḍ ṭ s s s w w b b p p p d j y niā m m g g b t t ngā

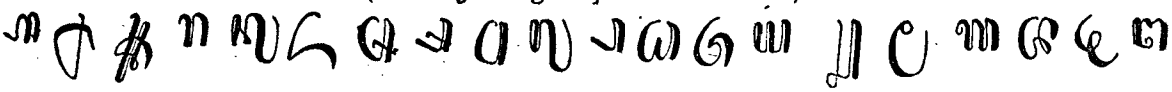
AKSÁRA JÁWA, or LETTERS of the JAVAN ALPHABET.

CONSONANTS.

ha na cha ra ka da ta sa wa la pa da ja ya nia ma ga ba ta ng'a

AKSÁRA PASÁNG'AN,

(Used in forming compound Consonants.)



ha na cha ra ka da ta sa wa la pa da ja ya nia ma ga ba ta ng'a

RÉPA,

(Or Contractions of certain Consonants used in composition with other Consonants).

signian or *wignian* is placed after the letter, and is used to supply the place of the letter *h*, when not followed by a vowel sound.

chákra is placed round two letters, and introduces *r* between the consonant and its inherent vowel.

láyar is placed above the letter, and is used to supply the place of the letter *r* when not followed by a vowel sound.

péngkal is placed partly below the letter and partly after, to introduce a medial *y* in the same manner as chákra introduces *r*.

chechak is placed above the letter, and is used to supply the place of the letter *ng'*, when not followed by a vowel sound.

chákra-gántung is placed below the letter, and is pronounced *re.*

pángkun is placed after a letter, and serves as a mark of elision, destroying the final vowel sound.

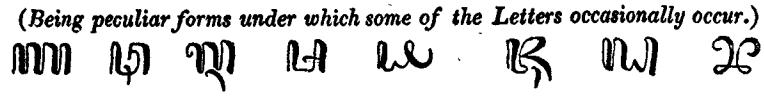
VOWELS.

Single or unconnected Vowels.		*Sandáng'an, or Corresponding Medial and Final Vowels.*		
a				
i		*wúlu*		is placed above the letter.
u		*súku*		is placed below the letter.
é		*tálíng*		is placed before the letter.
o		*tálíng-tárung*		with the letter between,
e		*pépet*		is placed above the letter, and is pronounced as in *le* French.

ng'a ldlet gives the sound of *le*, and *pachérak* gives the sound of *re*, as in Sanscrit.

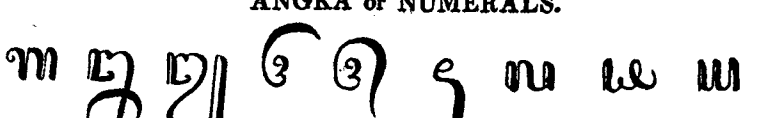
AKSÁRA GEDÉ,

(Being peculiar forms under which some of the Letters occasionally occur.)



N T S S P Nia G B

ÁNGKA or NUMERALS.



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

AKSÁRA BÚD'DA, or ANCIENT ALPHABET.

ha na cha ra ka da ta sa wa la pa da ja ya nia ma ga ba ta ng'a

ANOTHER FORM.

ha na cha ra ka da ta sa wa la pa da ja ya nia ma ga ba ta ng'a

RÉPA,

(Or Contractions of Consonants, &c., their Position being the same as in the modern Javan).

wignian .. pronounced as *h.*

chákra ..... *r.*

lâyar ..... *r.*

péngkal ..... *y.*

chéchak ..... *ng'.*

chákra gántung ..... *r.*

pángkon the mark of elision.

SANDÁNGAN or VOWELS,

(Their Position being the same as in the modern Javan).

wúlu .. pronounced as *i.*

súku ..... *u.*

tâling ..... *é.*

tâling târung ..... *o.*

pâpet ..... *e.*

ng'a lélet ..... *le.*

The Javans write from left to right. Every consonant (*aksára*) is written separately, not being joined to that which precedes it, and no space is left between the words. One or two short diagonal lines are used at the close of every poetical stanza, and sometimes a comma, and this is the only mark in the language which simply indicates a stop.

In Java the natives usually write with Indian ink upon paper manufactured by themselves, as already described, and sometimes on European and Chinese paper; but in *Báli* the natives invariably use an iron style, and cut the letters on a prepared palm leaf, in the same manner as in Western India. This practice is still partially continued in some of the more eastern parts of Java, and was no doubt, at a former period of their history, general throughout the island. The leaf is called *lóntar* (from *ron* a leaf, and *tal* the palm tree, the first and last letters being transposed), and the leaves or manuscripts are strung together to form books in the same manner as on continental India. Of these I have several specimens, containing nearly all the interesting compositions of the country.

As in the *Maláyu*, by far the greater proportion of primitive Javan words are dissyllables, pronounced with a slight stress or accent on the former of the two. There are a great number of derivative words, formed after the same manner as those in the *Maláyu*, by prefixing or annexing certain inseparable and otherwise non-significant particles. Compound words, formed by the junction of two or more significant terms, are frequently met with, though they by no means form an extensive portion of the language.

Many words, in their primitive sense, are not confined to one particular part of speech, but are common to two or more. Nouns, as in the *Maláyu*, cannot be said to possess the distinctions of either gender, number, or case. The males and females of all animals are, with few exceptions, as in the instances *Pútra—Pútri*, *Déwa—Déwi*, *Bramána—Bramáni*, and some few others, denoted by adding to the general terms words applicable to the different sexes. Number is not denoted by any variety of termination or change in the form of the noun, but by separate words, expressive of plurality or singularity; a duplication of the singular sometimes occurs, though rarely, to denote plurality. Where the terms *bíji*, *ékor*, *buáh*, *képing*, &c. are used in the *Maláyu* to specify a particular number, the term *wíji* is used indiscriminately in the Javan, whatever may be the thing spoken of. The nouns have no cases.

The adjectives are indeclinable, and generally follow the noun; and these are sometimes formed from nouns by prefixing a particle. The comparative degree is sometimes formed by prefixing a wor dmeaning higher or larger, but more frequently by placing adverbs, significant of " with," before that with which the comparison is made, as if we should say " by " the side of." The superlative degree is formed by annexing adverbs signifying " very, exceedingly, entirely, alone."

The cardinal numbers are placed sometimes before and sometimes after the nouns to which they are attached. When prefixed, they undergo, for the sake of the sound, a variety in their termination, or drop the first syllable. The ordinals are formed by prefixing a distinguishing word to the cardinals. Ten characters, which are all either alphabetical letters or signs slightly altered in form, serve to express all numbers, the notation being decimal, and the numerals being combined in the same manner as the Indian and Arabian.

The pronouns of the first and second person are always significant, and vary with the relative rank of the parties. There is no proper pronoun of the third person, but a word signifying " alone, self," with the addition of the possessive particle, is used as a personal pronoun of the third person. The personal pronouns may all be used as possessive pronouns, by being placed as such after the noun to which they belong. The relative and demonstrative pronouns correspond very nearly with those of the *Maláyu*.

With regard to the verb, it may be noticed that many of the observations in Mr. Marsden's grammar, on the nature and formation of the different parts of the *Maláyu* verb, are applicable to the Javan. It belongs rather to the detail of the grammar to point out these; but it may be remarked, that the use of these inflexions in the Javan appears to be so varied and undefined, that it is impossible, without a much more extensive knowledge of the language than Europeans at present possess, to make out a perfect conjugation, or to lay down any fixed rules for them. All that could perhaps be done, in the present state of the language and of our knowledge of it, would be to give a number and variety of correct idiomatical expressions in the Javan, by which their nature and irregularity may be shewn; and our present limits do not admit of this.

The Javan language has never been reduced within the grammatical rules adopted by Europeans, nor have the Javans themselves any notion of grammar.

grammar. The construction is generally simple and regular; but owing to prosodial refinements (every writing of importance being written in verse), syllables and words necessary to express a perfect sense are often omitted; at other times, unnecessary syllables or words are added, and letters at the beginning, middle, and end of a word are transposed. Hence, and also from the usual ellipsis of the verb transitive and personal pronouns, the meaning of many passages appears obscure.

The language is remarkable for the profusion of words which it contains, for the minute distinctions and shades of meaning, and the consequent extent of synonimes, and for difference of dialect.

Of the profusion of words it may be observed, that the Javan, in this respect, may be put in competition with many of the more cultivated languages of Europe and Asia, and that a dictionary would perhaps be far from complete, if it comprehended less than twenty thousand.

Of the extent of synonimes and the minute shades of distinction which are found in this language, some notion may be formed from the extracts from the *Dása Náma* which are annexed.* In order to facilitate the acquirement of the language, it is usual to collect all the words in the different dialects with their synonimes, and to connect them together by stringing them in classes following each other according to the natural chain of our ideas. Thus after commencing with the word *man*, and giving an explanation of every word in the vernacular, polite and *Káwi* languages, applicable from his birth to his death, as *infant*, *boy*, *youth*, and the like, it proceeds to *woman*, *child*; from thence to the deities, afterwards to the various avocations of mankind, &c. This collection of synonimes is called *Dása Náma* literally the "ten names" a term probably given to it on account of few important words in the language having less than ten synonimes. Children are no sooner taught to know the letters of the alphabet (which they first describe on the sand) and to connect them in syllables and words, than they are instructed in the *Dása Náma*, without a partial knowledge of which, no youth is considered competent to enter upon any public office or can advance to a knowledge of the written compositions of the country. These collections are varied in their contents and order of arrangement, according to the acquirements and notions of the compiler. As books of reference they may be considered to supply the place of dictionaries, and if less convenient for this purpose than works alphabetically arranged, they have certainly

* Appendix E, No. IV.

tainly an advantage over them, in the comparative facility with which their contents are impressed on the memory.

Polite language. But there is no feature in the language more deserving of notice, than the difference of dialect, or the distinction between the common language and what may be termed the polite language or language of honour. The latter contains many words of Sanscrit origin, and a portion of *Maláyu;* and in those instances in which it appears to have been borrowed from the vernacular language, which may perhaps be loosely estimated at a fourth of the whole, a slight alteration is commonly made in the orthography and pronunciation, to mark the distinction. To render this distinction intelligible to those who are not locally informed, it may be necessary to explain, that from whatever cause the distinction may have originated, so clearly is the line drawn on Java, between the higher and the lower classes of society, that on no account is any one, of whatever rank, allowed to address his superior in the common or vernacular language of the country. This language is exclusively applied when addressing an inferior, or among the lower orders or uneducated, where distinction of rank may not be acknowledged. Persons of high and equal rank, when discoursing among themselves, sometimes use the polite language, but in general they adopt a medium, by introducing words belonging to both branches of the language; and this is generally adopted by them in epistolary correspondence.

It is probable, that in the earlier stages of society, the terms of respect used towards a superior were comparatively few; that this second dialect, which now forms so extensive a branch of the general language, has been gradually formed with the growth of arbitrary power; and that, at one period, the extent of these terms did not exceed what is to be at this day found in the less cultivated dialects, and among the more independent races of *Madúra* and *Súnda.* Such, however, is their present extent in the Javan, that nearly one half of the words in the vernacular language have their corresponding term in the *Bása Kráma* or polite language, without a knowledge of which no one dare address a superior; and although the general construction of the language, and its grammatical principles are not altered, so effectually is the language of inferiority contrasted with that of superiority, that it is possible to suppose a case in which a person might be well acquainted with one dialect, without being able to understand one sentence of the other.

It is not however to be inferred that the one is studied and attained exclusively of the other, for while the one is the language of address, the

other

other must be that of reply, and the knowledge of both is indispensible to those who have to communicate with persons of a different rank with themselves. Children are accustomed from their infancy to employ the polite language in addressing their parents and relations, and this added to the mode of instruction by the *Dása Náma* above described, early impresses upon their memory the corresponding terms to be used according to the occasion. The *Bása Kráma*, as has been before noticed, consists of a more extensive class of foreign words, and where different words from the common language have not been introduced, a variation in the orthography and termination is adopted; and the more effectually to render it distinct, not only are the affirmatives and negatives, as well as the pronouns and prepositions varied, but the auxiliary verbs and particles are different.

Káwi.

I have already mentioned, that besides the ordinary and the polite languages of the country, the inhabitants of these islands possess a poetic or classic language, called *Káwi*. In this are written all the historical and poetical compositions of note, as well as most of the ancient inscriptions on stone and copper, which are found in different parts of the island. In a short vocabulary already referred to,* the relation of the *Káwi* to the Sánscrit and *Páli* is shewn; and in order to enable the Sánscrit scholar to extend the comparison, I have annexed a further vocabulary of *Káwi* words, with the meaning which the Javans at present attach to them.†

At what period this language was introduced into Java, whence it came, and whether it was ever the sacred or vernacular language of any foreign people, remains to be decided. Of the words of which it is composed, as far as we may judge from the annexed vocabulary, and the compositions which have come down to us, nine out of ten are of Sánscrit origin, and less corrupted than the present *Páli* of *Siam* and *Ava* appears to be: if, therefore, it was ever the same language with the *Páli*, it must have been before the *Páli* was corrupted, and therefore probably at a very remote period.

In *Báli* the *Káwi* is still the language of religion and law; in Java it is only that of poetry and ancient fable. In the former, the knowledge of it is almost exclusively confined to the *Bramána* (Bramins); in the latter, a slight knowledge of it is deemed essential for every man of condition. In *Báli* the ancient mythological and historical poems are however preserved in

* Appendix E, No. II.

† See Appendix E, No. III.

in more correct *Kâwi* than on Java; and it is to the copies obtained from thence, that reference will be principally made in the observations which follow on Javan literature.

In noticing "the accessary tongues from whence the *Malâyan* acquired "such a degree of improvement, as removed it from the general level of "the other cognate dialects, and gave it a decided predominance in that "part of the east," Mr. Marsden observes, "that the earliest, as well as "most important of these, appears to have been, either directly or me- "diately, that great parent of Indian languages, the *Sanscrit*, whose "influence is found to have pervaded the whole of the eastern (and "perhaps also of the western) world, modifying and regenerating even "where it did not create. That the intercourse, whatever its circum- "stances may have been, which produced this advantageous effect, must "have taken place at an early period, is to be inferred, not only from the "deep obscurity in which it is involved, but also from the nature of the "terms borrowed, being such as the progress of civilization must soon have "rendered necessary, expressing the feelings of the mind, the most obvious "moral ideas, the simplest objects of the understanding, and those ordi- "nary modes of thought which result from the social habits of mankind; "whilst, at the same time, it is not to be understood, as some have pre- "sumed to be the case, that the affinity between these languages is radical, "or that the latter is indebted to any Hindu dialect for its names for the "common objects of sense."*

The same observations apply still more extensively to the Javan; and in the *Kâwi* or classic language, we may presume to have discovered the channel by which the Javan received its principal store of Sanscrit words, for it is the practice, even at present, among the better educated of the Javans, for the party to display his reading, by the introduction, particularly into epistolary correspondence and literary compositions, of *Kâwi* words, by which means the colloquial, but more particularly the written language of the country, is daily receiving fresh accessions of Sanscrit terms. From the vocabularies now presented to the public, and the account which will be given of their literary compositions, it will appear, that few languages, even on the continent of India, have been more indebted to the Sanscrit than the Javan. One original language seems, in a very remote period, to have pervaded the whole Archipelago, and to have spread (perhaps with the population)

* Marsden's Malayan Grammar.

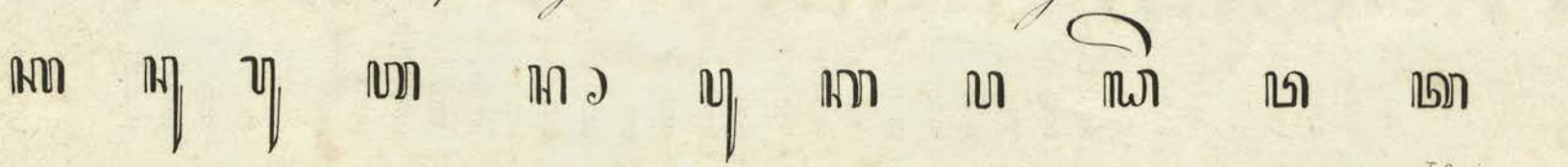
Specimen of an Inscription in the ancient Devanagari found at Brambánan.

Corresponding Characters in the Modern Devanagari.

व कु मा न पु र म्ब का र त स्य श्च स र्व्व ध न

Specimen of an Inscription in the ancient Javan or Kawi found in Málang.

Corresponding Characters in the Modern Javan.



T. Swaine Sc.

population) towards Madagascar on one side, and to the islands in the South Sea on the other; but in the proportion that we find any of these tribes more highly advanced in the arts of civilized life than others, in nearly the same proportion do we find the language enriched by a corresponding accession of Sanscrit terms, directing us, at once, to the source whence civilization flowed towards these regions. At what period, however, the light first broke in upon them, or at what period the intercourse first took place between the enlightened inhabitants of Western Asia and the islanders of this extensive Archipelago, is a question which, perhaps, may be more properly discussed, when treating of the antiquities and history of the country, and at best is involved in so much obscurity and fable, that much must be left to conjecture.

The letters of the Javan alphabet, as well as the orthographical signs, are decidedly on the principle of the *Devanágari;* but it is remarkable, that the letters of the alphabet do not follow the same order, notwithstanding that order is preserved in all the alphabets of Sumatra as well as in that of Celebes. This deviation has been considered presumptive of the alphabet having been introduced into the island anterior to the period when this order might have been established for the *Devanágari* itself, or before the refinement supposed to have been effected in that alphabet by the Bramins; but the deviation may, perhaps, be sufficiently accounted for, by the circumstance of a meaning being attached to the words formed by the order of the Javan alphabet as the letters are at present arranged, thus: *hána charáka dáta sawála páda jayánia mága batáng'a;* means, "there were two messengers "disputing with each other, equally courageous, till they both died."* That this is not accidental may be inferred, not only from the common laws of chance, but from the probability of such an arrangement being preferred, both on account of its convenience, and in conformity with the spirit which in the *Chándra Sangkála* seeks to select such expressions for the particular numerals that are required, as may make a sentence.

Near the ruins of *Brambánan* and *Sínga-sári*, are still found inscriptions in the pure *Devanágari* character of a very ancient form. A specimen of these, together with one of the square *Káwi*, is exhibited in the accompanying plate, corresponding in size with the original. Annexed to each letter in the *Devanágari* character found on Java, is the modern character, and in the same manner the modern Javan letters are placed under the *Káwi*; Sanscrit.

* See Historical Chapter, for an account of the introduction of the alphabet by *Aji Saka*.

and, in order to enable the reader to compare the forms of the consonants used in the alphabets of Ava, Siam, and Java, with the *Devanágari*, they have been placed against each other in another plate. It will be seen, that many of the letters of the *Káwi* correspond so exactly with the square *Páli* of the Birmans, as to leave no doubt of their having originally been the same. It is probable, also, that were our acquaintance with the *Páli* more extensive, a similar coincidence would be found between the languages.

Upon the overthrow of the Hindu empire on Java, the natives may be considered to have lost most of their knowledge of the *Káwi* language; for although numerous compositions in it are still to be found among them, and these compositions are recited in their national entertainments, they would not be generally understood, but for the versions which have long since been rendered of them into the modern Javan. The *Panambahán* of *Sumenap* is perhaps, at present, alone entitled to be considered as a *Káwi* scholar, and he knows so little of the language as to acknowledge, while assisting in translating from it, that he was often under the necessity of guessing at the meaning.

The knowledge of the ancient characters seems, on Java, to have been for many years almost exclusively confined to the family of this chief, and it is stated, that they owe their knowledge of it, and of the *Káwi* language itself, to the circumstance of one of them having visited *Báli*, to which island it is that we must now look as the chief depositary of what remains of the literature and science which once existed on Java.

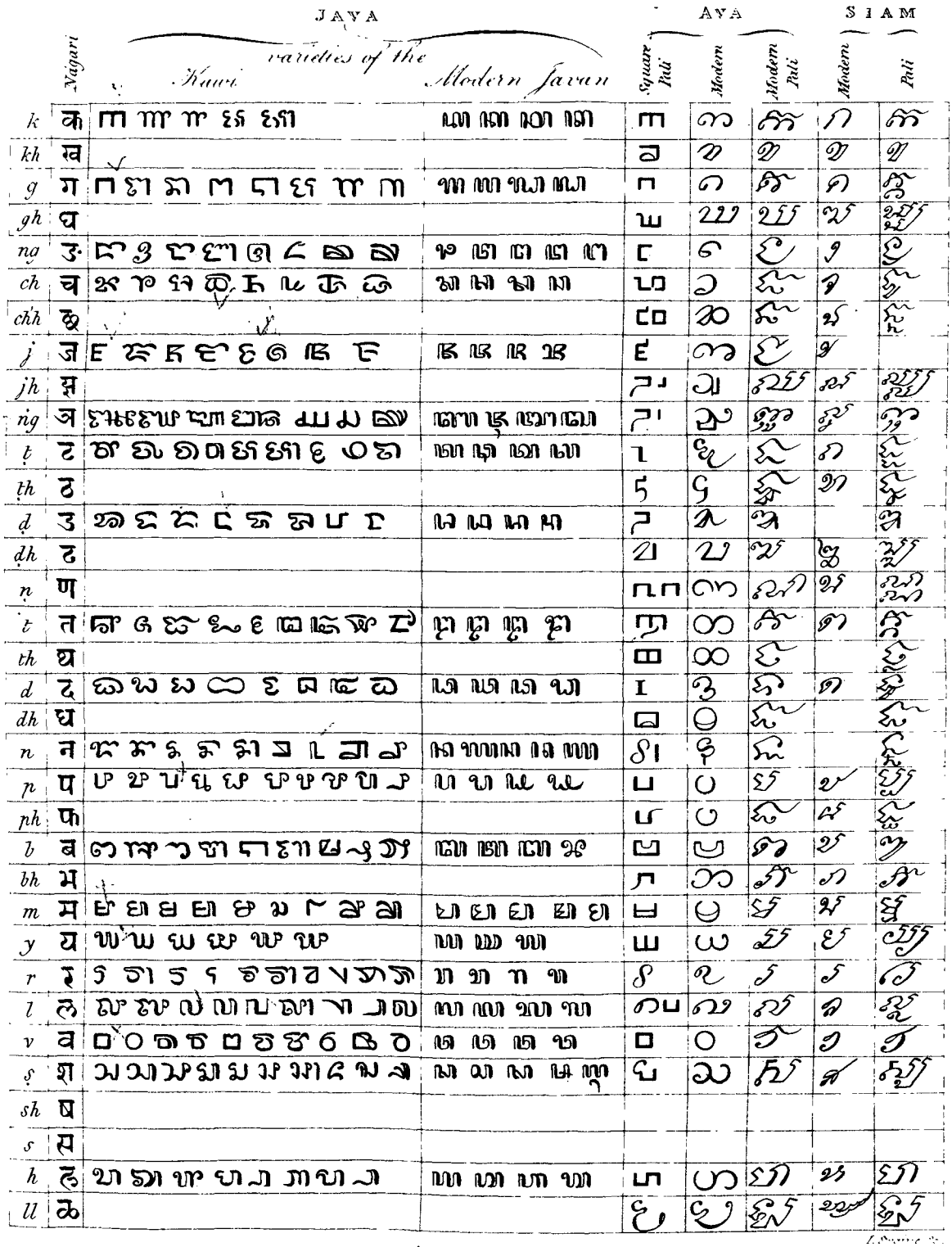
Mystical language.

It is not unusual for the Javans, in carrying on any secret or political correspondence, to adopt a mystical language, known only to the parties themselves; and on occasions where attempts have been made to stir up the common people to commotion, scrolls have been distributed in various unintelligible characters, which, for the most part, appear to have had no other object but to impose on the credulity of those who were too willing to believe them sacred and mysterious. Were the characters intelligible, the mystery would cease and the charm be dispelled. Of the manner in which the letters of the alphabet are applied in forming this mystical language, an instance is given at the conclusion of the vocabulary of *Káwi* words.*

Unlike the Malayan, the Javan language owes little or nothing to the Arabic, except a few terms connected with government, religion, and science, which have been admitted with the religion and laws of Mahomet. The

* See Appendix E, No. III.

A Table of the Deva nagari Consonants, in comparison with those used in the languages of Java, Ava, and Siam.



The language, as well as the ancient institutions of the country, have been but little affected by the conversion. The Javan language was abundantly copious before the introduction of Arabic literature, and had few or no deficiencies to be supplied.

The general character of the language is strongly indicative of a former advanced state of civilization, and illustrates, in some degree, the present character of the people. It is rich and refined; it abounds in synonimes and nice distinctions; it is mixed and easily made to bend, and suit itself to every occasion; it is, in a high degree, expressive of power and servility.*

As the languages of the whole Archipelago are so intimately connected with each other, and that of Celebes in particular is so little known, I have subjoined in an Appendix some further comparative vocabularies of the languages east of Java, with some observations on the *Búgis* and *Mangkásar* nations.†

Numerals. For ordinary purposes, the Javans, as already described, use a modification of some of the letters of their alphabet as numerals, and a representation of these numerals has been given in the table of the Javan alphabet, page 361; but on occasions of importance, it is usual to employ certain signs or symbols in lieu of these ordinary numerals, and this practice appears be of great antiquity among them. These symbols are termed *chándra sangkála*, "reflections of royal times," or "the light of royal dates," and consist in a certain number of objects, &c. either represented in design or named, each of which is significant of one of the ten numerals. Of the former class are said to be those found in most of the ancient buildings and coins, which in that case usually bear no inscription. The latter is found in most of the ancient inscriptions, and in such of the written compositions as possess any date at all, and is adopted in all proclamations and public writings by the sovereign of the present day.

The Appendix G. contains an account of these peculiar numerals, as far as they are at present understood by the Javans. In the use of them, they endeavour to select such objects from the list, as when read in succession,

* "The style of the address in Mexican is varied according to the rank of the persons with "whom, or about whom, conversation is held, by adding to the nouns, verbs, prepositions, "and adverbs, certain particles expressive of respect. This variety, which gives so much "refinement to the language, does not however make it difficult to be spoken, because it is "subjected to rules, which are fixed and easy; nor do we know any language that is more "regular and methodical."—*History of Mexico, by Clavigero*, vol. 1.

† See Appendix F.

may afford some meaning illustrative of the fact the date of which is recorded; but this is not always attended to, or at least is not always to be traced. The date of the destruction of *Majapáhit* (1400), the most important in the history of Java, is stated as follows, the numbers being always reversed.

Sírna ílang kertáning Búmi
Lost and gone is the work (pride) of the land.
0 0 4 1

In like manner, the date of the long graves at *Grésik*, near the tomb of the Princess of *Chermai* (1313), is thus stated:

Káya wúlan pútri íku
Like unto the moon was that Princess.
3 1 3 1

Other examples will be given, in detailing some of the principal events of Javan history.

Literature. However imperfect the foregoing general account of the languages of Java may be, it will have served to convey to the reader some notion of the extent to which it has been indebted to a foreign source for its copiousness and refinement, and to prepare him for that extensive influence of Hindu literature, which is still to be found in the compositions of the country. Of these the most important, and indeed all that have any claim to literary distinction, are found either in the *Káwi* or in Javan versions from that classic language. On Java the establishment of a Mahometan government for nearly four centuries, has tended in a great measure to obliterate that general knowledge among the better educated, which, there is reason to believe, once existed; but in *Báli* the Hindu faith, however blended with the local customs of the island, and however perverted and distorted in its application by a semi-barbarous people, is still the established religion of the country. Mahometanism has gained but little ground there, and no part of the island has yet submitted to European authority. It was in this conveniently situated island that the adherents to that faith took refuge, when the sword of Mahomet prevailed on Java, carrying with them such remnants of the sciences and literature as they were able to rescue from the general wreck.

An account of the present state of the island of *Báli*, of the religious and political institutions, and of some of the peculiar customs and usages which subsist there, is essential to the illustration of Javan history; and although

although the limits of the present volume will not admit of our enlarging so much on this interesting subject as we could wish, it is hoped that a general notion may be formed, from the particulars which will be inserted in the chapter on the religion and antiquities of Java. In the following account of the literary compositions of Java, I shall avail myself of the more correct copies, which I was fortunate enough to obtain from *Báli*, confining myself in the explanation of them to the existing notions of the best informed of the Javans, it being the present state of their literature, rather than that of *Báli*, that I am now to describe.

The literature of Java may be considered under the general heads of ancient and modern, the former and more important division consisting of compositions in the *Káwi* language, which appear connected with the mythology and fabulous history of continental India.

It is to be regretted, that the work which treats most extensively of the ancient mythology of the country, and of the earliest periods of fabulous history to which the Javans of the present day refer, is not to be found in the *Káwi*. The Javan work, termed *Kánda*, is probably a translation from the *Káwi*, and, in the absence of the original, claims our first attention. It is to this work, and the *Mánek Móyo*, of which an abstract will be given in the chapter on religion, that the modern Javans constantly refer for an explanation of their ancient mythology.

The Kánda.

This composition is frequently called *Pepákam*. It contains the notions of mythology which appear to have been general throughout the Eastern Islands, with imperfect portions of their astronomical divisions, and of ancient history. It is to be regretted, however, that the Javan copy from which the following account is taken, though otherwise written in a very correct style, abounds in passages, unfit for a chaste ear, and that it has been almost impossible entirely to purify it.

It opens with an account, first of *Sáng yáng Wénang* (the most powerful), who was sixth in descent from *Purwáning Jan* (the first of men, or Adam), and who had a son named *Sáng yáng Túng'gal* (the great and only one), the first, who (as is inferred from the meaning of his name) conceived that he was above all, and who setting aside the ways of his father, established the heavens, with all that they contain, under the name of *Suréndra Buána*, or *Suraláya*.

Plucking a leaf from the *kastúba* tree, and paying adoration to it, the leaf assumed the form of a beautiful woman, by whom he had four sons:— 1, *Sáng yáng Púgu*; 2, *Sáng yang Púng'gung*; 3, *Sáng yáng Sámba*; 4, *Sáng*

4, *Sáng yáng Páng'at.* When these children attained maturity, *Púgu* quarrelled with *Púng'gung*, on account of the splendour and riches of the dwelling of *Sáng yáng Túng'gal*, which each of them desired topossess. *Sáng yáng Túng'gal* became enraged at this: not being able to reconcile them, the heavens became disturbed; he, in consequence, seized hold of both of them ,*Púgu* by the right and *Púng'gung* by the left hand, and cast them aside. To the former, who fell on *Sábrang* (the opposite coast), he gave the name of *Sécha Túng'gára;* to the latter, who fell on Java, he gave that of *Náyan-táka* (the same with *Sémar*, the attendant on *Arjúna*). He converted them into monstrous figures, ridiculous in appearance and speech, exciting laughter by their actions, and with an inclination to follow in attendance on warriors.

Sáng yáng Túng'gal, who is said to have been invisible, and who in the *Wáyangs* of the present day is designated by a sun or glory of light, transferred the government of heaven to his son, *Sáng yáng Sámba*, directing him not to separate from his remaining brother, whose assistance he would require, and conferring upon him the title of *Níla Kánta* (blue necked), on account of his being of bright appearance, but having a tinge of blue on the front of his throat. To *Páng'at*, his brother, he gave the name of *Kaníka pútra.*

Srí Níla Kánta subsequently assumed various names and titles; the most pre-eminent of which was *Pramésti Gúru*, by which name and title he is acknowledged as supreme throughout the Eastern Islands. This title was first conferred upon him when the deities in *Saraláya* were numerous, and when all looked up to him as an instructor or *Gúru. Kaníka Pútra* took the name of *Résí Naráda.*

The thoughts of *Sáng yáng Gúru* turning one day upon women, he took a leaf of the *kastúba* tree, and paying adoration to it, it was immediately converted into a most beautiful female, who took the name of *Uma.* While she was young he looked upon her as a danghter, but when she arrived at maturity he felt a stronger passion. *Uma* disliking this fled, and *Sáng yáng Gúru* being unable to catch her, it occurred to him that he might be more successful if he employed four hands and arms; whereupon, at his desire, two additional arms sprang from his shoulders, and *Uma* was immediately within his embrace. But she still resisted his desires, and during the struggle *Káma Sála* and *Máha Praláya*, both *Rasáksas*, but the latter in the form of a man, were produced, by an event similar to that which gave

gave birth to some of the children of Jupiter.* *Sáng yang Gúru* still observing the repulsive conduct of *Uma*, said to her, "your appearance is like "that of a *Rasáksa*," whereupon she immediately assumed the form of one; and grieving sorely at this transformation, beseeched that she might again become what she had been, but *Sáng yáng Gúru* was deaf to her entreaties, and he conferred upon her the name of *Káli Dúrga*.

Káma Sála and *Máha Praláya*, when they arrived at maturity, mutually sought from each other to discover their descent, but not succeeding, they agreed to proceed in company to *Suraláya*, to demand information from *Sáng yang Gúru*, resolving that, if they were not satisfied with his reply, they would make war against him. Arrived at *Suraláya*, they overcome the opposition of *Résí Naráda*, and reach the presence of *Sáng yáng Gúru*, who informs them that they are not his children, though they sprang from his body, and that it was the fault of the woman only that they had their present form. He tells them that he cannot allow them to remain in *Suraláya*, but will provide for them a place in which with their mother they may reside. He then appoints the mother to be sovereign of *Naráka* (*Tambráka múka*), under the title of *Yáma Dipáti*. To *Káma Sála* he gives the title of *Batára Kála;* the other retained the name of *Máha Praláya*. To *Kála* he assigns the charge of the bridge between earth and heaven, called *Wot ágal ágil* (the tremulous or swinging bridge, over which a good man may pass in safety, but from which, on account of its being shaken by his sins, a bad man falls into the gulph below), and to *Máha Praláya* that of the souls of men when they die, in order that he may direct to the bridge such as, from good conduct on earth, have a chance of passing it, and cast the others into *Naráka*, to his mother *Yáma Dipáti*.

Sáng yáng Gúru was again inclined to take another leaf of the *kastúba* tree, but apprehending that it might turn out as before, he restrained his inclination. Then purifying himself, there appeared before him, at his desire, a beautiful boy, to whom he gave the name of *Sámbu*, and after five more purifications, there successively appeared, secondly, a boy of a high colour, beautiful and very powerful, to whom he gave the name of *Bráma;* thirdly, a boy, appearing extremely powerful and enraged, to whom he gave the name of *Máha déwa;* fourthly, a boy beautifully white, bright, and fierce looking, and having sharp and sparkling eyes, to whom he gave the name of *Basúki;* fifthly, a boy of a deep

* The centaurs.

deep black colour, but extremely beautiful, to whom he gave the name of *Wisnu* (Vishnu); sixthly, a girl of a bright yellow colour, beautiful and slender, to whom he gave the name of *Warsíki.*

*Résí Narádda** following the example of his superior, there appeared before him after several purifications, five boys. The first was brilliant and bright as a pure flame; on him *Sáng yáng Gúru* conferred the name of *Súria.* The second, was very weak and delicate, but well formed and beautiful; he received the name of *In dra.* The third was short and strong, and was named *Sákra* (or *Chákra*). The fourth was of a blue colour, and looking as if he would grow to a great height, with curled hair like a *Papúa ;*† on him, was conferred the name of *Báyu.* The fifth was most beautiful, but appeared sad and sorrowful; to him *Sáng yáng Gúru* gave the name of *Chándra.*

This effected, *Sang yáng Gúru* considered that a sufficient number of deities had been created for the charge of *Suraláya.*

Sáng yáng Gúru then turned his amorous thoughts towards *Warsíki,* but all the deities opposing it, *Résí Naráda* advises him to take a woman from the earth, and offers himself to go in search of one. This being agreed to, *Naráda* descends upon the earth, and discovers a most beautiful virgin, not yet arrived at maturity, at a place called *Mádang ; Sáng yáng Gúru* no sooner beheld her than he became enamoured of her, and giving her the name of *Sri,* he places her under the charge of *Batára Sákra,* with especial injunctions to take care of her. When she arrived at maturity she became most beautiful, and it so happens that *Batára Wísnu* beholds her by accident: they immediately feel a mutual passion, and *Wísnu* obtains his desire. When *Sáng yáng Gúru* hears of it, he becomes highly enraged; *Batára Wísnu* is cast out from *Suraláya* and thrown upon the earth, at a place called *Waríngen pítu,* or the seven banyan trees.

[Here the narrative breaks off, and the story of *Wátu Gúnung* commences as follows.]

There was a woman of the name of *Sínta,* who resided on the earth, and who had a younger sister named *Lándap. Sínta* dreamt one night that she was sleeping with a *Pandíta,* named *Résí Gána :* after a few months she felt herself pregnant, and at the expiration of nine she was delivered of a most beautiful boy. This child, however, soon became unruly; and it happened that one day, when he had enraged his mother excessively, she struck him on the head with the wooden spoon which was in the rice vessel, on

* See Appendix.

† Who is represented as the *Páteh,* or minister, of *Sáng yáng Gúru.*

on which he fled into the woods, and afterwards becoming a devotee, his mother long searched for him in vain.

At length having concluded his penance, he wandered about in quest of subsistence, until he came to the country of *Gíling Wési*, where he sought alms at a feast; but not being satisfied with the provision afforded to him, the parties became enraged, and hostilities ensuing, the Raja of the country was slain, and this boy succeeded him, under the title of *Rája Séla Perwáta*, which in the common language is the same as *Wátu Gúnung*, a name conferred upon him from his having rested on a mountain like a stone, and obtained his strength and power thereby, without other aid or assistance.

Becoming a great and powerful sovereign, he was still unmarried when his mother and sister arrived in the country. Ignorant who they were, and admiring their beauty, he espoused them both, and by his mother *Sínta* had twenty-seven children, when being one day restless and anxious to sleep, he requested her to comb and scratch his head, in doing which she discovered the wound and recognized her son. Her grief became excessive, and explaining the circumstance to him, she urged him to obtain another wife from among the *Widadári* of *Suraláya*, and recommended *Sri* as a proper object of his choice.

Wátu Gúnung thereupon sent an embassy to *Suraláya*, but the gods opposing his desires, because *Sri* had been delivered of a child by *Wisnu*, he assembled his forces and nearly defeated those of *Suraláya*, when *Naráda* pointing out the danger to *Sáng yáng Gúru*, urged the advantage that would arise from the recall of *Wísnu*. *Naráda* was accordingly authorized to call him back, with a promise that if he should be victorious on the present occasion, he should be pardoned, and permitted to return to his former abode in *Suraláya*. *Wísnu* was no sooner engaged in the cause, than he formed a stratagem with *Wilúwuh*, a demon *Rasáksa*, with whom he had become intimate at *Waríngen pítu*, and directed him to proceed to the sleeping place of *Wátu Gúnung*, in order to ascertain his secret. This spy had no sooner concealed himself in a place where he could overhear the conversation that was going on, than he heard the following discourse between *Wátu Gúnung* and *Sínta*.

Sínta. "What think you; shall we be successful or not in this enter-
"prize?"

Wátu Gúnung. " If the gods are so nearly destroyed by those who are " subordinate to me, what must they not suffer when I go myself? for I " shall not then have occasion to use force. I need only say a few words, " and if they don't understand the meaning of them, they will forthwith " be destroyed, and I shall myself become sovereign of *Suraláya.* Should " they, however, comprehend the meaning of what I say, then I shall " know that my power is gone; but still there will be trouble in putting " me to death."

Sínta. " Tell me what are the words you mean to use, and why they " have not the power to put you to death?"

Wátu Gúnung. " I shall enclose in my hand the *Sástra* or description of " my country, and holding it out, demand of them to tell me what it is. " Then I shall repeat these words: *dáka wói díki,* and also *díki wói dáka.* " The meaning of these words is easy enough, but the gods don't under- " stand it: a great tree has small fruit; great fruit has a small tree. The " great tree with small fruit means the *waríngin* tree; the great fruit and " small tree means the gourd. I am invulnerable by all weapons, but if " they pull my two arms asunder, then will they find it easy to put me to " death; but this the gods know not."

With this intelligence the spy immediately hastened to *Wísnu,* who arrived at *Suraláya* when the gods were nearly beaten by the twenty-seven sons of *Wátu Gúnung.* After this success, *Wátu Gúnung* approaching *Sáng yáng Gúru,* put the intended questions to him. The latter referring to *Wísnu,* they were immediately recognized by him, on which *Wátu Gúnung* attempted to escape, but was soon overtaken by *Wísnu,* who laying hold of one of his arms, while his son, *Sri Gáti,* held the other, they soon succeeded in putting him to death. As he expired a voice was heard by *Wísnu,* saying, " think not that it will end here: hereafter trouble will " again arise in *Suraláya,* in the time of *Rája Sumáli,* of the country of " *Séla gríng'ging,* who will have a brother named *Mang'liáwan.* Forget it " not."

When the twenty-seven sons of *Wátu Gúnung* heard of their father's fate, they wished to sacrifice themselves; but *Wísnu* disposed of them as follows, saying, " let there be a sign to the world of this victory. I will once in " seven days put to death one of these twenty-seven, so that they may be " killed in rotation." The grief of *Sínta* being excessive, she wept for seven

seven days, and afterwards was received into *Suraláya*, and *Wísnu* added her name, as well as those of her sister and *Wátu Gúnung*, to the twenty-seven, and established the thirty *wúku*, as everlasting signs, in commemoration of this victory. From the grief of *Sínta* for seven days, it is said that rain always falls during the *wúku* which bears her name.*

Then seizing the *Pepáteh* and three assistants, who with *Wátu Gúnung* had constituted the council of five, he declared that they should serve to commemorate the four great revolutions or *Nága* (serpents): *Nága Búmi* (of the earth), *Nága Dína* (of the day), *Nága Wúlan* (of the moon), *Nága Táhun* (of the year). He struck out both the eyes of *Nága Búmi*, that the earth might never again see to attack the heavens, and afterwards the left eye of *Nága Dína* and the right eye of *Nága Wúlan*.

[Here that part of the relation which has an astronomical reference breaks off.]

Bráma then following the example of *Naráda*, purifies himself, and at his desire, first there appears before him a boy of strong make, on whom he confers the name of *Bráma Táma*; secondly a boy, also of strong make, whom he names *Bráma Sudárga*; and thirdly a beautiful girl, on whom he confers the name of *Bramáni Wáti*.

The two boys, when they attained maturity, descended from *Suraláya*. *Bráma Sudárga* united in marriage with a female of the earth: from them, in the third degree, were descended *Raja Sumáli* and *Mangliáwan*. In the reign of the latter of these a destructive war is stated to have taken place. *Mangliáwan* laid waste *Surálaya* and slew *Sri Gáti*, but afterwards, when he shewed a desire to possess *Sri*, *Wísnu* exerted all his strength and put him to death. As *Mangliáwan* expired, *Wísnu* heard a voice saying unto him, "The work is not yet complete; hereafter, when there shall be on earth a "man named *Rahwána*, who will be descended from *Bráma Táma*, beware "of him: in his time the peace of heaven will be again disturbed, and he will "lay it waste." *Bráma Táma* espoused a princess of *Chámpa*, named *S'ráti Déwi*, by whom he had a son, named *Bráma Rája*, who became *Raja* of *Indrapúri*, and had a son named *Chítra Bahár* or *Angsárwa*, to whom, when he became advanced in age, he delivered over charge of the country, proceeding himself into the forests as a devotee, and assuming the name of *Rési Táma*.

* See Astronomy.

Sumáli had a daughter, named *Sukési Déwi.* This prince, alarmed at the accounts of *Manliáwan's* death, fled with her to *Chitra Bahár* and requested him to protect her as a maiden, giving him authority to sanction her marriage on any proper occasion which might offer. He himself fearing the vengeance of *Sang yang Gúru,* fled further into the woods for concealment, but died on the way. *Chitra Bahár,* forgetting the nature of his charge, became enamoured of the girl. This happened when he was performing a penance; for he had two sons, named *Mísra Wárna* and *Bísa Wárna,* to the former of whom he had intrusted the charge of his government. The girl resisted on account of his age, but he at last succeeded. During the first amour he received from her nine strokes on the head with a stone. In due time she became pregnant and was delivered of a boy, having nine marks or excrescences on his head, which added to his natural face, making as it were ten fronts to his head: he was thence called *Dása múka* (ten-faced). In the second attempt she pulled the lobes of both his ears with great strength, and when delivered she produced a child in the form of a *Rasáksa,* and having immense lobes to the ears: this child was named *Amba kárna,* or long-eared. In the third she scratched him all over, and the fruit of it was a girl, born with long nails and claws at the end of each finger: she was named *Sárpa kanáka,* or serpent-nailed; the wounds inflicted by these nails are said to have been mortal. But the fourth being unresisted, she was delivered of a most beautiful boy, who having a countenance and mouth beautiful like those of a girl, was named *Bibisána.*

When these children were grown up, *Chítra Báhar* carried them to *Mísra Wárna,* saying, "these are your brothers and sister, assist them, and they "will be of use to you in your government." *Mísra Wárna* had a great dread of thunder. He possessed a weapon called *límpung,* which descended to him from *Bráma Rája,* and *Dása Múka* desirous of possessing it, ingratiated himself into his favour, but no sooner obtained possession of it than he formed a design against his brother's life, in the hope of succeeding him. He accordingly performed a penance and prayed for thunder, and as soon as it was heard, he slew his brother, and gave out that he disappeared during the thunder. At the moment, however, that he struck *Mísra Wárna* with the weapon it vanished; still he became Raja.

In the meantime *Bísa Wárna* became beloved by the gods, and they presented to him a car, named *jaladára,* in which he could be conveyed through

through the clouds. When *Dása Múka* heard of this he became enraged, and demanded the carriage for himself; but he had no sooner made the request, than he perceived his lost weapon descend upon the lap of *Bísa Wárna*. Still more enraged at this, the altercation did not cease, until *Bísa Wárna* with one blow laid him senselsss on the ground; at which moment the father, *Chítra Bahár*, coming up, he succeeded in reconciling them, and with impressing upon *Dása Múka* the futility of his attempts against his brother. *Chítra Bahár* on this occasion repeated several invocations to the deity, which were treasured up in the recollection of after ages: such as *Hong! Awígna; Hong! Widadánia; Hong! Widadáni*, &c.

The father, however, had no sooner withdrawn, than *Dása Múka* again took courage, and another combat ensued, which ended in his being a second time struck senseless on the ground, blood issuing from his mouth. *Bísa Wárna* then laying hold of his body was about to cut his throat with the *limpung*, when *Résí Naráda* appeared and arrested his hand, saying, "forbear, *Sáng yáng Gúru* does not permit that you slay your brother. "By attending to this advice you will hereafter become a deity in heaven. "Give your weapon to your brother, who is Raja of *Indrapúri*." *Bisa Wárna* assenting, *Résa Naráda* then brought *Dása Múka* to his senses, and delivering over to him the weapon and car, conferred upon him the name of *Rah-wána*,* from his blood having flowed in such quantity as to reach the adjoining forest.

[In some copies of this work it is said that *Dása Múka* was called *Rahwána*, because in his youth he delighted in the destruction of children and to spill their blood. There is also some variation in this part of the story, and *Chítra Bahár* is termed *Chátor Bója* (four-shouldered), on account of the great strength he exhibited in the war with *Nili Kewácha*].

Résí Naráda then presented *Rahwána* to *Sáng yáng Gúru*, who taking a liking to him adopted him as his son, giving him a *saléndang*† as a mark of his affection. *Rahwána*, however, was soon dazzled by the appearance of a bright flame, when forgetting the attachment of *Sáng yáng Gúru*, he pursued it, until he came into the presence of *Sri*, from whose beauty it proceeded. She, however, ran to her husband *Wísnu* for succour, and a severe combat ensued, during which the heavens were disturbed, and many

* From *rah*, blood, and *wána*, wood, forest.

† A narrow white cloth, usually thrown over the shoulder, still worn by the Bramanas of *Báli*, and called *sámpa álang álang*.

many of its most valuable contents were destroyed by *Rahwána*. *Rêsi Naráda* at length approaching, separated the combatants, saying, "this is "not the proper place for your contention; better had you descend to the "earth. As for you, *Wísnu*, as you are a god, and may be ashamed to "shew yourself as such on earth, it is the will of *Sáng yáng Gúru* that "you be permitted to appear there in the form of a man, and to do "there as you like." On which *Rahwána* was cast out of *Suraláya*, and *Wísnu*, with his consort *Sri*, disappeared, without any one knowing whither they went.

Bísa Wárna was then, in fulfilment of the promise given by *Naráda*, called up to heaven, to supply the place among the *Dêwas* vacated by *Wísnu*, and approaching the presence of *Sáng yáng Gúru* received from him the name of *Batára Asmára*, or *Kamajáya* (the god of love), and presented him with a consort, named *Káma Ráti* or *Batári Ráti*.

[Here ends the *Kérta Yóga*, or first age of the world, and the *Tréta Yóga*, or second age, commences.]

Wísnu, after his descent upon the earth, first became incarnate in the person of an illustrious sovereign, named *Arjúna Wijáya*, of the country of *Mauspáti*, and reigned for a period of seventeen years, during which he was successful in two wars. One, in which the *Rája* of *Tánjung-púra*, having a beautiful daughter, named *Chítra Wáti*, in whom *Sri* had become incarnate, offered her in marriage to the prince who should overcome in wrestling all the others assembled: *Arjúna Wijáya*, however, carried her off from the place in which she was secreted (*Gedóng Brahála*) which produced a war, wherein he was victorious. The other war was with *Rahwána*, who attacked him at *Mauspáti:* in this *Rahwána* was taken prisoner and confined in a cage; but on the solicitations of his father, *Chítra Bahár*, he was forgiven, and allowed to return to his country, on condition that neither he nor his descendants would ever again make war on *Arjúna Wijáya*.

Wísnu afterwards quitting the body of *Arjúna Wijáya* became incarnate in the person of *Ráma*, son of *Dása Ráta* (who when young was called *Murdáka*), entering the body of his mother during conception, and coming into the world with the child. About the same time *Batára Basúki*, who had a son named *Baswárat*, united to *Bramáni Wáti*, becoming sorrowful, quitted *Suraláya*, with a determination to follow the fortunes of *Wisnu*, who after quitting the body of *Arjúna Wijáya* roamed for some time round the

the skirts of the earth until he fell in with *Basúki*. *Wisnu* then said to him, " there is a *Raja* of *Mándra-púra*, named *Dása Ráta*, who has two " wives, named *Dewi Rágu* and *Mánwa-dári*. I am younger than you, " but on earth I must be older. I will enter the body of *Rágu*, and " become incarnate in the child she will bring forth; do you the same " with the other." *Mánwa-dári* was delivered of a child named *Laksa-mána*, in which *Basúki* accordingly became incarnate.

[This portion of the work, which also includes a relation of the feats of *Báli*, son of *Gotáma*, the founder of *Astína*, brings the story down to the period of the poem of *Ráma*. The history is then carried on to the period of the *Pendáwa Líma* or *Bráta Yudha*, and may be concisely stated as follows:]

Baswárat, son of *Basúki*, had by *Bramáni Wáti* two sons, *Mánu-Manára* and *Mánu-Madéwa*. The daughter of *Mánu-Madéwa*, named *Siráti*, was married to *Bramána Rája*, and from this marriage proceeded *Rahwána*. The *Pendáwa Líma* were tenth in descent from *Mánu-Manára*, as in the following pedigree.

1. *Mánu-Manása*,
2. *Tritrushta*,
3. *Parikéna*,
4. *Sutápa*,
5. *Sa-pútram*,
6. *Sákri*,
7. *Pulasára*,
8. *Abiása*,
9. *Pándu-déwa Náta*.

The *Tréta Yóga* or second age, is supposed to have ended and the *Duapára Yóga*, or third age, to have commenced on the death of *Ráma*, which happened about the time of *Sákri*.

The *Wiwáha káwi* is a regular poem, and contains three hundred and fifty-five *páda*, or metrical stanzas. The subject is as follows. The Wiwáha.

Erang Báya had a son, whose form was that of a *Rasáksa*, and who became sovereign of the country of *Ima-imantáka*, under the name of *Détia Kéwácha*. The father, desirous of getting rid of him, urged him to go to *Suréndra Buána*, in search of a flower, called *Turáng'ga játi*, which was worn by all the *Widadáris*. The *Rasáksa* accordingly goes in search of it, and no sooner comes into the presence of *Batára Gúru*, than a *Widadári* sitting

sitting by his side, named *Su Prába*, the daughter of *Batára Sámba*, presents one of these flowers to him, with which he returns to his father, who alarmed at his success, immediately delivers over to him the government of his country.

After *Détia Kewácha* had thus become sovereign, he desired to be united in marriage with the *Widadári* who had given him the flower, and dispatches a *Rasáksa*, named *Kolángkía*, with a letter, addressed to *Batára Gúru*, soliciting *Su Prába* in marriage, and threatening to destroy the heavens in case of refusal. When the messenger reached *Suréndra Buána* he presented the letter to *Batára Sákra*, who knowing its contents without reading it, immediately replied in a rage, "then let your sovereign carry "his threat into execution, for *Bitára Gúru* will never consent that a "*Widadári* be married to a *Rasáksa*."

When the messenger had disappeared, *Batára Sákra* communicated to the gods the state of affairs, on which *Batára Gúru* became enraged. As he curbed his passion, *Naráka* becomes disturbed; smoke issued from its deepest recesses and the heavens rocked to and fro. *Résí Naráda* then apprised *Batára Gúru* that there was a man on the earth, named *Bagáwan Wardiningsih*, or *Mintarága*, who had long performed his devotions on the mountain *Indra-kíla*, and suggested that it might be better to employ him against *Detia Kewácha* than for the gods, who were ignorant of the art of war, to await in heaven the coming of the *Rasáksa*. *Batára Gúru* approves of the suggestion, and *Résí Naráda* descends, accordingly to *Indra-kíla*, accompanied by seven *Widadáris*, in the hope that by the influence of their charms, he might succeed in abstracting *Wardiningsih* from the severe penance which he was performing. The names of the *Widadáris* who accompanied him were *Su Prába*, *Wilotáma*, *Leng leng-Mandana*, *Sumartáka*, *Ang'impuni*, *Su Prába-sini*, and *Dérsa-nála*. In their train followed a thousand of the young and beautiful maids of heaven.

Wardiningsih was performiug a long and rigid penance, for the purpose of recovering the kingdom of *Astína*; and when *Naráda* arrived at *Indra-kíla*, the sun had climbed half way up the heavens. The *Widadáris* immediately displayed their charms, and employed every artifice to attract his attention, but they could not succeed. One of them, who resembled his wife, even threw off her upper garments, and exposing her bosom embraced him with transport; but it did not avail.

Batára Sákra then descended to *Indra-kíla*, in the disguise of a Dervise, assuming the name of *Panjíngrum*, and approaching *Wardiníngsih*, as if in grief, threw off his disguise, and resuming the god, addressed *Wardiníngsih*, as follows. "My visit to you is on three accounts; first, I request your "assistance in this war; secondly, I wish to apprise you, that *Batára Gúru* "will in a short time appear to you; thirdly, to advise you, that when you see "*Batára Gúru*, and he asks you whether you have courage to engage in the "war or not, you answer that you have; requesting however, in return, that "when the war *Bráta Yúdha* takes place, the *Pandáwa* may be successful. "You may then request two arrows, called *pasopáti* and *trisúla*, and the "crown *cháping basunánda*, the vest *ánta kasúma*, the slippers *márdu* "*kachárma*: these slippers, when you wear them, will enable you to fly, "and to enter heaven in person. Request, moreover, the chariot *mánik*, "which is drawn by elephants and horses of the heavenly race (*sambráni*), "and called *chípta waláha*, and that if you are successful in the war with "*Détia Kewácha*, *Batára Gúru*, as well as the other gods, may each present "you with a *Widadári*." *Batára Sákra* having made an impression on the mind of *Wardiníngsih* returned to heaven.

In the mean time *Mang-máng Múrka*, the *Peptáeh* of *Détia Kewácha*, who had a face like a hog, received orders to lay waste the mountain of *Indra-kíla*. He no sooner arrived there, and began to destroy the cultivation, than *Sémar* gave information of it to *Wardiníngsih*, who coming forth with his bow and arrow immediately struck the *Rasáksa*; upon which *Batára Gúru* appeared in the form of a forester, holding in his hand a bow without an arrow. Then struggling with *Wardiníngsih* to withdraw the arrow with which the *Rasáksa* had been struck, each pulled at it ineffectually until a quarrel ensued, in which *Batára Gúru* accused *Wardiníngsih* of having a bad heart, and of following the dictates of his *Gúru Dúrna*, who was at *Astína*, and who had a crooked nose and mouth. *Wardiníngsih* being enraged at this, a severe combat ensued, when *Batára Gúru* having laid hold of his adversary's hair, theother attempted to retaliate, on which *Batára Gúru* vanished. A fragrant odour immediately arose, and *Wardiníngsih* reflected upon what *Sákra* had told him, and instantly perceived a bright arch, like the rainbow, with *Batára Gúru* appearing within it, attended by *Résí Naráda* and a suite of *Widádáris*: bowing profoundly to the ground, he felt himself permitted to approach the deity and kiss his feet; *Batára Gúru* then informed him of his object in coming to *Indra-kíla*, and requested that he would make war

upon *Détia Kewácha*, who was the enemy of the gods; to which *Wardiníngsih* consented, making the requests which had been suggested by *Batára Sákra*. To these *Batára Gúru* assented, adding, " if you have success in " this war, I will appoint you sovereign of the heavens for one year. You " shall have power over all the gods, and the *Widadáris* shall be your atten- " dants; and as long as you live you shall have power to visit *Suralaya* at " your pleasure." This said, *Batára Gúru* disappeared.

On the next day *Wardiníngsih* prepared for his journey to *Ima imantáka*, the country of *Détia Kewácha*, and on his way thither fell in with the *Widadáris*, *Su Prába* and *Wila Táma*, who had been sent by *Bátára Sákra*. *Wardiníngsih*, on his arrival at the *Rasáksá's* capital, commissioned these *Widadáris* to enter the palace and feign an attachment for *Détia Kewácha*. *Détia Kewácha* no sooner beheld them, than being thrown off his guard, he declared, that the object of the war being thus attained without trouble, he would enjoy himself at his ease. Then dressing himself in his princely robes, and perfuming himself as a bridegroom, he approached *Su Prába*, and taking her on his knee chaunted a song, which so delighted her that she fell asleep. *Wardiníngsih* on this entered into her ear-stud and awoke her. *Detia Kewácha* then urged her to gratify his passion, but she refused, and required, as a mark of confidence, that he would trust her with the secret of his power. This he refused, until she was about to stab herself, when he whispered in her ear that he was invulnerable except within his throat, if any one injured that part in the least he must instantly die. *Wardiníngsih* thus ascertaining his vulnerable point, escaped with the *Widadáris* and ascended to *Batára Sákra* in *Suralaya*.

Détia Kewácha then collecting his forces proceeded to the war with a countless host, laying waste the country until he arrived near *Tánda Wáru*, where he halted to make preparations for the attack. The heavens now shook, and *Naráka* emitted smoke. The gods trembled with fear, and the wind, charged with the gross stench of the *Rasáksa*, almost overpowered them.

Wardiníngsih having arrived at the abode of *Sákra*, the great bell (*gatíta*) was struck, when the gods immediately assembled. The forces of *Suralaya* then moved on, *Wardiníngsih* following in a splendid chariot. Having thrown off the *Pandíta's* garment, he now appeared richly clothed in the character of *Arjúna*, adorned with gold and costly gems. The chariot had formerly belonged to *Ráma*, and had been preserved by *Batára Gúru*, when *Ráma* committed himself to the flames.

The

The battle commenced, and the forces of the *Rasáksa* being most numerous and powerful, were about to carry all before them, when *Gátot Kácha* arrived, and taking part with *Wardiníngsih*, turned the tide of the battle in favour of the gods, plucking up the mountains by the roots and casting them upon the *Rasáksas*. *Détia Kewácha* escaping the general overthrow, and attended by *Sécha Tung'gára*, shot an arrow at *Wardiníngsih*, which the latter caught under his arm, and feigning death fell to the ground. Great was the grief of *Sémar* and of all his other attendants; but *Détia Kewácha* approaching burst out into a loud lough, when *Wardiníngsih*, who had watched his opportunity, observing the *Rasáksa's* mouth open, instantly rose, and struck the arrow into it and so killed him.

Gátot Kácha, who in consequence of the absence of *Arjúna* on a penance for three years, had been sent to recall him, and who had discovered him by the appearance of his attendant *Sémar*, now approached *Wardiníngsih*, and kissing his feet, informed him of the sorrow of *Séna* and *Dérma Wángsa* at his absence, on which *Wardiníngsih* desired him to return and report what he had seen.

He then proceeded, attended by the victorious host, to the dwelling of *Batára Gúru*, called *Papáriwárna*; on which *Batára Gúru* assembling the gods, and permitting *Wardiníngsih* to approach and kiss his feet, declares to him that he was not forgetful of his promise, and would forthwith fulfil it. He then declared him sovereign of *Suraláya*, under the title of *Prábu Aníli Kíti*, and gave him free access to every part of the heavens. *Arjúna* then visited the seven quarters of *Suraláya*, in which was the abode of the *Widadáris*, and assumed the sovereignty accordingly; while *Gatot Kácha*, proceeding to *Amérta*, informed *Séna* and *Dérma Wángsa* of what had passed. There were also present at his relation *Nakóla Sa déwa*, *Batára Krésna*, *Sámbu*, and *Panchawála*, all equally anxious to know the fate of *Arjúna*. *Déwi Kúnti*, the mother of *Pandáwa*, having calculated on the death of *Arjúna*, and made preparation for burning herself in consequence, was overjoyed at this unexpected good news; and *Dérma Wángsa*, the sovereign of *Amérta*, gave a grand entertainment, in which the *Bedáyas* danced to the sound of the music, while *Gátot Kácha* related the feats of *Arjúna*.

The *Ráma Káwi* is usually divided into four parts. The first, called *Ráma Gán-drung*, contains the history of *Ráma*, from his infancy until his marriage; the second, *Ráma Bádra*, from his marriage until his consort, *Siti* Ráma.

Dèwi, is carried off by *Rahwána*; the third, *Ráma Táli*, from the first employment of *Hánuman* as a *dúta* or messenger, until he builds the bridge from the continent to the island *Ang'lángka-di púra*; and the fourth, called *Ramayána* (by which is understood *Ráma* when arrived at his full power), from the beginning of the war of *Dána Lága* on *Lánka* till the end of it, when *Ráma* regains his consort *Siti Dèwi*, and returns to *Nayúdia*, leaving *Rahwána's* brother, *Bibisána*, sovereign of *Lángka*. Of these the *Rámayána* is the most common on Java. The *Ráma Táli* has been recently obtained from *Báli*. This composition, as one poem, is by far the most extensive of any which the Javans possess.

The mythology contained in the *Ráma* differs, in some measure, from that of the *Kánda*. *Ráma* is here made to relate to *Bibisána*, in *Artáti* measure but *Káwi* language, that *Bráma*, in the first instance, sprang from *Wísnu*; that in the beginning of the world, *Wísnu* existed in that part of the heavens named *Antabóga*, the place of serpents; that *Bráma* first communicated the knowledge of the *Sástra*. Nine incarnations of *Wísnu* are then detailed: the first, when he appeared as *Iwak Mokúr-mo* (the tortoise); the second, as *Sing'ha* (the lion), when he was called *Barúna*; the third, as *Arjúna Wijáya*; the fourth in *Winákitáya* or *Ráma*. In the fifth he was to appear as *Krésna*; and after the sixth, seventh, and eighth, in the ninth when he would become incarnate in the person of a great sovereign, named *Prábu Purúsa*.

Anráka Súra, or Buma kalantaka.

Anráka Súra (the courageous child of the sun) is written in *Káwi*, but translated into Javan, under the name of *Búma Kalantáka*, or *Emba táli*. The period to which it refers is that occupied posterior to that of the *Wiwáha*, and prior to that of the *Bráta Yúdha*. It relates almost exclusively to the exploits of *Búma*, who was the son of *Dèwi Pratíwi*, of the race of *Widadáris*.

Dèwi Pratíwi being enamoured of *Wísnu*, her thoughts were continually turned towards him, notwithstanding he had been cast out of *Suralaya*. One night having dreamt that her passion for him was gratified, she conceived a child. She afterwards heard in her sleep a voice saying to her, "Descend to the earth in search of *Krésna*, for *Wísnu* is become incarnate "in his person: his colour is deep black." She descended accordingly; and established herself at *Prajutéksna*, where she was delivered of a son, whom she named *Búma Kalantáka*. When he arrived at maturity, she informed him who was his father, and when he discovered him he was received

received and acknowledged by him. *Krésna* had afterwards another son, named *Sámba*, who having insulted the wife of *Búma* a quarrel arose between the two brothers, in which *Búma* put *Sámba* to death in a most discraceful manner, mangling and exposing his body. *Krésna*, enraged at this, threw his *Chákra* at *Búma*, desiring *Gátot Kácha* to raise him from the earth the moment he is struck, lest the power of his mother should restore him. *Gatot Kácha* obeys his orders and *Búma* is destroyed. *Séna*, one of the sons of *Pándu*, is one of the personages of this poem.

The history of the succeeding period is contained in the *Bráta Yudha*, or holy war, the most popular and esteemed work in the language. This poem is identified in its subject with the *Mahabárat* of continental India, in the same manner as that of *Ráma* is with the *Ramáyan*. An analysis of this poem will be given under the head poetry, Brata Yudha.

Next, in point of time, to this story, follows that of the poem called *Parakísit*, which abounds with the praises of that prince who was the son of *Bimányu* and grandson of *Arjúna*, and is descriptive of the tranquillity and happiness which universally prevailed during his reign. It also contains an historical relation of the sovereigns who succeeded him, and brings down the line of princes from *Parikísit* through ten descents to *Aji Jáya Báya*, as follows. Parakisit.

— *Parikísit.*
1. *Súma Wichítra.*
2. *Ang'ling Dría.*
3. *Udiána.*
4. *Madiwáng'i.*
5. *Miséna.*
6.
7.
8.
9. *Súma Wichála.*
10. *Aji Jáya Báya.*

It was during the reign of the last of these princes that the first intercourse with Western India is supposed to have taken place; an account of the historical composition relating to a subsequent period is therefore reserved for the chapters on History.

The *Súria Kétu* (or lofty sun) contains in a few stanzas the history of a prince, the fifth in descent from the *Kuráwa*, who by dint of prayer to the gods obtained a son named *Kérta Súma*.

The

Ethics. Niti Sastra.

The *Níti Sástra Káwi* is a work on ethics, comprized in one hundred and twenty-three stanzas, each of which contains a moral lesson: it is considered coeval with, if not more ancient than the *Bráta Yudha*, and the *Káwi* is considered the most pure extant. The modern version of this work has already been referred to, and translations of some of the stanzas have been introduced. The following are taken indiscriminately, and translated immediately from the *Káwi*.

A man who is moderate and cool in his desires will do good to a country. A woman is like unto *Déwi Manuhára* when her desires are moderate, and men cannot look upon her without delight. A *Pandíta* must act up to his doctrines; although it may be in war and difficulty, still he must act up to what he professes.

This must be the conduct of the *Pandíta*. If attacked by a serpent, he must not be moved by it, nor even by a lion: still the same, he must be firm and unmoved, and neither the serpent nor the lion will have power to hurt him.

As the *surája* flower floats in the water, so does the heart exist in a pure body; but let it not be forgotten, that the root of the flower holds to the ground, and that the heart of man depends upon his conduct in life. The conduct of a *Pandíta* must be distinguished by mercy, charity, firmness, and prudence. His speech should be soft and gentle, and in accordance with and like unto written instruction, so as to moderate and calm the mind and desires of mankind.

It is mean and low for a rich man not to dress well: it is still more mean and low for a man of understanding to mix with bad company. So is it when a man attains a high age and knows not the *Sástra*; but when a man, through the whole course of his life, does not reflect upon his conduct, such a man is of no use in the world whatever.

A man should wear that sort of apparel which in the general opinion is considered proper, and should also eat that kind of food which is generally approved of. If he does this, he will appear like unto a virgin, who has just attained maturity. Let him not follow implicitly the advice and instruction he may receive, but let him weigh them, and select what is good by his own understanding.

In war, let there be no fear on any account, but let the whole thoughts be directed to the main object of urging the warriors to the attack of the

the foe. Moreover, let the thoughts be directed to what may be the enemy's plans: this done, let the heart feel fire.

When a man engages another in his service, there are four points on which he should satisfy himself respecting him. First, his appearance; secondly, his conduct; thirdly, his intelligence; and fourthly, his honesty.

The most valuable property is gold; and whoever has much of it, if he does not assist those who are poor and in want, is like unto a house without a fence, and he will soon be deprived of the property which he possesses.

As the moon and the stars shed their light by night, and the sun giveth light by day, so should the sayings of a wise man enlighten all around him.

Follow not the seeming wisdom of a woman's discourse; for as a man is more powerful and better informed than a woman, it is fitter that he should stand on his own ground.

A man who knows not the customs of the country (*yúdya Nagára*), is like a man who would bind an elephant with cords made from the *tán-jung* flower. It is not necessary for the elephant to be enraged: with the least motion he breaks the cords asunder.

Deprive not another of the credit which is due to him, nor lower him in the opinion of the world; for the sun, when he approaches near to the moon, in depriving her of her light adds nothing to his own lustre.

There is nothing better in the world than a man who keeps his word; and there is nothing worse than a man who swerves from his word, for he is a liar. There are five witnesses which may be seen by every one: *Yang-anála* or *Bráma* (fire), *Súria* (the sun), *Chándra* (the moon), *Kála* (time,) *Báyu* (life). And they are the great witnesses, always present throughout the three worlds; therefore let men recollect never to lie.

There are three things which destroy a man's character, and they are as three poisons: the first, to disgrace his family or lower himself; the second, to take delight in bringing misfortunes and unhappiness upon others; the third, to be a hypocrite, and assume the character of a *Pandíta*.

Several works have been recently discovered in *Báli*, called *Agáma, Adigáma, Púrwa Digáma, Súrcha, Muschágagáma, Kantára* or *Sástra Menáwa, Dewagáma, Maiswári, Tatwa, Wiya Wasáha, Dásta Kalabáya, Slákan Taragáma,*

Taragáma, Satmagáma, Gámiga Gamána. Of many of these copies have been procured, and the *Sástra Menáwa*, or institutions of *Menu*, have been partially translated into English. This is a book of law comprised in about one hundred and sixty sections, evidently written on the spot, and with reference to the peculiar habits and dispositions of the people for whom it was framed. As a code of civil law, it is remarkable for the proof it affords of the existence of actual property in the land; and as a criminal code, for the frequency of capital punishment, and the almost total absence of all degrading or minor corporeal punishment.

Of the more modern compositions, and which may be considered as more strictly Javan, the following are the principal.

Angréné is an historical work, which commences with the reign of *Sri Jáya Langkára*, sovereign of *Médang Kamúlan*, the grandfather of the celebrated *Pánji*, and concludes with the death of *Pánji*. This is the longest work to be found in the modern literature of Java, and contains the most interesting and important part of Javan history immediately antecedent to the establishment of Mahometanism. It is composed in several measures of the *Sékar Gángsal*, and is usually divided into several smaller works, to each of which the name of *Pánji* is prefixed, as:

Pánji Mordaníngkung. The history of that part of *Pánji's* life, when his consort, *Sékar-táji*, is carried off by a deity. This is replete with relations of his adventures in war, and partly written in the *Sékar Sépoh* and partly in the *Sékar Gángsal.*

Pánji Magát-kung relates to that period when the object of *Pánji's* love was not yet attained.

Pánji-áng'ron ákung, containing the particulars of the marriage ceremonies observed by *Pánji.*

Pánji priambáda, containing an account of the success and completion of *Pánji's* love, and ending with his marriage.

Pánji Jáya Kasúma. This is one of the names assumed by *Pánji* after the loss of his consort, *Sékar-táji*, and contains an account of his expedition to *Báli*, where he regained her.

Pánji Chékel Wáning Páti (when young brave even to death) contains the juvenile exploits of this hero.

Pánji Norowangsa includes the period of his life, when the Princess of *Dahá* transforms herself into a man.

Neither

Neither the date of the principal work from which these minor compositions are taken, nor the name of the author is known; but it is supposed to have been written subsequently to the time of *Majapáhit*, the language being modern Javan.

Literary compositions of the higher cast are generally classed by the Javans under the head of *Pepákam* or *Bábat*, the latter of which includes all historical works and chronicles of modern date.

Srúti is a work which contains regulations for the conduct and behaviour of an inferior to a superior. It is written in the *Káwi* language, but *Artáti* measure, and has not yet been translated into Javan. It is of the same length as the *Níti Sástra Káwi*.

Níti Prája is composed in the same measure as the *Srúti*, and contains regulations for the conduct of sovereigns and chiefs, partly in the *Káwi* and partly in the Javan.

Asta Prája is a work of the same nature and similarly composed.

Siwáka contains regulations for behaviour when in the presence of a superior, in the Javan language and *Artáti* measure.

Nagára Kráma, regulations for the good administration of the country, in the same language and measure.

Yúdha Nagára, the customs of the country, containing rules for the behaviour of persons of different ranks, in Javan and in the *Artáti* and *Pamíjil* measures.

Kamandáka contains instructions for inspiring respect and fear in the exercise of authority, partly *Káwi*, partly Javan, and in *Artáti* measure.

The seven last-mentioned works are supposed to have been written about the same period. The *Chándra Sangkála* of the *Srúti* is 1340 of the Javan era. From the allusion to *Islam* customs which they contain it is concluded that they were all composed on the decline of *Majapáhit*, at a period when the influence of that religion was rapidly gaining ground. These works are in pretty general circulation, and form the basis of the institutions and regulations of the country. The translation already given of a modern version of the *Níti Prája* will serve to shew their nature and tendency.

Jáya Langkára is a work supposed to have been written by a chief of that name, when sovereign of *Médang Kamúlan*, and which contains regulations for the highest judicial proceedings.

Júgul Múda, supposed to have been written by *Júgul Múda*, the *Páteh*

or minister of *Kandiáwan*, chief of *Médang Kamúlan*, containing rules for the guidance of *Pátehs* in the judicial department of their office.

Gája Múda, a similar work, supposed to have been writtn by *Gája Múda*, the *Páteh* of the great *Browijáya* of *Majapáhit*.

Kápa Kápa, regulations for the guidance of the sovereign in the administration of justice.

Súria Álem, a similar work for the guidance of all persons entrusted with authority, supposed to have been composed by *Aji Jímbon*, the first Mahometan sovereign of Java.

None of the above works are written in verse. They form the basis of what may be called the common law of the country. The translation of the modern version of the last of these, contained in the Appendix, will serve to convey some idea of the nature and spirit of this class of compositions.

Romances. Besides the above may be noticed another work called *Jáya Langkára*, a romance, supposed to have been written in the time of *Susúnan Ampel*, in the Javan language and modern measures. This is a moral work of considerable length, written in allegory, and pointing out the duties of all classes.

The *Jówar Manikam* is of a more recent date, and a general favourite: it may convey some notion of the modern romances of the Javans.

" That is true love which makes the heart uneasy!
There was a woman who shone like a gem in the world, for she was distinguished by her conduct, and her name was *Jówar Manikam*.
Perfect was her form, and she was descended from a devotee, from whom she derived her purity and the rules of her conduct.
Her beauty was like that of the children of heaven (*widadáris*), and men saw more to admire in her, than was to be found on the plains, on the mountains, or in the seas.

" Pure was her conduct, like that of a saint, and she never forgot her devotions to the deity: all evil desires were strangers to her heart.
She rose superior above the multitude from following the dictates of religion, and in no one instance was her heart disturbed by a bad thought or desire, so that her life was without reproach.
What pity it is she hath not a lover, for when a young and handsome woman obtains a husband of high character and qualifications, it is as milk mixed with sugar?

When

When her virtue was assailed by the *Panghúlu*, she was astonished and exclaimed, " why dost thou thus take the course of a thief? why dost " thou act in this manner?

" Art thou not prohibited from doing thus? forgettest thou thy *Rája*, " and fearest thou not thy God?

" And thinkest thou not either of thyself? Greatly dost thou astonish " me! Is not thy conduct bad even before the world? but being " forbidden by the Almighty, art thou not afraid of his anger?"

" If such be thy desire, I can never consent to its indulgence, for I fear " my God, and for all such deeds the punishment from heaven is great.

" Rather let me follow the course pointed out by the prophet: let me " imitate the conduct of his child Fatima.

" How comes it, that thy inclination is so evil towards me? Verily, " if my father knew of this proceeding, wouldst thou not justly " receive severe punishment?"

The *Panghúlu* thus frustrated in his design, writes in revenge to her father, and informs him that his daughter has made a fruitless endeavour to seduce him: upon hearing which the deceived parent orders her to be put to death. Her brother is about to put this order in execution, when placing his hand before his eyes while he inflicts the blow, he stabs a small deer in lieu of his sister, who escapes into the woods.

" With rapidity she fled to the woods, and then taking shelter under a wide spreading *waring'en* tree, the still unripe fruits of the forest attained maturity, and seemed to offer themselves as a relief to her.

All the flowers, though the season for opening their petals was not arrived, now expanded, and shedding their fragrance, it was borne by a gentle zephyr towards her, while the *bramára*, attracted by the odour, swarmed around, and the fragrance of each flower seemed to vie with the other in reaching her presence.

The wild animals of the forest, the tiger, the wild ox, the rhinoceros, came towards the princess, as if to watch and guard her, crouching around her, but occasioning not the least alarm.

Being in want of water, the princess put up a prayer to heaven, when close by her feet a spring of pure water issued.

On which the *sarója* flower soon appeared, opening its petals, and offering the shade of a *páyung* to the smaller water-plants floating beneath.

Her heart now became easy; and delighted at what she beheld, she proceeded to bathe and perform her devotions.

The father, on his return, learns the treachery of the *Panghúlu*, and having recovered his daughter, she is subsequently married to a neighbouring prince, by whom she has three children. Her trials, however, are not yet at an end, for being on a journey to visit her father, accompanied by the *Pepáteh* of her husband, who is appointed to guard her on the way, the *Pepáteh* forms a design upon her virtue. He is represented as saying:—

"If you, oh princess, submit not to my desires, it is my determination "to put your eldest child to death."

The princess on hearing this became so affected as to be deprived of speech.

When the *Pepáteh* again repeating his threat in a solemn manner,

She replied, "what would you have me say? Whatever may be the "will of God I must submit. If my child is to die, how can I prevent "it?

The *Pepáteh*, on hearing this, forthwith drew his sword, and slew the child, again demanding of the princess whether she would submit to his desires? To which she answered, "No!"

He again urged her; but the princess hanging down her head was silent, and in the hope that God would give her resolution, her mind became more easy.

The *Pepáteh* then shaking his sword before the princess, again urged her to submit, threatening that if she refused he would slay her second child.

But the princess could only reply, "you must act as you say, if it is the "will of God that you should do so."

He then slew the second child, and again urging her to submit, threatened, in case of refusal, that he would slay the third child, then at her breast.

Snatching the child from her arms, he put his threat into execution, and the

the blood flew on the mother's face, on which she swooned and fell to the ground.

The *Pepáteh* having succeeded in recovering her, again attempted to effect his purpose, threatening that if she still refused he would slay her: to this the princess at first made no reply.

But placing her sole reliance on the Almighty, a thought at last struck her, and she said:

"Do as you will with me; but seeing that I am disfigured with blood, "allow me first to bathe in an adjacent stream."

The *Pepáteh* assenting to this, she went away and effected her escape into the woods. There she remained in safety, until discovered by her husband, who in revenge put the three children of the *Pepáteh* to death.

Introduction of Arabic literature.

It has already been shewn, that notwithstanding the intercourse which has now subsisted for upwards of four centuries, and the full establishment of the Mahometan as the national religion of the country for upwards of three centuries, the Arabic has made but little or no inroad into the language; and it may be added, that the Arabic compositions now among them are almost exclusively confined to matters of religion. Books in the Javan language are occasionally written in the Arabic character, and then termed *Pégu*, but this practice is by no means general. The *Koran* was first translated, or rather paraphrased, about a century ago, and rendered into Javan verse by a learned man of *Pranarága*, to whom the title of *Kiai Pranarága* was in consequence given.

Arabic books, however, are daily increasing in number. The principal works in this language, with which the Javans are at present acquainted, are the *Umul brahin*, by *Sheik Usuf Sanusi*; *Mohárrar*, by *Iman Abu Hanífa*; *Ranlo Taleb*, by *Sheik Islam Zachariah*; and *Insan Kamil*, by *Sheik Abdul Karim Jili*. The doctrines of *Sheik Mulana Ishak*, the father of *Susúnan Gíri* and one of the earliest missionaries, were those of *Abu Hanífa*, which are the same as the Persians are said to profess; but these doctrines have, subsequent to the time of *Susúnan Gíri*, been changed for those of *Shafihi*. There are, however, some who still adhere to the doctrines of *Hánifa*; but their numbers are few, and the chiefs are all followers of *Shafihi*. The number of Arabic tracts circulating on Java has been estimated at about two hundred.

Several

Several institutions have been established in different parts of the island, for the instruction of youth in the Arabic language and literature. At one of these, in the district of *Pranarága*, there was at one time, (about seventy years ago, in the time of *Páku Nagára*,) not less than fifteen hundred scholars. This institution has since fallen into decay, and the number at present does not exceed three or four hundred. Similar institutions are established at *Meláng'i*, near *Matárem*, and at *Sídamármar*, near *Surabáya*; and at *Bántam*, about eighty years ago, there existed an institution, of nearly equal extent with that of *Pranarága*.

Poetry. Literary compositions are almost invariably written in verse. The measures employed are of three classes. First, the *sekár** *káwi*, or measures in which the *káwi* compositions are generally written; secondly, the *sekár sepoh*, high or ancient measures; thirdly, the *sekár gángsal*, or five modern measures.

A complete stanza is termed a *páda* (literally a foot); a line is termed *ukára*; the long syllables are termed *gúru*, the short *láku*; and although rhyme is not used, the several measures of the *sekár sepoh* and *gángsal* are regulated by the terminating vowels of each line, which are fixed and determined, for each particular kind of verse,† by the number of syllables in each line, the disposition of the long syllables, and the number of lines in each stanza or *páda*.

Sekar Káwi. Of the *sekár káwi* there are twelve radical stanzas, most of which occur in the *Náti Sástra* and other principal *Káwi* compositions. They are named:

1. *Sradúla wikrindíta.*
2. *Jága díta.*
3. *Wahírat.*
4. *Basánta tiláka.*
5. *Bángsapátra.*
6. *Srágdára.*

* *Sekár* literally means flowers, and is the usual term for poetry, flowers (of the language).

† "The *tegála* verse is only regulated by the rhythm of the syllables, and the similarity "of the vowels in the close. This similarity of the terminating vowels does not amount to "regular rhyme, for the consonants may be totally different though the vowels are similar, "as in the Spanish rhymes termed *Asonantes*. Thus *laglag* and *talŧal*, *sut* and *cahug*, *silip* and "*bukkir*, however imperfect as rhymes, are all that is required in the termination of the *tegála* "verse."—*Leyden on the Indo-Chinese. Asiatic Researches.*

6. *Srágdára.*
7. *Sekaríni.*
8. *Suwandána.*
9. *Champáka máliar.*
10. *Práwira lalíta.*
11. *Basánta líla.*
12. *Dánda.*

Each of these stanzas consists of four lines, as in the following example of the *Sradúla Wikrindita,* from the *Níti Sástra Káwi.*

" Reng jánma di kámi ta chíta reséping sárwa prája ng'enaka
" Ring s'tri matdia manuára pría wawus andé mána kung lúlut -
" Yen ring Madiáni kang pinandíta mochap tętóah pa désa prîen
" Yen ring matdía nikáng mosá mochap-akan wakchúra sing'a k'roti

---

A man who is moderate and cool in his desires will do good to a country.
A woman is like unto *Déwi Manuhára* when her desires are moderate, and men cannot look upon her without admiration.
A *Pandíta* must at all times and on all occasions act up to his doctrines: Whether it be in war or in difficulty, still he must act up to what he says.

Examples of several other measures of the *sekár káwi* and of the metre will be given hereafter in the analysis of the *Bráta Yudha.*

Of the *sekáh sepoh* there are great varieties, several of which are exhibited in the following examples. Sekár Sepoh.

MEGÁTRUH,

(Consisting of five unequal lines, terminating with the vowel sounds u, e, u, i, *and* o.)

" Wong ahurīp | aywa tā | ang'gung | katungkūl ||
" 'Ing kawibawān | kamuktēn ||
" 'Aywa ta | ang'gung gumung'gūng ||
" Manawā | dinadung eblīs ||
" Kajarāh | temah wurung wōng ||

Men of this world! give not yourselves up
To the pleasures of power and sensual gratification:
Neither be vain nor open to flattery,

Lest

Lest caught in his toils,
You fall into the hands of the devil.

PÚCHUNG,

(*Consisting of four unequal lines, terminating with the vowel sounds*, u, a, i, *and* a.)

" Den prayitnā | wong agūng | aja pitambūh ||
" Barāng ⌈rahing prajā ||
" Kawruhanā | den atitī ||
" Supayani | 'ing tindāk aywa|ng'alentār ||

Watch well, ye great, and be not unmindful
Of what takes place in the country;
But observe it narrowly,
That the administration of it may
Not be neglected.

BALÁBAK,

(*Consisting of three long lines, each terminating in* é).

" Wong ahurīp | aja anggung mang'an minūm | jarenē ||
" Ananungkūl | íng dría kang tan sayogyā | gawénē ||
" Lamun orā | ing nalika mangsa Kalā | Kalanē ||

Men of this life! devote not yourselves to the pleasures of eating and drinking;
For it is a passion of which the indulgence is vicious,
Except on grand and particular occasions.

KÚSWA WIRÁNGRONG WIRÁNGRONG,

(*Consisting of six lines, terminating in the vowel sounds* i, o, u, i, a, *and* a).

" Lir dawūh dawūh | ing margī ||
" Sang d'yāh parayāng | paroyōng ||
" Supe duk aniandāk | wastra ng'rangkūs ||
" Kawingkin kang wēntīs ||
" Lumarāp | kadi kilāt ||
" Murub padāng | Kang pasebān ||

Stumbling as she went,
The Princess walked with faltering pace.
Laying hold of her under garment, she unconsciously drew it up,

When

When from the exposed calf of her leg
A flash like lightning darted,
Which illumined the Hall of Audience.

SUMEKÁR,

(*Consisting of five lines, ending in the vowel sounds* i, a, a, i *and* e).

" Gugunung'ān | lor-wetan tuhu 'angrawīt ||
" Pinārigī ing selā kakarang'ān ||
" Pandan-janmā | jinemb|ang'ān ||
" Sri jata winujīl | wujīl ||
" Pisang tatār | lir tunjūng | Sikarī |

Beautiful are the hills to the north-east,
Adorned and interspersed with walls of stone,
With the *pándan jánma* growing in pots,
And overgrown with the *s'ri játa,*
And the *písang tátar,* having a blossom like the *túnjung.*

PALUGÓN,

(*Consisting of eight lines, terminating with the vowel sounds* a, u, o, u, o, a, u, *and* e).

" Yen tan hanā | adedangkān ||
" Punggawa satryā agūng ||
" Miang mantrī | rempeg āgolōng ||
" Obah osīk | íng prajekū ||
" Iku arjā | prajā katōng ||
" Lawan pang'wā|saning natā ||
" Tan hanā | panasten kalbū ||
" Nora cheng'īl | datan leniōk ||

When none are selfish,
And the great officers of state, the nobles,
And the petty officers, are all united together,
Whatever may be the convulsions or the troubles of the kingdom,
Still will the kingdom be great and prosperous.
When the power of the sovereign
Is envied by none,
All are then united and none are disloyal.

PALU-GÁNGSA,

(*Consisting of six lines, terminating in the vowel sounds* a, e, e, a, a, *and* i).

" Pada salāmet sadayā ||
" Sapung gawā | mantri lān satriyānē ||

" Yata Rajā | adil malī | andikānē ||
" Eh ajunan pirāng prakárā ||
" Kabechikān | m'ring kawulā ||
" Pateh yunān | awōt-sarī ||

All will be prosperous and peaceful,
The chiefs of provinces, the nobles, and the petty chiefs.
On which *Raja Adil* (the just king) thus spoke again:
" Oh *Yúnan*, how many rules are there
" For the prosperity of the subject?"
To which *Páteh Yúnan* returned for answer.

KÚSWARÍNI,

(*Consisting of seven lines, terminating in the vowel sounds* u, a, u, a, i, a, *and* e).

" Sampun katāh | aniyasāt wadya prabū ||
" Balik ng'egung'enā ||
" Turasing wōng | bangsa luhūr ||
" Yen turasīng | bangsa andāp ||
" Nang'ing prayugī | kīnantī ||
" Den pratelā | hing panejā ||
" Ang'inggahaken | wād'yanī ||

Treat not the subjects of your majesty with cruelty,
But respect
The descendants of honourable families;
To the descendants even of low families
Also shew kind treatment;
Yet be careful how you take a liking to any one,
And raise him in the world.

MÁHISA LÁNG'IT (THE BUFFALO OF THE SKY),

(*Consisting of five lines, terminating in the vowel sounds* e, u, i, u, *and* o.)

" Yen sampūn | wontēn kagunānē ||
" Miang kraprawirānipūn ||
" Punjulīng | sasami sāmī ||
" Pantes jenunjūng | kang lunggūh ||
" Nora lingsēm | ing piyāngkōh ||

If there is one who has merit

And

And abilities
Surpassing his equals,
It is proper to raise him,
And there is no shame in such an act.

KÉNYA KEDÍRI.

(Consisting of nine lines, terminating in the vowel sounds, u, i, u, u, u, a, e, u *and* i.)

" Inggih lamūn | dereng wontan labetipūn ||
" Guna Kaprawirānekī ||
" Upama yen jinunjūng'a | lungguhipūn ||
" Sayektī | kochaping jāgāt | datan arūs ||
" Makan darāh | yen dereng yog'ya jinūnjūng ||
" Lan sampūn | 'akaryā | lūrāh ||
" Wong durjanā | dursilekī ||
" Lan sampun atantūn ||
" M'ring pung'gawā | mantrī jahīl ||

But if one having neither merit,
Ability, nor capacity,
Should be promoted in his stead,
Then would the world say it was improper;
For one raised above his merits must *mákan dárah* (swallow blood).
Make not a chief
Of one who is a knave or bears an ill character,
And ask not advice
From one who is ill disposed.

Other measures which may be classed under the *sekár sepoh* are the *júrudemúng, lúntang, gámbuh, kulánté, lámbang, káswa rága, rángsang, pamur'ántang, ontang-'anting, 'mas-kumámbang, tárub-agúng, pa-mýjil s'lang'it* or *kinánti, irún-irun lung-gadúng, lára-katrisna.*

The *sekár gangsal*, or five modern measures, are those in which the ordinary compositions of the present day are written. Of these there are again several varieties in different districts, as follow :— Sekár gangsal.

ASMARANDÁNA,

which according to the manner in which it is chaunted is called *salóbog, jákalóla, súrup-sasi-bawarága, séndon-pradápa, paláran.*

(*Consisting of seven lines terminating in the vowel sounds* i, a, o e, a, á, u *and* a:)

" Sun 'amurwā | lang'it inggīl ||
" Dadalan ikū | pan dāwā ||
" Chok jurang'ā | pasti lēdōk ||
" Lumrahi g'ni āpānas'||
" Sanady'an lawē | petāk ||
" Yen winedēl | dadi wūlūng ||
" Yen mahidū | ayonānā ||

Lofty is the sky,
Roads too are always long;
Every valley is low,
And fire is naturally hot;
White thread will even be black
If jet you do but dye it,
And if you don't believe it, try.

ARTÁTI, DÁNDANG GÚLÁ, (sugar crow), or SADÁNA CHÍTA:

which according as it is chaunted, is called *renchasih, majásih, lindur ddlang-karahinan, bárang míring, gúla kentar*, or *paláran.*

(*Consisting of ten unequal lines, terminating in the vowel sounds*, i, a, e *or* o, u, i, a, u, a, i *and* a.)

" Benjang ingsūn | mari brangta kingkīn ||
" Yen mamalā | malanīng kanang rat ||
" Dūrjanā | dusta līnyokē ||
" Chelā | cholong chalimūd ||
" Wong ambīgāl | ng'etal katāhil ||
" Kichū kampāk karūmpak
" Babotoh | kābutuh ||
" Babangsāt | pūda malesat ||
" Baya kōnō | mari analian | wiyādī ||
" Dadining susī | lārja ||

The painful feeling of my love will only cease
When the wicked of the world,
The knaves, the thieves and the liars,
The scandalous and those who steal,
And the banditti, are all held in contempt;

When

When robbers and plunderers are all destroyed,
And cock-fighters are in despair;
When gamblers are cast out.
Then, perhaps, the sadness of my heart may cease;
Then may I be restored to peace and happiness.

SINOM, SRI NÁTA, OR PERDÁPA,

which according to the chaunt employed is called *béngak, garúndel, gádung-maláti, jáyeng-asmára, babarláyar, merák ngúwuh, kagók-surabáya* and *paláran.*

(*Consisting of nine lines, terminating in the vowel sounds,* a, i, a, i, i, u, a, i *and* a.)

" Wusniā | ing'amban saksāna ||
" Layōné | dewi angrēni ||
" Binaktā | minggah kēng pālwa ||
" Indrajalā | dan tītīhī ||
" Dening Rahadēn Pānjī ||
"Dewi oneng'ān tān kantūn
" Tumut dateng kāng | raka ||
" Akatāh | pawong'ān chéti ||
" Kang binakta | sagung'ingkang rajābranā ||

Having taken in his arms
The body of the departed
Princess *Ang'réni,*
It was borne
On board the vessel *Indrajála*
By *Ráden Pánji.*
The princess *Oréng'an* was not left behind,
But accompanied her elder brother,
With many companions and female attendants,
The whole treasures being carried along with them.

PANGKUR,

which, according as it may be chaunted, is termed *paláran* and *kaddton.*

(*Consisting of seven lines, terminating in the vowel sounds,* a, i, u, a, u, a, *and* i.)

" Nīhan kramanīng | tumītah ||
" Dan tatīla | tumulad 'ing réh titi ||
" Wechanā | den pindā | pūnggūng ||

" Dan

" Dan amēm | nayéng gitā ||
" Pagutēnā | yen wus samekta éng wūwūs ||
" Den panggah | ay'wa miyāgāh ||
" Pilih tā | kawadēng wadī ||

The manners of men should be correct;
And in adopting an accurate conduct,
Let your speech be modest and unassuming.
When thinking, let your countenance appear unruffled;
And when your words are prepared, deliver them.
Be firm, but on no account bigotted,
Lest you be held in contempt.

DŪRMA,

which, according as it is chaunted, is called *seráng*, *rángsang*, *bedáya*, *madúra*, and *Paláran*.

(*Consisting of seven lines, terminating in the vowel sounds*, a, i, a, a, i, a *and* i.)

" Masjidé kā | kabatulah ika prayōgā ||
" Payū | tinirū sami ||
" Gawi kabatūlah ||
" Sigra mantuk prasamia ||
" Wōng Abesah | sireng prapti ||
" Ing nagarania ||
" Anulia | yasa sami

The temple of *Kabatúlah* is most excellent,
Come, let us all imitate it,
And build another *Kabatúlah*.
They then returned to their home,
And when the people of *Abésah* arrived
At their country,
They immediately commenced the work.

The *sekárs kinánti* and *mijil* are sometimes classed under the common or modern measures. The following are examples of those measures.

KINÁNTI,

(*Consisting of six lines, terminating in the vowel sound*, u, i, a, i, a *and* i.)

" Ake wong | sanak sadūlūr ||

" Tan

" Tan kadiā | Sugriwā bali ||
" Sapolāh | tingkaniā pada ||
" Moang suarā | rupa anūng'gīl ||
" Kadia n'gilu | lan wayang'gā ||
" Kewran sāng | rama ēng ati ||

Most people have brothers and relatives,
But not such as *Sugriwa* and *Báli*.
Their actions and conduct were both alike,
And their voice and form was one and the same.
They were like each other even as a substance and its shadow,
And the mind of *Ráma* himself was confused in distinguishing between them.

MIJIL,

(*Consisting of six lines, terminating in the vowel sounds*, i, o, e, i, i, *and* u.)

" Rima panjāng | memak tur awīlīs ||
" Urāb urāb āwōr ||
" Lir manj'āngān | katarwan solāhē ||
" Brang'os lemēt | yayah lir mināngsī ||
" Dia wirun tinūlīs ||
" Warnani abāgūs ||

His long and waiving hair was of a greenish hue
Intermixed with flowers,
His action like that of a wounded deer,
And his mustachios fine and dark, as if pencilled.
He resembled the picture of *Wírun* (the brother of *Panji*).
Most beautiful was his complexion.

The following are examples of some of the measures adopted by the inhabitants of *Bdli*. The three first are in the language of the country people; the others are extracted from one of their modern compositions.

" Kadi jaran
" Pang'aruh duag mapola
" Pang'ang'gong niane lueh
" Mapelag-pelagan
" Mandadi

" Paleng'gian

" Paleng'gian
" Atut sayang
" Kategah-keng
" Tundung ne balan
" Lamput tina chamáti

Like unto a horse
Graceful in action,
Richly caparisoned
With various ornaments
Becoming
The royal saddle-horse;
Truly pleasant and agreeable
To ride,
His back shewing the mark
Of the stroke of the whip

" Chahi santri
" Bajang bajang gobah m'lah
" Dapati manu huking
" Deman hatini memadat
" Chahi
" Bajang taruna
" Nu liyu
" Demanin chahi
" Ing'atan awah
" Bikasé dali santri

Young man! you are a *sántri*,*
Young and handsome:
Curb your inclinations
And don't smoke opium.
Young man!
Yet unconnected with woman,
There is much
To which you must incline.
Think of yourself,
And that you have become a *sántri*.

CHICHANG

* Priest.

CHECHANG KRIMAN.

(*Sung by a Mother to her Child on her Arm.*)

" Niahi ayu kapakan manianki̇l wakul
" Kalang mabalanjar lakuné manolé-nolé
" Sada gisu
" Dayanin tuah kablag'gandang

My handsome girl! in bringing a purchase from the market,
When you have paid the price, cast not your eyes behind,
But move quickly,
Lest men may seize upon you.

The following are examples from the written compositions of *Báli.*

" Sang'nata ika wus mati
" Penadang deneng joarsa
" Yata nulia kesa mangko
" Medal saking pupungkuran
" Prapta
" Heng jawi kita
" Awatara
" Teng'ha dalu
" Tanana wong kang ng'uning'a*

Then that sovereign died,
Being destroyed by *Joársa,*
Who thereupon went out,
Retreating by the back part of the dwelling;
And having arrived
At the outside of the fort
At the time
It was midnight,
No one knew of it.

" Wus lepas lampa ireki
" Handung kaping parang parang

" Sumung

* This and the following stanza are from the poem of *Joarsa,* being the history of two brothers of the country of *Sahalsa.*

" Sumung kaking ukir halon
" Tumaruning lebah lebah.
" Mantuk
" Maring Nagara
" Heng Sahalsa
" Sina dia
" Hiku kalang'an chobayang suks'ma

When he had passed the road
He ascended the mountains,
And moved on slowly,
Ascending and descending,
Proceeding
In search of his country,
Named *Sahálsa*,
Which he descried;—
But here he was opposed by the will of Providence.

The Bráta Yudha.

In order the better to illustrate the poetry and literature of Java, and to exhibit the nature and spirit of the compositions in the *Káwi*, I request to present the reader with an analysis of the *Bráta Yudha*, the most popular and celebrated poem in the language. Versions of this poem in the modern Javan are common throughout the island, and the subject is the theme of the most popular and interesting amusements of the country.

The *Bráta Yúdha Káwi*, of which the following is the analysis, and from which the illustrations which are interspersed are taken, contains seven hundred and nineteen *páda* or metrical stanzas, of four long lines each, the measures varying with the subject, so that most of the twelve *Káwi* measures are to be found in it. Considering how little was known on Java of the *Káwi* language, and how likely that little was to be lost for ever, I felt a strong interest in analysing and translating, as far as practicable, one of the principal compositions in that language; and availing myself of the literary acquirements of the *Panambahan* of *Sumenáp*, to whom I have already adverted, and of the assistance of a gentleman of my family, and *Ráden Saleh*, the son of the regent of *Semárang*, I have it now in my power to lay the following analysis of this ancient poem before the public. It is far from being as complete, or correct, as I could have wished, yet imperfect as it is,

it

it may serve to convey some idea of the original. I have endeavoured to keep as close to the original as possible, and have, in every instance, given the interpretation of the *Káwi*, as far as it was understood by the *Panambahan*. The Sanscrit scholar will probably find imperfections, and possibly might be able to render a better translation; but it is the *Káwi* language, as it is understood by the Javans of the present day, that I am anxious to illustrate. The original stanzas are given in the *Káwi*, and I only regret that the limited knowledge of the language possessed by the *Panambahan* himself, and my own want of time to study and trace the grammatical construction of it, have not admitted of my doing more justice to the original. I can safely affirm, that, independent of the interest which the subject loses by translation into a foreign language, the illustrations now given afford but a very imperfect specimen of the beauty, sublimity, and real poetry of the original.

This celebrated work would appear from the *Chándra Sangkála* included in one of the verses, to have been composed by one *Puséda*, a learned *Pandíta*, in the year 1079. Some copies, however, admit of a different interpretation regarding the date, and the general opinion is, that it was composed in 706 of the Javan era, during the reign of a prince on whom was conferred the title of *Jáya Báya*. Whether the poem was actually written on Java, or brought by the early colonists, may be questionable; but the Javans of the present day firmly believe, not only that the poem was written on Java, but that the scene of the exploits which it records was also laid on Java and *Madúra*. The annexed sketch, with the subjoined note, will explain the situation of the different countries, according to this notion.*

* Under this impression, the city of *Astina* (*Hastina pura*) is believed to have been situated near the modern *Pakalong'an; Gendara Désa*, the country of *Sangkoni*, near *Wiradesa; Amerta*, the country of *Derma Wangsa* and the *Pandawa*, near *Japara; Talkanda*, the country of *Bisma*, and *Banjar jung'ut*, the country of *Dursa Sána*, in *Lurung Teng'ha; Awang'ga*, either near *Kendal*, or the modern *Yug'ya-kerta; Pring'gadani*, the country of *Bima*, near *Pámálang; Purabáya*, the country of *Gatot Kacha*, near *Surabáya; Mandura*, the country of *Bála dewa*, or *Kákrá Sáná*, the western provinces of the island *Madúra*, and *Mandaráka*, the country of *Salia*, the eastern provinces of that island, towards *Sumenap*; *Diára Wati*, or Indoro Wati, *Krisna's* country, the modern *Pati*. In the same spirit, the modern capital of the sultan of *Matarem*, called by the Dutch *Djocjo carta*, but more correctly *Ayog'ya Kerta*, was so named by its founder, about sixty years ago, after *Ayudya* the celebrated capital of *Rama*.

There

There are three peaks in different parts of the island, which still retain the name of *Indra Kíla*, the mountain on which *Arjúna* performed *tapa*; one on the mountain *Arjúna*, near *Surabáya*, one on *Morea* at *Japara*, and another on the *Ung'arang* mountain, near *Semárang*.

At the foot of *Semiru*, the name of one of the highest mountains on the eastern part of the island, is supposed to have been situated the country of *Newata*, better known as the residence of *Detia Kewacha*, who reigned before the war of the *Brâta Yudha*.

On *Gunung Práhu*, a range of lofty mountains inland between *Pakalungan* and *Semárang*, are the remains of nearly four hundred temples, or buildings, with the traces of an extensive city. This is supposed to have been the burying-place of the ancestors of the *Pandáwa*, as well as of *Arjúna*. The site of the temples was formerly called *Rah tawu*, the place whence blood was washed, from a tradition, that when *Pula Sara* was born, his mother immediately died, on which the *Dèwa* came and received the infant on its coming into the world.

In the performance of the *wáyang*, in which the heroes of these historical romances are exhibited, the common people of *Jawana* never exhibit that part of the history which relates to the juvenile days of *Krésna*, from a superstitious apprehension, that the alligators would, in such event, overrun the country, these animals being supposed to be the transformed followers of *Kángsa*. At *Pamalang*, also, there is a similar prohibition with regard to representing *Arímba*, the brother-in-law of *Bíma*, under a dread, that if the *Dálang* should, by accident, not represent the story with exactness, he would inevitably fall sick on the first mistake.

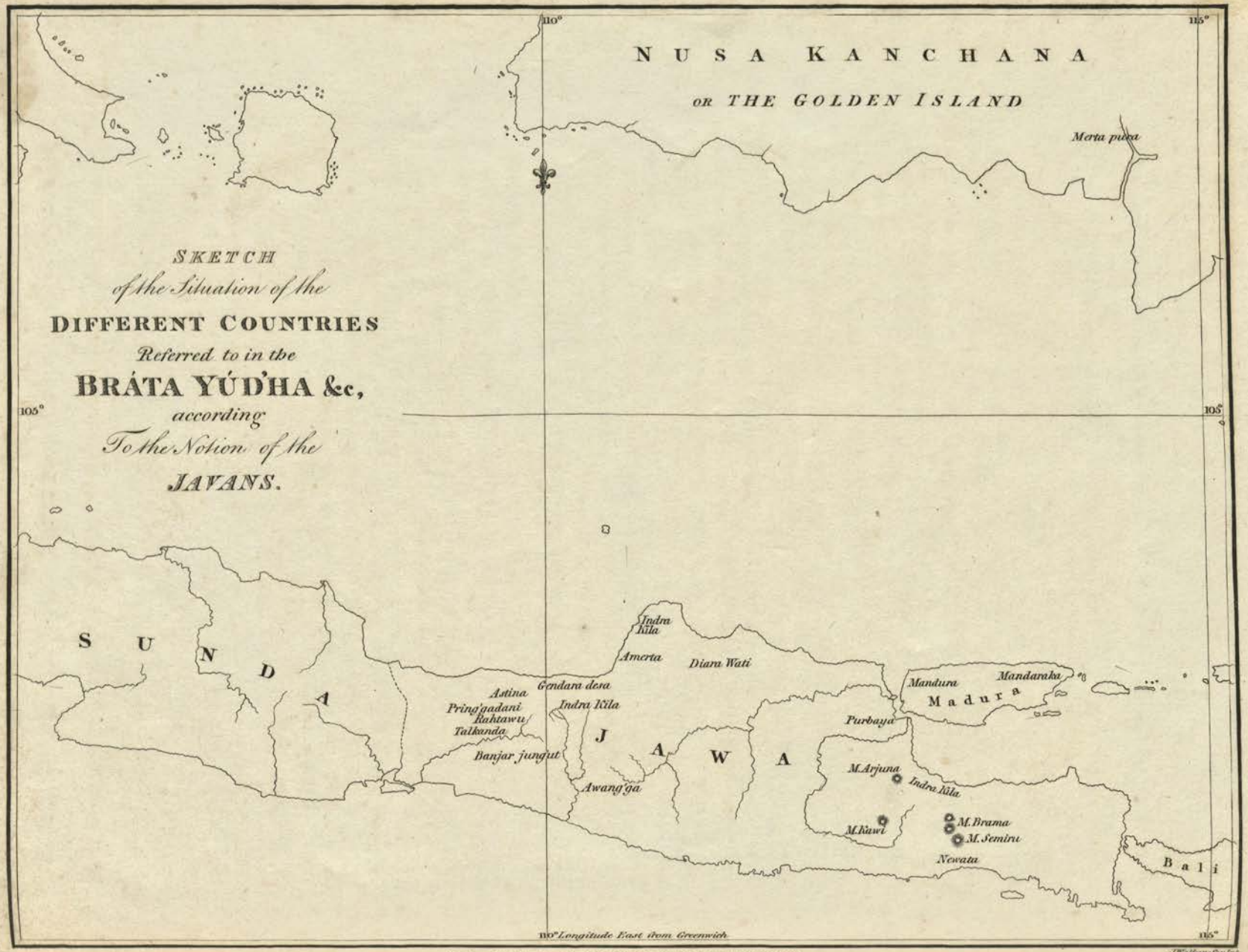
The country of *Parakisit*, after the *Brata Yudha*, is supposed to have been near *Semárang*, and on that account the *Dálang* will not perform that part of the history which relates to his reign, although it forms a very principal portion in the performances elsewhere.

To these superstitions may be added, that although with these local exceptions the *wáyang* may represent any portion of the *Brâta Yudha*, or of the preceding or subsequent histories of the same class, there is a prevalent superstition, that a great war will be the inevitable consequence of performing, at one sitting, the whole of this poem. It is gravely asserted, that a chief of *Kendal* tried this experiment about fifty years ago, but that the performance was no sooner completed, than his country was laid waste and destroyed: and also that, previous to the Javan war, the grandfather of the present *Susunan*, *Sida Langkungang*, ordered the whole of the *Bráta Yúdha* to be performed at once; the consequence of which was the dreadful war which ensued, and the dismemberment of the empire.

These impressions and superstitions may seem to evince, how deeply rooted is the belief that the scene of this poem was in Java.

The scene of the *Rámayan*, on the contrary, is not believed to have been on Java; but there is an impression, that after the death of *Rawáná*, *Hânuman* fled to Java, and took refuge in the district of *Ambarâwa*, near *Semárang*, on a hill called *Kandali Sáda*, the place named in the *Ramayan* where *Hanuman* performed *tapa* (penance). There is still a post or pillar preserved to distinguish this spot at the summit of the hill; and such is the superstition of the neighbourhood, that they never perform the *wáyang* representing any part of the history of *Ráma*, lest *Hanuman* should pelt them with stones.

The annexed plate shews the situation of the principal places mentioned in the *Brâta Yúdha*, according to the prevailing notions of the Javans.



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J. Walker Sculpt.

NAMES OF THE PANDÁWA PRINCES, PRINCESSES, AND CHIEFS.

	Names.	Genealogical and Descriptive Account.	Different other Appellations under which known.
	Krésna	An incarnate deity, who is favourable to the *Pandáwa*; the particular friend and guardian of *Arjúna*. His father was brother to *Dewi Kúnti*	*Narayána.* *Janardána* (performers of austerities). *Patmanába.* *Esa.* *Wijáya mólia.* *Kesáwa.*
	Pándu	The son of *Abiása*, husband of *Dewi Kúnti* and *Dewi Madrim*, and father of the *Pandáwa*..	*Pandu Dewa Nata.*
	Dewi Kúnti	Daughter of *Basuketé*, King of *Madúra*, and wife of *Pándu.*	
	Dewi Madrim	Daughter of *Chándra Wáti*, King of *Mandaráka*, and wife of *Pándu*	*Dewi Metrim.*
The *Pandawa*, or five Sons of *Pándu.*	*Dérma Wángsa*	The chief and eldest of the *Pandáwa* by *Dewi Kúnti*	*Dérma Kasúma.* *Chantáka pára.* *Gunan tali kráma.* *Yudistíra.*
	Bíma	Son of *Pándu* by *Dewi Kúnti* ..	*Walkudára.* *Judipáti* (death seeking). *Bayu-pútra* (son of strength). *Séna* (chief in war).
	Arjúna	Son of *Pándu* by *Dewi Kúnti* ..	*Palgúna* (of powerful thumb). *Jaya Ningrat* (victor of the world). *Wintarája.* *Parta* (the middle one). *Wardiningsih* (devotee, enthusiast). *Janárka.* *Danarjáya* (victory-giving). *Kerséti.*
	Nakula	Son of *Pándu* by *Dewi Madrim.*	
	Sedéwa	Son of *Pándu* by *Dewi Madrim.*	
	Narada *Kánwa* *Jenáka* *Parásu*	In attendance on *Krésna.*	
	Pancha Kumara	Son of *Dérma Wángsa.*	
	Gatot Kacha	Son of *Bíma.*	
	Abimányu *Ordáwan*	Sons of *Arjúna.*	
	Drupáda	Brother of *Dewi Kúnti.*	
	Satiáki	Servant of *Krésna.*	
	Mangsa Páteh	King of *Wiráta.*	
	Kakarsána	King of *Madúra*, and eldest brother of *Krésna.*	
	Sumbádra	Sister of *Krésna*, wife of *Arjúna*, and mother of *Abimányu.*	
	Drestadriumna	Son of *Drupada.*	
	Drupadi	Daughter of do. and wife of *Dérma-Wángsa.*	
	Sirikándi, or *Sikándi*	Do.... do. and wife of *Arjúna.*	
	Sitisundári	Do.... of *Krésna* and wife of *Abimányu.*	
	Utári	Do.... of *Mángsa Páteh* or *Wiráta*, and wife of *Abimányu.*	
	Utára	Son of.... do:	
	Séta, or *Soita*	Do.... do.	*Sang Wirata Suta.*
	Sangka	Do.... do.	

The regal titles of *Aria, Nuária, Naranáta, Narindra*, &c. are occasionally applied to the different chiefs on both sides.

NAMES OF PRINCIPAL KURÁWA PRINCES, PRINCESSES, AND CHIEFS.

Names.	Genealogical and Descriptive Account.	Different other Appellations under which known.
Dresterâta	Eldest brother of *Pándu* and father of the *Kurâwa*, born blind	*Dresterâja.*, *Dreteraja.*
Suyudâna	King of *Astína*, and eldest son of *Dresterâta*	*Genderea.*, *Kurupati.*, *Kurunata.*, *Durya dana.*, *Kurawendra.*, *Korawe Swara.*
Dususâna	One of the *Kúru.*	
Kérna	Son of *Batâra Suria* (the Sun) by *Dêwi Kúnti* when a virgin, King of *Awáng'ga*	*Suria-putra*, *Arka-putra*, (Child of the Sun). *Radea.*, *Rawi Suta.*
Jáya-drâta	Brother-in-law of the *Kurâwa.*	
Sâlia	King of *Mandaráka*, and uncle to the sons of the *Pandâwa*, *Nakúla* and *Sedéwa*	*Norasuma* (his early name).
Dang yang drúnu	An aged *Pandíta*, revered by all parties.	
Aswatâma	His Son	*Duija Suta.*
Krépa	The younger brother of *Dang yang Deruna.*	
Bísma	An aged *Pandíta*, revered by all parties, son of a former king of *Astina*	*Dewa-brata.*, *Aria Bisma.*
Sakúni	Brother-in-law of *Dresterâta.*	
Begedénta	The friend and companion of *Suyudâna.*	
Satia-wâti	Wife of *Sâlia* and daughter of *Gunawijaya*, a worthy *Rasaksa.*	
Banuwâti	Wife of *Suyudana.*	

NUMERICAL TERMS *made use of in the* BRÁTA YÚDHA.

	100	*Rátus.*
	1,000	*Rébu.*
	10,000	*Láksa.*
	100,000	*Kétt.*
1 million	1,000,000	*Yuta.*
10 ditto	10,000,000	*Bâra.*
100 ditto	100,000,000	*Memeng.*
1 billion	1,000,000,000	*Pante.*
10 ditto	10,000,000,000	*Chamo.*
100 ditto	100,000,000,000	*Ekso'eni.*
1,000 ditto	1,000,000,000,000	*Pertana.*
10,000 ditto	10,000,000,000,000	*Gulma.*

AN ANALYSIS

OF

THE BRÁTA YÚDHA,

OR HOLY WAR, OR RATHER THE WAR OF WOE:

AN EPIC POEM,

IN THE KÁWI OR CLASSIC LANGUAGE OF JAVA.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The wife of *Santánu*, king of *Astína*, dying on giving birth to *Déwa Bráta* (*Bísma*), *Santánu* asked *Pulásara*, the *Prábu-Anom* (or younger prince), of *Wiráta*, and brother-in-law of *Mángsah Páti*, prince of that country, to allow his wife *Ambarsári*, who at that time had a child (*Abiása*) at the breast, to suckle and so save the life of his infant boy *Déwa Bráta*.

Pulasára, offended at the proposal, went to war with *Santánu*, but was afterwards persuaded by the *Déwa Sang yang Naráda* to comply, on condition of *Santánu* resigning his kingdom to him; to which *Santánu* agreed. *Pulasára*, when his son *Abiása* was grown up, gave him the kingdom of *Astína*, and turning hermit went and passed the rest of his days on the mountains.

By his wife *Ambalika* (the old maiden daughter of *Báliétma*, a hermit of *Gúnung Chámaragándi*, whom he was forced to marry against his inclination) *Abiása* had three sons, viz.

1. *Drestaráta*, who was blind.
2. *Pándu*, whose head was inclined to one side.
3. *Aria Widúra*, who was lame.

Pándu, the least exceptionable of the three sons, being raised to the throne, *Abiása* turned hermit, and went and passed the remainder of his days among the mountains.

On the death of *Pandu*, *Drestaráta* persuaded his father *Abiása* to allow him to rule the country during the minority of the *Pandáwa* (or five children

dren of *Pándu*). These were *Dérma Wángsa*, *Bíma*, and *Arjúna*, born of his wife *Déwi Kúnti*, and *Nakúla* and *Sedéwa*, born of his wife *Déwi Madrim*.

Drestaráta however afterwards persuaded them to go to a wild uncultivated place called *Amérta*, and establish a kingdom there, furnishing them, for that purpose, with the requisite implements, and a thousand men to enable them to clear away and cultivate the country.

Through the assistance of *Mangsáh Pati*, the king of *Wiráta* (uncle to *Abiása*), the country of *Amérta* was completed; but not until the thousand men had all been devoured by demons, of whom *Párta* was the chief.

Drestaráta retained possession of *Astína*, and afterwards resigned it to his sons, the *Kuráwa*, in number ninety-seven.

The hundred was completed by the addition of *Kérna*, the son of *Déwi Kúnti* before marriage by *Batára Suria*, and of *Jaya-dráta* and *Aswatáma*.

The incarnate *Déwa*, *Krésna*, having been deputed by the *Pandáwa*, whose part he takes, to propose to the king of *Kuráwa* an equal division of the kingdom of *Astína* between the *Kuráwa* and *Pandáwa*, and his proposal being rejected, the *Pandáwa* go to war for the kingdom which was left them by their father, and which in justice they ought to have had. The *Kuráwa* are ultimately beaten, and the kingdom of *Astína* recovered by the *Pandáwa*.

The scene of the poem lies chiefly in the hostile plains of *Kuruksétra*, close to *Astína*, whither it sometimes shifts. The time of it is about a month, the same being the fifth of the year,

The poem opens as follows:—

(Measure *Jagadíta*.)

1. In war 'tis the prayer of the brave to annihilate the foe,
To see the braids of fallen chiefs scattered like flowers before the wind.
To rend their garments, and burn alike their altars and their palaces,
Boldly to strike off their heads while seated in their chariots, and thus to obtain renown.

Awigno mastutina masidam.
(Tembang Jágadíta.)

1. Săng sūră m'rī ayā|niă rīng sămără mā|yoănĭ ĭlăng'ăni kāng | părāngmŭkă||
Līlā kēmbăng ng'ŏrā | sĕkār tăjĭnĭ kĕsā|nīng'ări pĕjăh hīng | rănāng'gănă||
Urnā nīng rătu mā|tĭ wĭjă nĭră kūn|dănĭ năgărănīng | mŏsū gĕsăng||
Sāhītiā ŭtĭ tēn|dăsī rĭpŭ kăpāk|ka nĭrătā sŭ|ră sŭsrămēng lăgă||

2. Such

2. Such was the prayer (of *Jáya Báya*) offer'd to the three worlds for success in battle;
Such was the resolve of *Batárá Náta** against those whom he knew to be his enemies.
And the name and power of *Padúka Batára Jáya Báya* became famous throughout the world,
Confirmed and approved by all good men and by the four classes of *Pandíta*.†

3. The lord of the mountains descended with all his *Pandíta*,
And the prince approached him with respect and a pure heart.
The deity was pleased, and said, "*Aji Jáya Báya*," be not afraid:
I come to thee not in anger, but according to thy desire, to endow thee with the power of conquest.

4. Receive from me a blessing, oh my son *Jáya Báya!*—Hear me! In thy country
Thou shalt become the chief of the whole circle of princes, and in war victorious over the enemy.
Be firm and fear not, for thou shalt become as a *Batára*.
This declaration pronounced with solemnity, was treasured in the memory of all the holy *Pandíta* of heaven.

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2. Da samangkana kastawa nira tekeng tri Buana winuwus jaying rana
Kapia sabda Batara Nata sa mosu nira tekapi huwusnia kagraha
Ng'ka lumra ti tohor ta Paduka Batara Jaya Baya panangga hing sarat
Mang'go sampun ninastoakan sujana len duijawara Resi Siwa Sugata

3. Ng'ka ragrian tumurun Batara Giri Nata lawana sira sang'gia len resi
Yetna s'ri pamasa mamursita mang'argia ri sira sang'a chintia nir mala
Yekan tusta mana Batara sa wuwus Aji Jaya Baya ayua sang saya
Ta tan kroda tekangku yen sira saka sung'a wara karananan ka dik Jaya

4. Tang'gap tosna nograha ku ri wukang ku Jaya Baya rang'e nikang Praja
Satiastu prabu chakra wartia kita ring sabuana Jaya satru ring mosu
Tekuan lang'geng'a satmaka na ku lawan kita tulusa Batara ring Jagat
Yekan sabda nira tro telasi nastoakan nira resi sang'gia ring lang'it

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* One of the titles of *Jaya Baya*.

† *Duijawara*, *Pandita* of society or village priests.
Resi, *Pandita* who do penance in the woods.
Sewa, *Pandita* who fast and constantly watch.
Sugata, *Pandita* who communicate advice and give instruction.

5. Thus having bestowed his blessing, the *Batára* vanished;
And the enemies of the prince being overcome with fear, submitted to him.
Tranquil and happy was every country. The thief stood aloof during the reign of this prince,
And the lover alone stole his pleasure, seeking his object by the light of the moon.

6. It was at this time *Puséda** rendered memorable the date, *risang'a kuda suda chandrama,*†
When the brilliancy with which the enemy was defeated was like unto the brightness of the sun at the third season,
And the mercy which was shewn to them was like the moon at the full.
For in war he looked upon the enemy, as the lord of the wild beasts would eye his prey.

7. Then *Batára Séwa* came and said to him,
" This is the time proper to relate the war between the *Pandáwa* and the princes of *Kóra*,
A relation which is not intended for the regulation of the country or the conduct of men, but is like *síri* with burnt lime,
Which affects not the teeth, but gives inward satisfaction and delight.

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5. Sampun mangkana suksma reh nira Batara telasi ramawé ka nograha
Tanduan nut samusu nareswara pada pranata teka riling mabupati
'Enak tand'li reng sarat maling awali layata wadi risakti sang Prabu
Hangheng tan udi sapsabé wang ng'atajeng teka sumilip pipajang'ing wulan

6. Nowan don Puseda makirtia sasakala risang'a kuda sud'da Chandrama
Sang saksat ari morti yen Katiga nitia maka palaga saktining musu
Sang lir lek prati pada sukla pinalaku nahurip pawijil nireng ripu
Ring prang derpa pasu prabu pamanira Yuni Kadung'ola ning parang muka

7. Biakta chamana pada Pangkaja Batara seiva mara ng'omastawa sira
Yogya mang'galaning mikat prangira Pandawa maka laga Korawé s'wara
Dan Duran kawasa alip kadi s'ru pama hugi mahapu susu gesang
Mang'go tan sedap panya ring waja tuhon pamurna mang'on resepi ng'ati

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* The supposed author of the poem.

† *Risanga kuda suda chandrama*, 9 7 0 1 } making 1079 of the Javan æra. But other interpretations render it 708, which latter is the date generally attributed to the work on Java, and the period in which *Jaya Baya* is said to have reigned.—*See History.*

8. In former times, *Narária Krésna* was the friend of *Naranáta Pandáwa,*
And he urged them saying, " Request from *Suyudána,* the chief of
" the *Kúru,*
" Nothing less than a division of the country of the *Kúru:*
" If he accede, it is well; if not, a great war shall be raised."
9. Thus having advised he hastily departed, and quitted *Wiráta,* followed by *Satiáki,*
He mounted his chariot of swift-footed coursers, which sped through the air as if with wings,
And soon discerned the city of *Gajahúya,** breaking through the clouds. Sad
Looked her *waríngen tree,*† like unto a sorrowful wife separated from her husband.
10. The corners of the gateways seemed to bow as he advanced,
And their turrets to beckon to *Janardáni* to hasten on.
The branches of the serpent flower‡ waved in the wind, as if in obeisance,
And all the beauty of the city of the *Kúrus* appeared to enquire whether he were followed by the *Pandáwa.*
11. But *Narária Kesáwa* had left the sons of *Pándu* at *Wiráta.*

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8. Ng'ani Kala Nararío Krisna pinaka seraya nira Naranata pandawa
Sinoé Kara Kinon lumakqua dateng'ing kurupati mang'aran Suriodana
Tan lean don nanira malaku rika paliani pura Nararia Kurawa
Yakpuan pasra atut ta ratqua yedi tan pasung'a karana ning prang'at Buta.
9. Dan mangka sira sigra Sakari Wirata dinolur ri ng'anama Satiaki
Heng'gal prapta tekap nisacti ni turang'ga Nirata nira pinda hanglayang
Kong'ang desa nikang Gajahuya pura awu Kinemol laneng udan riwut
Uruk warnani wandirania kadi soka makemoli paning'gal ling pria.
10. Punchak punchaki gopuran'ia aturang ng'adang'a ri sira mong'gu ri ng'nu
Kadio gir ri tekar Janardana panambahi pataka nekang nawe Katon
Warna nambahi pang nikang bujaga puspa magiu anu mimba kang'-inan
Saksat laxmini kang puri kuru matakoana ri milu Nararia Pandawa
11. Dan Bahnan kari Pandu Putra ri Wirata tekapira Nararia Kesawa

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* *Astina.* † The Indian fig or *banyan.* ‡ Nagasari.

The appearance of every thing on the road was sad: sorrowful was the sound of the bird *chúchur*,
And the *jring* plant was drooping and fallen, bearing down with it to the ground the *pândan* flower;
Mournful was the moaning of the bird *walikitáddáhasi* crying on the branch of a tree.

12. Bright and beautiful was the city of *Gajahúya*, till it was known that the *Pandáwa* did not follow.
The *champáka* flower was full blown and ready to fall;
The faded flowers of the *tanjung* were caught in the spider's web,
And the dark beetle,* almost lifeless, in sadness sought the flowers of *Angsána*, which floated on the waters.

13. Dry was the course in which the rivulet had flowed,
And the stone images looked in sadness at the marks which the water had left on the rocks.
The shell-fish† had deserted their covering,
And the dead shells were left on the banks by the retiring waters.

14. Unlike this was the appearance of the *ráwas*,‡ which resembled an assemblage at the *paséban*.§
On their banks grew the flower *rajásа*,‖ entwined by the *suwárna*,¶ as a golden ornament worn by men.

Yéka soka lang'an ikang awana kunda manang'isa sekal chuchur neka
Mangka j'ring malumi dawu pudaki Pandani ka makilusu aning Watu
Hing hing sabdani kang Waliktadahasi pada manang'isi pang nikang tahan

12. Kapua sa leng'ang'ing Gajahuya ri tan padulur rira Nararia Pandawa
Hunia champaka malugas Kusuma paksa Malabua jurang nikang parung
Lampus tanjung ng'ika ng'anas layati gantung'i panawang ng'aning jaring jaring
Tan patma Bramara kusa nang'isi layuani ng'asana manot yiriaking banyu

13. Mangkania sani panchurania pada soka ri taya nira sang danang jaya
Unia lek magegeng molat kapenatan rika patini lumot nikang watu
Sangsara Karachakechap mulati pandaga nika ri pipinya tan padon
Ka res res ni susunya mati manolat tiba tiwati mukar juning sela

14. Tan mangka kalang'ang nikang rawarawen Masemu lumiating wang hing saba
Tirania nadar Rajasa kayu suwarna Mamolacti atur gelang kuning

The

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* *Bramára.* † *Kurâchakéchup.* ‡ Swamps.
§ *Paseban*, assemblage of chiefs in front of the palace.
‖ The same with the *kasang'a.* ¶ The same with the *masmas.*

The white flowered *tánjung* having reclosed its petals, hung like a closed *páyung*,*
And the small fish were frisking with delight in the waters.

15. And as he came close to the city, the approach was cleared;
The *wúng'or* flowers hung in abundance like reclining pillows,
The *tanjúng* flower was open, like an expanded *payúng*,
And the *pétung*† was surpassed by the beauty of the *gáding*‡ sprouts, which shewed like the *gáding* flower.

16. And the woods were as if no one could tell whether there was good or bad in them, and the rocks were as if deaf and dumb.
The beetle buzzed at a distance from the flowers of the *dádap* and the *síri*, for it knew not the taste of them;
The bird *chat-da* played like unto the bird *kiong*,§ when in its glory in the woods;
And the joints of the sugar-cane attracted not the eye.

(Measure *Suandána.*)

17. Delightful and pleasant were the roads of *Astína.*
And soon on the plains‖ of *Kúru* did the good *Kresna* arrive:

Mang'ka tunjung'i kang sekar wali ping'ol ping'olani ka pada payung ping'ol
Sarwecha pachuring suhunbras ika yan pabanyubanyu mang'anti ring renek

15. Sing'gi yan maparek puraraja mahalep alep anoluhi ri nika ng'enu
Banonia Suraga tulis makalasa bari tuwuni nika sinang rateng
Mangka tinkahi patmaraga nika sayana sekara pajeng pajeng dadu
Tan pasri tekapi petung gading bung'nia pada tumota pawahan gading

16. Lir tanuru hihunadika alas apinda bisu tuli watunia ring jurang
Monya Kumbang'i kumbang'i rang'en ado weruha recl.ap' ika puspa ning seda
Chang'gang chang'ga manuknia chutda nachading kiong atuwa Kalang'aning wukir
Tekuan tan kahanan w'las harep pula nisi paha nika tan lumis mata

(*Tembang Suandána.*)

17. Leng'ēng gatine kāng | awān sabasabā | nikīng āstina ‖
Samāntarā tekēng | tegāl kuru nar|ārya krēsnān laku ‖

There

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* Umbrella.
† A large head of *bambu.*
‡ The yellow *bambu.*
§ *Kiong, Chiong,* or minor.
‖ Tegal.

There was he joined by the heroes *Kánwa*, *Janáka*, and *Naráda*,
Who were found by him on the plain and who entered his service.

18. Immediately the excellent *Krésna* took the charioteer's seat,
Giving up his own in the chariot to the three *Pándita*, and making obeisance to them.
They returning the salute,
Inwardly prayed for the welfare of *Krésna*.

19. The *Pánditas* were much pleased by *Krésna's* taking the charioteer's place:
And as they were borne along, they talked of their journey to the King of *Astína*,
And also discussed many weighty matters,
While mildly flowed their words like a gentle stream.

20. When the worthy *Krésna* was yet on the plain of *Kúru*,
Drôtarája soon heard of his coming,
And gave orders to clean and dust the palace;
Directing, at the same time, the finest cloths to be spread on the ground from the royal seat, outside, as far as the great square.

21. It was at the same time required of all to shew respect.
Such were the orders of *Aria Bísma* and *Dratarástra*.

Sirāng para sūra makā|no'a janakā | dulūr nārada ||
Kapāng'gē irikāng | tegāl milu rikār|ya sāng būpati ||

18. Wawang sira nararya kresna numaring gwaning sarate
Sirang parama sapta pandita gumanti mung'gweng rata
Turawin sira telas winorsita malas mawe nastute
Monagya keni ayu'a sang prabu yan non nera ng'astawa

19. Lengeng alapira daran pinaka sarati yang resi
Tohor muchapi doniran lari mareng narape Astina
Datan'nia juga rakwa gostinéra sarwa tat'wa dika
Lumot wijili sabda sang resi kabe mawerna merta

20. Sedeng anari kang tegal kuru nararya kresnan laku
Rika ta drotaraja sigra rumeng'o dateng sang prabu
Nimitani lebu nekang pura kinon naken busanan
Pada natara wastra mulia tekaring wang'ontur batuk

21. Tuwen pada ginositan sira kabe kinon sambrama
Tekap nira sangarya bisma dratarasta motus tinut

Sakúni,

Sakúni, Kerna, Duryodána, alone refused to obey, turning away and shewing their backs.

This they did, perceiving intuitively that the great among men was acting in concert with the *Pandáwa.*

22. The various viands in the interior of the palace being prepared and laid out,
Kesáwa * arrived before the city,
When grateful sounds struck up from various musical instruments,
As slowly advanced his chariot to the hall of audience.

23. The people, desirous of beholding the royal arrival, and afraid of being too late,
Hurried in crowds to where they might have a view of him,
Adjusting their dress and tying up their hair as they ran along;
And some, who had left the operation unfinished, came with their teeth partly black and partly white.

24. While others, among the women, held up their breasts with both hands,
As if they were going to present them to the exalted among men.†
Children, too, bore along in their arms their ivory dolls,
And caused them, when they came to the looking place, to acknowledge and bow to him, whom they pointed out as their royal father.

Kunang sira wi'ang ming'e sakune karna duryodana
Apan warui mana janardana sapaksa ring pandawa
22. Sedeng masaji boga sadrasa samong'gu ring jero puri
Samantara dateng ta kesawa anengarepning kuta
Lengeng tekapikang garangtung ngamapak umong gurnita
Tuwen rata nera rere lakunekan dateng ring saba
23. Ikang wang aharap tumingala risang naréndran dateng
Pada garawalan maring pangu'ngangan wedi kantuna
Ana mahayu kesa ta pana gelung rusak ringenu
Dudu tanga sisik atur inaliwa katen tan tulus
24. Wane tangalayu manang'gari susunya karweng tangan
Ya pwan sunga keneng janardana aturnya nang'giwakna
Ana nakanakan gadeng makilayu mamhban leng'en
Tekeng pangu ngangan kinon ika mangakua rama aji

25. There

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* Another name for *Kresna.* † Krésna.

25. There were also seen among the throng, those who, leaving off the duties of the toilet, and taking with them their looking-glass and paint-brush,
Appeared as if they were hastening to officiate for the prince.
Others there were, whose hands contained unfinished garlands of flowers, which they had been making, and
Which they seemed to be running to give to his highness.

26. Others ran so fast, that they drop. and lost their garments by the way;
Such was their fear of being too late to see the prince go by.
The overloaded ladders broke down with the weight of people upon them,
And the extended mouths of those who fell prostrate, gave them the appearance of persons under the influence of liquor.
(Measure *Basánta tiláka*).

27. It would be endless to describe the various sights which presented themselves among the astonished multitude,
Enough that the royal *Krésna* reached the palace.
But it was not the palace of the King of *Astína* which he went into;
It was that of the *Aria Drastarésta.*

28. There he found assembled *Drúna, Bísma, Krépa,* and *Sália;*
As also *Aria Widúra, Dratarája,* and *Kérna.*

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25. Wane tanga payas wa'u saha sipatnia mung'geng sadak
Yaya ngotusa mahiasan ni patane naréndra dateng
Mewah tanga ngiket sekar ana ri asta tapwan tulus
Sawang kapalajeng makana kusuman paninjo aji

26. Nian tang hamregen umirakani kenya sak ringenu
Rires nika kasépa yan lumiyati 'alintang aji
Kuneng pwari saraknya mung'ga hirikang
Saganya tikel
Datan dua kawedar nekang kadi tutuknya ngato'a bo'ajeng
(*Tembang Basanta tilaka*).

27. Tāng'ēh ya dīn | kawuning'ān rarasīng | manīnjo ‖
Sīgrān datīng | nerpatī krēs|na rīkāng kadāt-'wan ‖
Tūtān dunāng | ri kurunā|ta sīran t'kāngka ‖
T'kāni narār|yā dratarēs|tra sirān chumūnduk ‖

28. Ka drona bisma krepa salya kapanggi arpat
Lawan sang arya widura drata-raj'ya karna

Then

Then quickly before him did the *Aria* place
Viands, served up in dishes of gold set with precious stones, befitting the dignity of a prince.

29. Delighted was the mind of *Krésna*,
When he saw the hospitable manner in which he was treated by the *Aria* and by *Bísma*.
Then came the King of *Astina* to present him with dainties;
But his coming was fruitless, for *Krésna* would have none of them, spurning the offer.

30. On which the King of the *Kurâwa*, addressing the blessed among men* in an angry tone, thus spoke:
" O! thou pure among men, who lovest to overrate thyself,
" Disdaining to receive the proffered food which I prepared for thee,
" It is not fit that thou shouldst be numbered among the good and
" worthy of the earth."

31. Such were the words of the King of the *Kurâwa* addressed to *Krésna*.
To whom, in reply, the latter said: " Being deputed by others,
" To accept of the articles presented to me by thee, would be as
" if I were to take poison,
" Not having yet finished the work I am come about."

32. So spake the pure among men, losing for a moment the character of a *Pandita*.

Sig'ran sumung'akni kang pasaji nararya
Bogo pabogâ saha mas mani raj'ya yog'ya

29. At'yanta tustané manah naranata Krésna
Yanton segeh nira pararya makadi bisma
Yekan dateng prabu ri astina sopa boga
Datan tinanggapira Kresna aturnia nir don

30. Yekan panant'wa kurunata risang narind'ra
He sang janardana hade juga denta mambik
Tan tanggamé pasaji nistura tan pananggap
Tan yukti totenira sang tuhu sadu ring rat

31. Naling nirang kurupatin pang'uchap ring Kresna
Mojar janardana t'her puri ing kinongkon
Tan sambramé pang'upakara ritap'waning don
Apan mamukti wisa rak'wana sida karya

32. Naling janardana ri sang resi sangga suks'ma

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* Kresna.

Krésna then returned home, followed by his principal *Mántri*:*
And on reaching his residence he immediately kissed the feet of the wife† of *Pándu*,
Who very graciously and kindly received the honour done her.

(Measure *Bangsa patra*).

33. As soon as *Batári Kunti*‡ perceived *Krésna* approaching,
Her mind suddenly expanded, like an opening flower, but immediately after became oppressed with grief.
Then addressing the royal youth, she said, his coming to her was as welcome as that of the *Pandáwas*.
She then quickly threw her arms round the neck of the well-pleased *Krésna*,

34. And immediately told him of all the sad grief and consequent shame which filled her mind,
With a choked utterance and a strenuous effort to suppress the rising tear.
"O! my friend and protector," said she, "thou bringest consolation
"and comfort to my breaking heart,
"Making me feel as happy as if I were at this moment in the delight-
"ful company of all the sons of *Pándu*."

35. Such were the words of the great *Dewi Kunti*, causing *Krésna* to shed tears.

Sang Kresna mantuki niring nira sang sumantri
Prapténg g'reha ngusapi jeng nira pandu-patni
Somia b'wata t'wang'i t'las nira yan panembah

(*Tembang Bangsa patra.*)

33. Saliyati ra Batā|ri Kūnti Krēs|na wahu datēng ‖
Kadi sinekari kāng | t'yās māhār|sa puwarā sekel ‖
Atutu rī | n'repa sūnu lwīr sāng | pāndawa datēng'a ‖
Karana nirā | tekā n'gōl teng | gĕk sāng teka marārem

34. T'hĕr awarahi geng ning duka ngande hirisira
Saha wuwus ira mas'ret déning luh lagi pinegeng
Kita tiki bapa tambang kun mariyang regepa lara
Sawulata saguyu m'wang sang panduṭ'maja saweka

35. Na wuwuṣ ira su déwi kunti krésna saha tang'is

To

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* *Satiaka.* † *Dewi Kúnti.*
‡ The mother of the *Pendáwa*, the same with *Dewi Kúnti*.

To whom the latter, in reply, thus spake: "Grieve not, oh princess,
What is, has been ordained by the Almighty, whose humble instrument I am."
Thus said, he forthwith returned, and went to the palace of *Wára-widúra.*

36. Leaving *Krésna* to the hospitable entertainment of *Widúra,* who administered to all his wants,
Let us proceed to speak of the King of the *Kurárwa,*
Whose gifts had been disdainfully rejected,
And who thereby was sorely vexed.

37. He consulted with *Dusasána* and *Sakúni* upon the subject.
But the first on the list of advisers were *Krépa* and *Kérna.* They wishing to kindle the ire of the king of *Kurárwa,*
Asked, "Why should you be afraid to refuse giving up half of the country,
"On account of *Krésna's* being the friend and ally of the *Pandárwa;*

38. "Therefore it is that the offered food was so much slighted.
"If not accepted of (by *Krésna*) care not, but give it away elsewhere.
"Be the enemies of our leader who they may, our weapons are "ready.
"Having thus said, *Krépa* and *Kérna* departed, and were followed by *Dusasána* and *Sakúni.*

Sang inujaran irojar tan soba n'repa mahisi
Sakarepa Batara manggeh ng'wang w'kasanika
Ling'ira t'her umantuk ring g'wan sang warawidura

36. H'neng'akena kamant'yan sang kresnan s'deng'iniweh
T'kapira widura pan ramia tut samanahira
Da tuchapa kurunata karya sa sinala hasa
Sapasaji nira eman dé sang kresna tana árep

37. Karana nira na hemhem m'wang dusasana sakuni
Maka muka k'repa karna t'yan téng dusta mangapui
Ling'ira mapa tahé t'wan ta wéha pura sateng'ah
Apan iki n'repa k'resna b'yekta pandawa sasisih

38. Niha niki teka panian sampa é-ke pasaji aji
Tarimanen niki ay 'wang kewéra métukaraken
Sapa karika musuh sang nata was gati rasika
Ling ira t'her umantuk m'wang dusasana sakuni

39. All having departed and gone home,
The King of the *Kurâwa*, alone and sad,
Went to the apartment of his wife,
Who was said to be exquisitely beautiful, even exceeding the females of heaven, and containing more sweetness than a sea of honey.

40. When he reached the place where his wife was, he spoke not, but continued silent,
Oppress'd with grief, and lost to every thing;
In this mood he remained, till the coolness of evening came, and
The sun shone bright in the west.

41. The sun about to disappear, looked as if descending into the bosom of the deep,
And cast a beautiful and pleasing appearance on the palace;
But it assumed all at once a pale and sombre aspect,
While the women within were happy and joyful.

42—46. [Description of the loves of both sexes, and the graces and attractions of women.]

47—50. [Moonlight scene described, with the sports and blandishments of the maids of the palace.]

51—53. [The maids of *Astína* continue to talk and amuse themselves by the light of the moon.]

54. [Midnight follows, when all are at rest, and a solemn stillness prevails, disturbed only by the *Bramins* proclaiming the midnight hour.]

55—63. [Description of morning. Sun rise, &c.]

64—66. [*Suyudâna*, King of *Kurâwa*, comes forth in state into the

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39. Da'i moli ira kap'wa ngungsir wésma nira uwus
Kurupati kari sokang kaneng g'wan warama 'isi
Tuchapan niki sawang sang dèwi ngant'yani ngahajeng
Ratih ajapana wung'wa m'wang yang ning jeladi madu

40. Sadateng'ira ri dèwi tan warnan aneng'akena
Lawani wing'iti chita sri dur'yudana na sumeng
Lalu dèwasa kalungha tistis ng'wé kirana matis
Ririsa dulura ngen mar mam'wat ganda ningasana

41. Rawi mangayati moksa kane lot masilurupa
Dana s'mo kama tresnan ton rumneng pura ridalem
Karana nerana nolih moruk pinda kamadelen
'Lala lumiating s'tri ring jero mahawuhawu

hall

hall of audience to meet *Krésna*, who has been waiting for him there, along with many princes and chiefs of the place.]

67—73. [*Krésna* announces to *Suyudána* the object of his mission, viz. to ask for half the kingdom of *Astína* for the *Pandáwa*, &c. The father and mother of *Suyudána* and all the old and grave *Pandítas* recommend compliance with the proposal of the *Pandáwa*, in order that there may be an amicable adjustment of affairs. *Kérna*, *Dusasána*, *Sakúni*, and *Krépa*, shake their heads, in token of their disapprobation of the measure, and evince their readiness to attack and kill *Krésna* on the spot.]

(*Measure Sekarini.*)

74. Then the servant *Satiáki* related to *Krésna* from his own knowledge,
That at that time the plan of *Duriodána* was to take away his life,
For he had collected together and assembled his people in arms;
Whereupon *Krésna* issued orders for his forces to be in like manner assembled.

(*Measure Basánta tiláka.*)

75. *Krésna* then giving way to his anger, arose from his seat,
His passion swelling and rising within him like unto the fury of the god *Kála.*
His speech no longer soft, was harsh and loud, and he represented the all-powerful *Wísnu*,*
His appearance uniting the force of the three powers and of the three worlds.

76. From his shoulders were seen to extend four arms, and above them were three heads and three eyes.†

(*Tembang Sekarini.*)

74. Samāngkā yoda sā|tiaki majari sāng | Krēsnā saduga ||
Ri tīngkā sāng Durio|dana arap pam|ātia nārī sira ||
Tuwin sampūn naidāng | yadū bala kabē | sāstrani sita ||
Umi rātniā s'ri Krēs|na kārana nikīn | tān warang'en ||

(*Tembang Basanta tilaka.* See 26.)

75. Angka kroda Kresna mang'adāk sakaring pahman
Mong'ging natar sira wibuh Kadi Kala merchu
Mintonakan krama niran tuhu Wisnu murti
Lila tri wikrama maka waki kang tri loka

76. Takkuwan chatur buja siran tri sira tri netra

The

* Vishnu. † Three pair of eyes.

The power and divinity of every deity now entered into his person:
Bráma, the saints, the powerful deities, the chiefs of the *Rasáksas*,
With the power of all the people and chiefs of the immaterial world, and of all that possessed power.

77. Then swaying his body from side to side, and breathing hard like the roar of the lion,
The earth shook to its base, disturbing the foundation of every thing:
The mountain tops nodding, and the mountains themselves rocking to and fro;
The waves of the sea rising like mountains, forming whirlpools and casting the deep-sea fish on the adjacent shore.

78. In an instant fear and panic overspread the hundred *Kuráwa*.
Silent and speechless they stood, and with a pale and wan look, which extended to the prince *Kérna* himself.
Even *Súyudána* and *Yuyútsu* lost their senses from fear;
They remained as without life and having no will of their own.

79. It was then that *Drúna* and *Bísma*, and the good *Pandíta Naráda*,
Offered prayers and praise, and sprinkling a shower of sweet-scented flowers before him,
Thus entreated: "Are you not, in truth, the God of Day, why
"become greater?
"Have mercy upon the world and all that it contains.

Sakoé Batara pinaka wakira samoa
Brahma r'si dewa gana rasaksa yaksa sura
Moang detia denawa pisacha manusia sakti

77. Yekan lumangka asigap kraka singha nada
Lindu tikang siti pado lawa ng'ambek Kambek
Yang parwoto gra gumiwang manawang ginanjuh
Kombak wayi tasi kanyakra panyunya kabeang

78. Tanduan kawus gatini kang sata Kurawa ras
Diem tan pasábda mawenes Narepa Karna Nata
Mangkang Suryodana Yuyutsu Wikarna morcha
Biak tan geseng tekap irang arepi ilangnia

79. Ng'ka Drúna Bisma ng'uniwé resi Narada di
Asrang mang'astuti umong saha puspa warsa
Mojar Batara hari ayowa magung weyung ta
S'wasta nikang Buana kasihi tulihenta

80. "I

80. " If you resolve upon the destruction of *Kurunáta*, his destruction
" must ensue:
" But think once more of the agreement of *Nahária Bíma*,
" And of the pledge of *Drupádi*, who has vowed not to bind her hair
" Until she shall have bathed in the blood of the hundred *Kuráwa*."

81. At this the god relented, and his heart became softened
When he listened to the words of the holy *Bísma*;
For the wisdom of *Krésna* was pleased with the praise,
And in an instant he resumed the form of *Nahária Krésna*.

82. The *Pandítas* then went each his way,
And *Krésna* proceeded to the dwelling of the widow of *Pándu*.
No sooner was he arrived than he said: " I offered my advice to the
" princes of *Kúra*,
" But they have resolved to be destroyed in battle.

83. " Such, O *Naranáti Dewi*, is the conduct of *Kurunáta*."
To him the princess then replied, " inform my sons, the sons of
" *Pándu*, of this:
" And since they must fight, let them select warriors who will cling
" to life;
" And let *Swárga* receive those who may fall in the war."

84. Thus spake the princess to *Nahária Krésna*,

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80. Yedian kita mejahani kurunata nang'ga
Bahna pratitnia gati sang Prawaria Bima
Moang Dropadi basa matan pag'lung gatinia
Yen tan pakadiusa rirah sata kuraweng prang

81. Da kantananya lesunen poa geleng Batara
Ling sang watak resi lawan paramarsi Bisma
Karunya budi nira Kresna renan pinuja
Rap saksana noluya rupa Nararia Kresna

82. 'Ngka tant tinut nira muli resi sangga suksma
Sang Kresna mantuk kumari sira Pandu Patni
Sigran teka jari wiang nira Kura wendra
Kewalia mayun nirikang rana matia ring prang

83. Yekan pasabda Karuna Naranati dewi
Bota siasi wara-akan ta ripandu Putra
Heng sura darma ngosirangnia matoha jiwa
S'warga ngola pej ahimatdia nikang ranang'ga

84. Nahan wuwus narepa wadu Rinararia Kresna

Who

Who closing his hands in respect, requested to withdraw.
Then quickly mounting his resplendent chariot,
He was followed by *Widúra*, *Sanjáya*, and *Yuyútsu*.

85. *Kérna* alone was seated in the chariot by the side of *Krésna*,
And him he advised to follow the cause of *Pándu*.
But the Prince of *Wáng'ga* replied: "I hold to my resolve,
"And long to try my strength in battle against *Kiríti*."

86. Such was the speech of *Narapáti Kérna*, who would not hear but of war;
"To the battle will I go, for I pant for war, and instant war.
"In the fifth season, and on the first day of the moon, shall the "war commence,
"And e'er the tenth night of *Krésna* shall it be terminated."

87. *Rawisúta* having thus declared himself in speech bold and fierce,
Requested to depart in company with *Widúra*, *Sanjáya*, and *Yuyútsu*,
And said not a word until he reach'd his home.
Janardána gave speed to his course and went on.

88. *Narapáti Krésna* spoke not a word as he proceeded;
But *Srí Kúnti*, when she heard the intelligence,
Became sad at heart that her children should go to war,

Yekan tinut nira napatgata semba amit
Sigran mijil sira tohor mahawan rata bra
Sering lawan Widura Sanjaya len Yuyutsu

85. Sang Karna rowang nira Kresna aning rata krem
Sinoé kinoni tumota ri Pandu Putra
Dan sang Nararia Riawang'ga kedah sudira
Mayon makola guna sakti lawan kiriti

86. Nahan wuwus Narapati Karnu wiyang tanamoas
Metoeng ranang gana juga heng ujar neragia
Mamui taneng kalima tué sedang tumanggal
Rapuan Masampuna nipancha dasinia Kresna

87. Nahan wuwus Rawjsuta piakakas rasania
Mamoet lawan Widura Sanjoya len Yuyutsu
Tan warnanan Sira wuwus tekaring swa wisma
Lampa Janardana makin kalepas kemantian.

88. Da titanen narapati Krésna sedang lumampa
Sri Kunti boja tana yeki reng'an kamantian
Sokan rasi wekan niran mijiling' ranang'ga

And well she recollected what *Krésna* had formerly said.

89. This she thought should be the course of *Naranáta Kérna*,
He should not listen to *Kurunáta*, for he is bent upon war;
And thus she advised her son, *Arka Pútra*,*
For she had borne him when yet a virgin.

90. But *Kérna* would not hearken, but averted his head.
His wish was that nothing should avert the war;
For he feared the loss of his character for courage,
And he had received great benefits from the princes of *Kóra*.

91. The widow of *Pándu* then departed in grief,
And in silence bent her way to the abode of *Sumántri*.
Janardána, meanwhile, continued his course
Attended by *Satiáki*, the good and the brave.

92. So rapidly did the chariot go that the time could not be counted,
Till reaching *Wiráta*, he met the assembled *Pandáwa*.
To them *Krésna* related, that the people of *Astína* rejected his advice,
And were resolved upon trying their prowess in war.

93. Transfix'd with rage, the sons of the *Pándu*,

Ngu'nin datang nerepati Kresna matakon ningdé.

89. Na doniran parari Sang Naranata Karna
Motus kumona Kurunata tanagrah heng prang
Kunti yaling nira mowa risang Arka putra
Biak tan nanak nira ri kalaniran sukanya.

90. Dan Kerna langana saha dara lot manamba
Mang yang ritan wurunga ning mijiling ranang'ga
Kak satrian juga palai yuana ling ning raswi
Apan kalindi anisih nira kora wendra.

91. Na étu Pandu dayeta numuli sasoka
Tan warnanan sira teking graha sang Sumantri
Lampa Jenardana mowa wuwusen wisata
Siring lawan prawara Satiaki weresni wira

92. Heng'gal wawang tanuchapan takap ping rata dras
Prapteng Wirata katamo nerepa Pandawa hém
Ng'ka kesawa jri wihang nira Astinindra
Mayuan mang'ongsira yasa takran prabawa

93. Yekañ padang getam masabda sapandu putra

 Bima,

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* Child of the sun.

Bíma, Arjúna, Yenakúla, spoke with fierceness and defiance,
When they heard the words of *Pándu Pátni*
That they should try their power and skill in war.

94. It was then that all the assembled princes
Consulted and declared for war.
And *Drupáda* said to his son, the prince of *Wiráta,*
" Give orders and make ready the warlike implements, collect the
" chiefs and warriors."

(*Measure Sragdára.*)

95. At the dawn of day, the *Pandáwa* arose and march'd forth from the capital of *Wiráta,*
Resplendent as the morning sun, when rising above the mountains, he first sheds his rays over the earth;
In numbers great, compact, and like an overwhelming sea. And a sound, like distant thunder in the hills,
Was the sign, that the elephants, horses, and chariots, with the rich and splendid trappings of gold, were in motion.

96. Many and numberless were the flowers scattered in clouds upon them by the *Pandita;*
Loud was the sound of the martial strain, breathing victory and triumph to the sons of *Pándu.*
And when the flowers ceased to fall, there arose a strong wind, as if propitious to their march;

Bimar, Junar, Yenakula s'ru lawan sang'anten
Tekuwan deng'ar ripa wakas mira Pandu patni
Motus mang'on sira yasi teng'a hing ranang'ga

94. Mangka watak ratu sapaksa risang narindra
Kapua sarak wuwusiran mijiling ranang'ga
Ayuhé nuchap Drupada sunu Wirata putra
Sabda nomangkata ri kalanikang pranata

(*Tembang Sragdára.*)

95. Yiri āngkāt sāng Pāndawēng|'jēng Sakari Kuta nikāng | Rājia dāni Wirāta||
Tān pēndā Sūria sāng|kē ngudaya giri mijīl | māyuwan nāng dipa nīngrat||
Lūmra wurāsākpenū līr | jalanidi mang'alīh|muang 'ngukīr gūntūr āgrah||
Chīnāniā n'wēh tekāp nīng | gaja turāngga ratā | reng'ga rāta prādīpta||

96. Ny'kan lumrang puspa warseng gana Sina Wurakan Sang watak sit dia sing ga
Lawan ungkara mantri jaya jaya ri jaya Sri Maha Pandu Putra
Matrang Warsa rarap mang'galani laku nira pang ruhun sidu ngadres

For

For the gods were assembled on high, and wished them success in the war.

97. In the front of the march *Bíma*, the bold and the brave, took his station;
Wild with impatience for battle, and heedless of opposition,
He remained on foot, tossing his *gâda* into the air for amusement;
For he was accustomed to conquer, as well on the sea as on the mountains, and elephants and lions became his spoil.

98. In his rage he was all-powerful as the elephant of the forest:
And now that he was in motion, he panted for the hostile chief, and gave the challenge aloud:
His voice being like the roar of the lion was heard by all,
The sound thereof resounding throughout the three worlds.

99. Behind him followed *Arjúna*, seated in a splendid chariot of variegated gold, and shaded by a golden *páyung*,
Flaming like a burning mountain and threatening destruction on *Astína* and its princes.
His banner, the monkey, floated high in the air, flapping the clouds in its course;
And as his retinue shone and glittered, lightning flashed with the thunder-clap in presage of victory.

100. Next to *Palgúna* came *Aria Nakúla*, with *Sedéwa*, mounted in a chariot of green of exquisite workmanship.

Apan Sang yang Surendrang duluri ngawang-awang mastoakan yen jayeng prang

97. Pang'anjur ning lu mampa sang ngino chapa ngaran Bima surang'ga Kara
Wang momoring Sarira wang'i molimola mok tan idap sakti ning len
Takwan tan Sang'grahing Wahana lumaku juga moang gada geng inunda
Apan derpa tawan sagara giri gehana pet gaja singha berwang

98. Towen Kroda lawas mataka di gaja alas geng galatan panampar
Munin mahiwun luma kiwo prihawaka mapagiring ritang'guh Narindra
Mangken totus lumumpat Kawigara Nang'uhuh wi brama Singananda
Lunpat ring burbua s'waranira ibkan sekanangka tri loka

99. 'Ngka ni wuntat Nararia Rijuna Marata manik Sarwa warna pajeng mas
Montap lir parwata pui lari gumaseng 'ani Astina moang ratunia
Kumlap tung gulnira Wanara mang'ada dulur sabdani megha makrak
Lumrah ring dikwidik mang kilata wetu gelap biakta mang dé jayeng prang

100. Wuntat Sang Palgunang Karia Nakula Saha dewa rata jong bang'un j'ring

In beauty resembling two deities of heaven, and thirsting for the attack on the youths of *Astína*,

They shone resplendent. Their banner floating in the air like a dark cloud threatening rain, and scattering the petals of sweet-scented flowers.

Ready for the combat, as thunder before the lightning flash; and as they moved, the sound resembled the humming of bees in search of food.

101. Then slowly followed *Aria Utára*, with *Soíta*, alike mounted in a chariot of war;

And next *Drásta-driúmna* and *Drupádi*, with *Sikándi* by her side;

With countless chariots, elephants, and horses bringing up the cavalcade and filling up all space:

The whole elevated in spirit, as fish when enlivened by a sudden fall of rain.

102. And now appeared *Drupádi*, borne on a litter of gold, and shaded with a *páyung* of peacocks' plumes:

She was like a deity when represented by a golden image; her long hair hanging loose and floating in the wind.

She had not bound it: but while it hung like a low'ring cloud, she awaited the coming of the rain of blood;

For she held to her vow, that until she bathed in the blood of the enemy, she would not collect her hair or tie the knot.

103. Then in her train followed *Dárma Súnu*, mounted on a white elephant,

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Endah lir Kamah Kambar lumaku rumabasas-tri puri Astinendra
Leng-leng tung'gul nira pinda jelada mawudan sarining kitaka mrik
Wagiut pata gelap tan prakata kadi ketar ning prang'ing sat padawu

101. Len Len sangke sirar Yotara masiring'a ring Soita mong'ging rata brah
Moang Drasta-driúmna lawan Drupada pada tumot niwang Sikandi tanimba
Pasrang ning siandana moang gaja kuda maduluring awan Siu penu sek
Ler mining lot manung sung Jawu ahulapula sang huwus drada ring prang

102. Da ngka sang dropadi lampa ararasa awan dampa ima pajang merak
Lir dewi yang yang ing réka kanaka mang'ori rima antan katampuan
Mawian kesa nawang meg'ha mang'ajara keni landung 'ania n'godan rah
Biaktan rah ning musu rakua karamasa niran mimponing kang glung sak

103. Lila Sri Dárma sunu miring ngakaning sira nong'ganing mata Hasti

His

His attire complete; his *pustáka* yellow and the case of the purest gold;

Evincing that *Dárma Mórtia* desired to slay *Sália*, the chief warrior of *Duriodáning*:

And that when he raised his *pustáka* as an instrument of war, there was not his equal in power or courage.

104. Next *Krésna* advanced, in his golden chariot and shaded by a white *páyung*;

For it was his pleasure to bring up the rear, with the elder princes and the royal host.

Not far off were his *chákra* and *conch*, and the princes of his retinue were borne on white elephants;

The cry of the elephants rose loud and high, uniting with the mingled sounds which issued from all quarters.

105. Behind *Krésna* came *Bimányu* the son of *Arjúna*,

With his instruments of war, borne in a splendid chariot studded with precious stones and playing with his *chákra*,

With him was *Satiáki*, seated on an elephant and accompanied by numerous followers,

Richly adorned with golden vests, the surprize and admiration of all beholders.

106. And then came on the two sons of the *Pandáwa*, *Panchawála* and *Wítia*,

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Sarwecha jong kuning pustaka winawa nira nane ratna pradipta
Sing'gi yan *Darma Mortia* arapi rapoaning Salia Duriodaning a prang
Yapoan tan pindowang Gang galaki rika ikang pustakang dadia bajra.

104. Sampun mangka tumot krisna saha rata suwarna pajang soweta warna
Lila ning kari lampa pararatu pinati sang watak partiva keh
Chakra moang sangka tan sa mareki sira pada bra matangran kagendra
Yekang nerek gurniteng ngambara siniring'a ning jera ning uning merdang'ga.

105. Wuntat Sang Kresna partatmaja sira mang'iring sang manama Bimanyu
Sangkap ring sanjata marga rata mani maya n'gonda chakra pradipta
Lawan Sang Satiaki moang yedu bala mahawan mata matang'ga makeh
Sampurnang busana bra maka wacha kanakan de ulap ning tuming'al.

106. Mong'geng wuntat watak Pandawa suta mang'aran Panchawala du Witia.

Complete

Complete in their habiliments and mounted in a war chariot ornamented with gems and flowers of gold:
Their dress of linen and of silk. A delightful fragrance surrounded them.
Beautiful was their *páyung*, for it was of the wings of the *mardukára*, and dazzled the eye like the glare of the sun.

107. Many and various were the characters and attributes of the different warriors hastening to their work, were they all to be described.
Arrived at *Kuruksétra*, they soon raise a fort of very great strength;
And the palace built therein being finished, they invite the wife of *Pándu*,
Who quickly arrives and enters the palace accompanied by *Widúra*.

108. Then *Widúra* went back, and safely reached her home.
While *Déwi Náta* and all the sons of *Pándu* met together with mutual delight,
And discoursed in turn of the hardship of her being incessantly obliged to retreat to the hills;
The more she poured out her grief, the greater was the joy that followed, even to shedding tears.

109. Long would it take to relate all the pleasure felt by the wife of *Pándu* while in the interior of the palace.
Then all the *Panddwa*, together with *Krésna*, the first and the mightiest, with many other chiefs, debated

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Kapoéka bro numung'geng rata mapapati ang'reng'ga ratna rawis mas
Sangkap ring busana wastra chaweli linaka m'lek penuh kasturi m'rik
Sarvecha jong larneng madukara mahulap katrangan suria téja.

107. Akoé ting'ku watek wira yanahchapakenang lampa agya tekéng don
Da ngka prapténg kuruksetra sira t'lasi tingkah kuta tianténg durga
Sampurna m'wang kadeto an rika ta sira maha pandu patni inundang
Sigra prapténg niring sang widura sira uwus manjing nging jero kadat'o'an.

108. Sampun mangka molih sang widura tanuchapen ramnya mong'gwéng swawisma
Warnan Sang nata dewi pada saka mapupul mwang watek pandu putra
Kapwa hemhem sili pajari laranera tansa mangungsir wanadri
Mangken ramnya guwug ya wetu suka dadi luh dunawas arsa étu

109. Tange yan warnanan tustane mana ira sang pandu patne aning jero
Sigra hem sang watek pandawa maka muka sang Kresna len partiwa kweh

Who

Who was the fittest, from his knowledge of military positions, to be elected *Séna-dípa*,*
As one of undoubted ability and skill in managing an army.

110. *Dérmat-mája*, addressing *Krésna* and all the assembled chiefs, then said,
" Seven only out of all the number appear to be fit to hold the
" chief command
" Of the army, which consists of seven hundred millions of fighting
" men.
" And first of these *Soétan*,† skilled in the direction of soldiers."
(*Measure Suandána*).

111. Whilst all the *Pandáwa* were appointing chiefs over the army,
Narápati Kuráwa‡ held a council of war,
For he had heard of the arrival of many enemies at *Kuruk-sétra*.§
It was *Aria Widúra* who gave him the intelligence.

112. Then *Prábu Gajawáyan*‖ marched forth with all his chiefs.
All the *Kuráwa*, too, were in company, making a noise as they moved along, like the roaring of the sea.

Rehning sena dipa ring samara ya ginonem sang 'wru'ing byu'a durga
Tan manman pandengen sakti nera saha bala yogya tangwana ring-prang

110. Ling sang dermat maja jar inagingan nera sang Krésna len partiwa koeh
Sapte ko'e sang ginantang wunang'a rika wawa sang watek wira wira ring prang
Rapwan mang'gah subada bala gana pitungak so ini kwenya sakti
'Ngka sang so'etan pinuja wuruha ri gelara-ning sura yoding ranang'ga
(*Tembang Suándana*).

111. Sedēng mang'abisekā | brātya pati sāng | watāk Pāndawa ‖
Ulā nerepati kō|rawē swara na hēm | pirēng ng'wā kena ‖
T'lās wuruhe dateng|ne sātru nera ring | kurūk sētra sek ‖
Tekāpni pawarā | sang Aria widurān | datēng mānglawat ‖

112. Rika prabu gajahwayan laku lowan watek partiwa
Sakorawa marempaka tri gumuruh bangun sagara

In

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* Commander-in-chief.
† *Seta.*
‡ King of the *Kuráwa*
§ The plain of *Kuru.*

‖ Or Elephant Carcase, another name for *Astína* The Javan tradition is, that an elephant made the country, in order to obtain *Ratnádi*, who, thinking it impracticable, had imposed that task on him, as a condition of her favour. When it was effected, she got *Gatáma* to kill him, and then married him. It was called *Astina* from *Asti*, which also signifies an elephant.

In the neighbourhood of the hostile plain they construct a place of strength.
Soon was the work completed, for the *Narapáti's* authority extended over all the princes around.

113. Then was *Aria Bisma* first made a leader in battle.
Raised above all others, he is seen crowned with flowers.
From all quarters the crowded and restless multitude send forth shouts
While the sound of *gongs* and *conchs* rend the skies.

114. Next all the princes and chiefs are regaled;
The troops and followers have all they want and are provided with conveyances.
The length of one line was twelve millions one hundred thousand;
While the thronged legions extended to the hills and to the woods.

115. Then altogether they set out for the field of battle,
Moving towards the west, and leaving their strong hold and the king of *Astína* behind.
Arrived on the hostile plain, loud resounded the *conchs*;
While the warriors, animated by the sound, testify by their actions and gestures their impatience to engage in the fight.

116. At the same time they are formed in battle array on the hostile plain.

Rávan

Akarya kuta durga meh tegalika pradéseng kuru
Wawang 'uwusa pan sirang nerepati chakra warting sarat

113. Samang kana sang arya Bisma pinaka gra sénapati
Katone nabiséka sampuna sekar sira búsana
Penuh pas'luring prawira masurak masang'garuhan
Lawan Pada ibera sangka tinolup umong ring langit

114. Tu'e pwa niniwe watek ratu kabé pinujakrama
Tekéng bala samoa yoda pada purna ring wahana
Pinanding ngatarung wilenya sawelas gananya yuta
Ya karanane kin penuh tekaring kawukir mwang wana

115. Samang kana pareng mijil sakari kang tegal paprangan
Mangula'ana ngawuriakan kuta watek naropé Astina
Tekéng pag'laran pada s'ranga nulup sungo jerah pareng
Ya étuni girang nikang bala kabè pada ge'à pranga

116. Tu'en pada t'las makarya bisuwéng tegal paprangan

Ráwan was the name of the order which was first founded by the king of the *Pandáwa*:
That of king of the *Kúru* was according to the wish of the *Bramána*,
Who with all their relations swore they would conquer or die in the battle.

117. And now let us proceed to speak of the *Pandáwa*.
Having come out from their strong hold and arrived at the field of battle,
They advance eastward, towards the formed bodies of the *Kuráwa*:
Both sides shout and brandish their weapons in front of each other.

118. Loud and confused were the mingled sounds of the armies.
The stoutest and bravest seemed to have been placed in front:
The only persons who did not engage in the fight were the musicians and standard-bearers.
Those in front were seen prancing and nimbly moving about with their brandished weapons.

119. Quickly the contending armies mutually and fearlessly rush upon each other,
Amid the roar of elephants, the neighing of steeds, the beating of drums, and the shouts of the troops,
Till the whole air and sky is filled with the jarring sounds,
And the earth is shaken with the tumultuous din of war.

Rawan ngarane kang tawur nereparti Pandawa morwane
Kunang tawuri sang nerepéng Kuru yakari lut Brahmana
Rikan sira sinapa sang du'ija sagotra mati'a laga

117. Ri mangkana nikanda tochapa tasang watek Pandawa
T'las metu sakeng dalam kuta samipaneng panchaka
Lumampa angawétan angarepaken g'lar korawa
Pada pranga ngawuh mangunda winawanya kapwa ngadeg

118. Rikan pada gamosanane sawateknia sawang pareng
Sinangwo'a sinilan risan mokane sang prawireng rana
Ritan anane ngapranga mawa meredang'ga tung'gul kunang
Lawan gatine kang katon mawusana regep sanjata

119. Risampunera mangkanan dana pareng mase sehasa
Umong swarane kang gaja kuda lawan gaber mwang surak
Samantara ngati gurniteng langita monto'ane dikvidik
Gumetere lema nikang rana saba ketugnia selur

120. *Prawára Bísma* then formed his troops into the resemblance of the sea and mountains:
While the princes and chiefs of *Astína* seemed like towering and immoveable rocks;
The warriors in front dashing upon the enemy like the waves of the sea,
And like the ocean bearing down before them stones as large as mountains.

121. *Prawára,** *Pandáwa*, formed the order of *bajára tíksna lúngit.*†
Dananjáya ‡ and *Werkodára* § were there with *Sikándi* ‖ in front;
Wiráta's ¶ son, *Satidki*, and the son ** of *Drupáda*, were in the rear,
Yudestíra with all the princes being in the centre.

122. The mind of *Arjúna*, when he viewed the enemy, was divided between joy and sorrow, and he was moved with love and pity towards them;
For they were chiefly composed of his own kindred.
Some of them were the sons of his father and mother: the younger and elder brother of his father were also there;
As also the *Gúrus*,†† *Krepa*, *Sálea*, *Bísma*, and *Duijéng'ga.*

123. Therefore quickly addressing *Narária Krésna*,
He intreated that the battle might not take place, being afflicted at the sight of the *Kuráwa.*

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120. Sireng Prawara Bisma sigra mag'lar ukir sagara
Watek ratu anéng gaja-swa karangenya durga ruhur
Pama gunong nganeng balamuka ngalun tuanut musuh
Ya bano'ani kagunturang gulunganeng sela marwata

121. Kuneng Prawara Pandawa g'lari bajara tiksna lungit
Dananjaya lawan Werakodara tumot S'ikandi arep
Wirata suta Satiaki Drupada sunu waktré wuri
Yudistira lawan watek ratu kabé manganténg tenga

122. Mulat mara sang Arjuna s'mu kamanusan kas'repan
Ri tingka'i mosu neran pada kadang taya wang waneh
'Ana wang anakeng yaya mwang ibu l'eu uwa go paman
Makadi Krepa Salea Bisma sera sang Duijeng'ga Guru

123. Ya karananeran pasabda ri nararya Kresna teher
Aminta wurunga laga pana welas tumon Kurawa

But

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* The princes on the side of the *Pandawa.* † Or that of a sharp-pointed weapon.
‡ *Arjúna.* § *Bima.* ‖ Wife of *Arjúna.* ¶ *Sita.* ** *Dresta Drijúmna.*
†† Religious instructors.

But *Janardána* compelled him to command that the fight should begin,
It being dishonourable for men to hold back at the hour of battle.

124. Then was seen *Dérma-pútra* stealing away
Towards *Aria, Bísma, Krépa, Sálea,* and *Dúija.*
With ardour he kissed and clung to their feet;
For it was customary, with *Gúrus,* to make obeisance to them before the battle.

125. Then spoke those who were thus made a brilliant object of adoration and respect:
" Our noble child, suffer no uneasiness of mind, for you have already
" deprived us of life.
" Child of ourselves, may you be successful in battle and soon obtain
" possession of the country.
" And may *Narapáti Krésna* witness the truth of our words."

126. This done, he forthwith returned to his own side;
Quickly ascending his chariot and laying hold of his weapons,
While each sounded his *conch;*
And various were the sounds of the *kéndang* and its accompaniments.

127. Instant the contending armies rush upon each other, mingling together in long, obstinate, and close fight.
Ten elephants to a chariot, and ten horses to an elephant:

Kuneng sira Janardana sekang'a kon sarosa pranga
'Apan ilailang kasinatria surut yaning paprangan

124. Katon pwa sira Derma-putra mangenes rika tan tumut
Mare sira sang Arja Bisma Kropa Saléa len sang Duija
Masocha ri sukunera nenabiwada dé sang prabu
'Apan purihi nganglawan Guru mapur'wa pujan arep

125. Kunang sa'uri sang kinarya pinaka gra chudamane
Bapangku laki ayo'a sang saya uripku ta lap huwus
Kita naku jayéng ranang'gana teher madre wi'a pura
Sirang Nerepati Kresna saksi'a yadi'an merosa ringwuwus

126. Ri sampunera mangkana dan nomalia maréng paprangan
Kasana krama numung'ga ing rata pada regep sanjata
Sahasa manulup risangka nera so'angan nya 'umung
Pareng mo'ang ngonening gubar saragi koté kotia nguwuh

127. Wawang pamuki kang bala s'ranga selur mawenta jemur
Ratéka sapulu gajanya gaja tung'gul aswa dasa

These ten horses being mounted by such as fear not to die in battle,
And their duty being to watch when they can cut up and exterminate the enemy.

128. The number of the chiefs who were mounted on elephants
Were a thousand millions: those that accompanied them were ten and one thousand billions.
Those on horseback amounted to one billion, while they that followed were ten billions.
Great therefore was the battle and many were the slain.

129. Many days did the *Kuráwa* oppose the *Pandáwa.*
Soon fell the brave sons of *Wirátes Swára.*
He named *Wira Sángka* was slain by *Duija:*
Dea Utra fell by the hand of *Narapáti Sálea,* the hero in battle.

130. Enraged at the fall of these two heroes, *Soéta**
Rushed like a mountain on ten billions of the foe.
A shower of arrows at once destroyed the chariot of *Náta Sálea,* and carried death to many of the brave;
Sálea himself and his charioteer narrowly escaping with their lives.

131. The whole army of the *Koráwa* hastened to his support.
Amongst them were seen *Bíma, Dróna, Wérahat-bála,* and *Jáya Séna,* armed with their clubs;

Kudéka sapulu pada tinika sura manténg laga
Kenohnya 'ana pada raksaka yadin wisirnan winuk
128. Aneka tekaping wibaga yan sangséna dulur
'Anun saka sapanti len sapretana sagulmé naseh
Dudung merang ngaturang'ga ara sachamo mwang ngakso-eni
Ya karanane kang prangat buta magenturan sek pejah
129. Pirang dina kuneng lawas kurukula lawan pandawa
Datando'a ana sura mati uka sang wirates swara
Prakasa wara sangka namanera mati de sang Duija
Dea utara paraptra de nerepati salea sureng rana
130. 'Ngka sweta numasa masungeti pejaneng sura kali pisan
Sigran tandang 'amagunung saha bala 'ngamba teka eksoeni
Yekan s'yu rata nata salea pinana mwang wira yodan pejah
Tambis méh sira matia karwa kerta warma pan makarwan rata
131. 'Ngkan pinrih tinulung tekap nera watek yoda aning korawa
Bisma drona lawan werahat bala jayat sena dulur ma gada

Rukmaráta

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* Their brother, being also a son of *Wirates Swára*

Rukmaráta, too, the son of *Narapáti-Sálea*, supporting his father.
Soon did *Ari Soéta*, powerful as a lion, make them feel his superiority.

132. *Dínang Rukmaráta* fell and lay prostrate on the seat of his carriage.
Soéta fought furiously and killed many of the *Kuráwa* :
None would face him, but all fled in terror.
Great too was their dread of *Gátut-kácha*, *Drupáda's* son, and *Kiritiat-mája*.

133. Then *Résí-Bísma* rapidly advancing opposed the furious attack of all the *Pendáwa*,
Aiming at *Soéta* he unceasingly shot the best of his sharp arrows ;
But *Soéta*, the commander in battle, unhurt, grew more and more courageous, and shot his arrows in turn.
Bíma and *Dananjáya* came to his aid: their arrows poured like a shower of rain from the heavens.

134. The King of the *Kuráwa* advancing, no sooner came upon *Bíma*, in the middle of the field of battle,
Than he suddenly stopped and started backwards, making a precipitate retreat, running and falling, and stopping not till he had got to a great distance.
But *Bíma*, intent only on *Bísma*, maintained an incessant attack, which *Bísma*, standing up in his carriage, watched and repelled,
While *Bisma* was greatly exasperated against *Wiráta-tináya*, for his attempt to exterminate the *Kuráwa*.

Mwang sang rukmaratat maja nerepati salea nimbángi sang yaya
Datando'an kawenang tekap nera sang arya so'éta singot 'tama

132. Dinangrukmaratan peja magulingan 'ngkane salening rata
Sang so'étan lurugen pamok nira mating yoda aneng korawa
Mangkin sirna luyuk datan ana mulat kapwa kukud atakut
Tekwan wira gatot-kacha drupada putra mwang kiriteat-maja

133. Yekang so resi bisma sigra mapulih mok-wok watik pandawa
Sang so'étan dinunong neran pamana'in diwi'estra teksna susun
Datan pami'ati mangki nujuala pana sang so'éta sénapati
Lut sang bima dananjaya nolunge ringh'ru lir udan ring langit

134. 'Ngkan mangsa kurunata sigra pinapag dé bima ring sayaka
Kang'gék mundura ngong'gutung'guta layu mung'gwéng kado'an kawes
Ang'ing bisma lineksa pinri inerup stira ngadeg ring rata
Déra kroda risang wirata tanaya ndé sirnaning korawa

Then

135. Then, alarmed, *Wiráta-sáta*, the leader of the *Pandáwa*,
Shot one of his best arrows at him, the tiger of the *Kuráwa*.
The flight of the arrow resembled that of the bird *garúda*;
And striking the shoulder of *Déwa-bráta* broke it into seven pieces.

136. On this *Wiráta-tanaya* alighting and laying hold of a large club of iron,
Would have struck *Súra-bráta* therewith on the side of the head; but he leaping from his chariot avoided the blow.
Destroyed, however, was his carriage, and slain were the horses and charioteer;
And the death of many elephants and chiefs ensued.

137. Terrified at the sight of *Wiratamája*, *Wára-Bísma* would have fled in dismay,
When a voice from heaven told him that the hour for *Soéta* to die was come.
Whereat encouraged, he talked boldly; and seizing a chariot and arrows,
He aimed at the heart of *Soéta* with the sharp pointed weapon of fire.*

138. Quickly pierced through the heart, *Sang Wiráta Sáta* fell lifeless on the ground.
Grieved and distressed were the *Pandáwa* thus to see *Soéta* killed on the field of battle.

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135. Mangkén garjita sang wirata suta séna nata ring pandawa
Mandug ring wara tomaré sanga ngaran santana wagréng kuru
'Ngkan pinri pinana sedeng niki numur lir naya rotang layang
Datandua papitu danéka tumiba nyiuh baw déwa-brata

136. Da yékan tumedun wirata tanaya nambut gada bisana
Paksa malo'a wahang sura brata rikan lumpat maharsi lemah
S'ya tékang rata kélu sarati nika lawan kudanya repa
Mwang matang'ga pirang pulu kunang ngikang matia dulur partiwa

137. Képwan sang warabisma paksa muruda res ton wiratatmaja
Ngka sabdeng langita jare tekane patya so'eta de sang resi
Nahan étunira ebang-ebang nambut sing rata mwang panah
Prana so'eta tikang minusti nera ring b'hramastra tiksna lungit

138. Tandu'a trus dada sang wirata-suta mar murcha tiba ring lemah
Yekan soka sang pandawa lara tumon sang soéta matia laga

Not

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* *B'hrámástra.*

Not so the hundred *Kurâwa*, who shouted with joy when their enemy perished.

While *Sang Dusásána* danced fantastically, delighted with the sight of the fallen *Wirátamája*.

Béda mwang sata kurawa surakawur arse peja ning mosu
Sang dusasana tusta mata mangegel yan ton wiratat maja

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139. [Vexed and enraged at the death of his son, *Mángsah Páti* makes a furious and desperate attack upon the enemy. The *Pandáwa*, too, heedless of their lives join and support him.]

140—144. [The followers of *Bísma* are routed and pursued with great slaughter. Night comes on, hostilities cease, and the contending armies respectively withdraw. *Mangsáh Páti* and his wife weep over the dead bodies of their three sons slain in battle, and lament their misfortune in losing them:—they shake them and endeavour to call them to life.]

145. [They then burn the dead bodies on the field of battle by the light of the moon.]

146—147. [The *Pandáwa* consult about the election of a fit person to take the lead in battle. *Drestadriúmna* is appointed. Morning arrived, the army of the *Pandáwa* is formed into the terror-inspiring order of *kágeng-páteh*, or that of the royal vulture. Situations of the different princes and chiefs detailed.]

148—151. [*Suyudána* causes the army of the *Kurâwa* to be formed into a similar order. The battle rages. The different chiefs, on either side, who engage each other.]

152—153. [The dust stirred up fills and darkens the air. The dust clearing away, the field of battle appears like a sea of blood, in which the carcases of elephants, horses, and men, with the fragments of chariots, weapons, &c. resemble so many rocks and stones.]

154—156. [*Bísma* beheld with delight and admiration by all the chiefs and people of *Kurâwa*, distinguishes himself by his prowess. He engages *Arjúna*, and shoots ten arrows for every one discharged by him.]

157. [*Râwan*, the son of *Arjúna*, is killed by the *Rasáksa Séreng'gi*.]

158—159. [*Krésna*, enraged at *Bísma*, descends from his chariot and is going to shoot at him, when *Bísma* evinces his ready willingness to be killed by *Krésna's chákra*, and so gain admittance to his heaven.]

160. [*Arjúna* then descends from the chariot, and dissuades *Krésna* from killing *Bisma.*]

161. [*Krésna* and *Arjúna* both reascend the chariot, while *Bísma* remains deprived of all his strength, in consequence of the fright he had undergone.]

162—164. [*Bísma* makes a sign to *Dérma-Wángsa*, who recollecting that the former had made a surrender of his life to *Arjúna* and *S'ri-kándi*, goes to them and tells them not to be afraid, but to shoot at *Bísma*; whereupon *Sri-kándi* discharging an arrow, hits him in the breast. The arrow not having penetrated far, *Arjúna* shoots, and drives it home with another arrow. *Bísma* falls down in the chariot but is not killed. His blood ascending to the regions above, is converted into flowers, and in that form returns to the earth.]

165. [The *Kuráwa* fly and are pursued by the *Pandáwa.*]

166—167. [*Dérma-Wángsa*, *Arjúna*, *Nakúla*, and *Sedéwa*, all go and kiss the feet of the respected *Bísma*; but the haughty and unbending *Bíma* remaining in an angry posture, makes no obeisance to the wounded *Gúrú*. The *Kuráwa* chiefs, with *Suyudána* at their head, wish to come up and bow respectfully before *Bísma*; but seeing the stern *Bíma* they are afraid to approach.]

168. [A truce takes place between the hostile chiefs, when all shew their respect for *Bísma*. The *Kuráwa* wish to place him upon a mat, but the *Pandáwa* insist upon his litter consisting of arrows joined together.]

169. [The *Pandáwa* withdraw, and the *Kuráwa* alone are left in charge of *Bísma*. *Bísma* refuses to take the water offered him in a vessel by *Suyudána*, and calls to *Arjúna*, who presents him with some in a quiver.]

170—171. [*Bísma* defers dying till the period of the sun's greatest declination, which he reckons to be about seven months off.]

172. [*Suyudána* appoints *Dangyang Drúna* commander-in-chief, whereupon it rains blood.]

173. [The *Kuráwa* are too uneasy in their minds to go to rest.]

174—177. [The following morning they go to battle. Both armies are formed into the order of battle called *gája*, or the elephant. A furious engagement ensues, in which many are slain on either side. *Arjúna* destroys the order of the *Kuráwa* army, is shot by *Bagadéta*, and afterwards brought to life again by medicines administered by *Krésna*, when he returns to the attack,

attack, and kills *Bágadéta* and the elephant he is on. Many of the *Kurávva* are killed by *Bíma* and *Arjúna*.]

178. [Night coming on the battle ceases. It was at the eighth *pánglong* (or about the twenty-fourth) of the moon. The *Pandávva* regale themselves, while the *Kurávva* lament the death of *Bágadéta*.]

179—181. [*Dangyang Drúna* undertakes to kill *Dérma Wángsa*, provided *Arjúna* and *Bíma* are out of the way. Ten *Kurávva* chiefs, with *Trigérta* at their head, draw away *Arjúna* to fight against them to the south of the hills: ten more, under *Dráta Púra*, draw off *Bíma*, in a similar manner, to the north of the hills. *Krésna*, as usual, accompanies and watches over the safety of *Arjúna*.]

182—185. [*Dangyang Drúna* forms his men into the order *chákra-búhia* (or that of the circle with a well-defended entrance). *Dérma Wángsa*, in his perplexity what to do, calls upon *Bimányu*, the son of *Arjúna*, to attack and break the order of the enemy. *Bimányu*, decoyed by *Suyuddna*, pursues him into the ring purposely formed by the enemy, when it closes, and he is cut off from all assistance and support from the *Pandávva*.]

186—194. [*Bimányu* kills *Leksána-kumára*, the son of *Suyudána*, but is overpowered by the number of the enemy. His situation is described by many similes. He is slain.]

195—196. [Night comes on and hostilities cease.]

197—199. [The effect which the death of *Abimányu* produces on his wife *Déwi Sundári*. She adorns and prepares to burn herself with the corpse of her husband.]

200. [His other wife, *Utári*, being eight months gone with child, is deprived of this honour.]

201—205. [*Bíma* and *Arjúna* return victorious from their respective engagements. The latter is angry with *Dérma Wángsa*, for having caused the death of his son, but is appeased by *Krésna*, and induced to treat the old man with respect. *Dérma Wángsa* explains how *Abimányu's* death was occasioned by *Jáya Dráta's* preventing the *Panddwa* from entering the ring of the enemy, and from his defending it so well. *Arjúna* vows vengeance against *Jáya Dráta*, and hopes that he himself may be killed and burned, if he does not on the following day send him to the other world.]

206 and 207. [*Jáya Dráta* advised of *Arjúna's* intentions, begs of *Suyudána* to be allowed to withdraw from the field of battle. *Dangyang*

Drúna, upon this, upbraids him, and persuades him to remain and try his hand against *Arjúna*, promising to support him.]

208—211. [*Arjúna* and *Krésna* consult together how *Jáya Dráta* may be killed and *Krésna* himself escape.]

212—213. [For this purpose, *Krésna* makes *Arjúna* purify himself, and offer up prayers to the *Batára*. *Batára Sákra* descends, and informs *Arjúna* that he will succeed in killing *Jáya Dráta*, if he only makes use of the arrow called *pasopáti*, and then vanishes.]

214—228. [The two wives of *Abimányu* talk much together of the death of their husband. Their different situations and feelings. Their separation and meeting again under various forms, &c.; after which *Sundári* burns herself with the body of *Abimányu*.]

229—231. [With the rising sun, the *Pandáwa* chiefs, &c. repair to the field of battle, where they find the *Kuráwa* forces drawn up in the order *chákra báhui*, with *Jáya Dráta*, for safety's sake, in the centre.]

232. [The diameter of the circle formed by the enemy round *Jáya Dráta* is ten times the distance at which men can be distinguished by the eye.]

233—235. [The *Pandáwa* observe the same order of battle and attack the *Kuráwa*. Both armies mingle in close and obstinate fight.]

236 and 137. [The *Pandáwa* being oppressed with thirst, *Arjúna* strikes an arrow into the earth; whereupon water springing forth, men and beasts drink and are refreshed.]

238—240. [*Krésna* makes *Arjúna* shoot at *Suyudána*, whose chariot is thereby broken to pieces, and his charioteer and horses killed, himself narrowly escaping with his life. *Arjúna* and his men fight furiously, and kill many of the enemy.]

241—244. [*Satiaki* kills *Tuyasáda*, *Kambujána*, and *Sang Ambisúki*.]

245—252. [*Bíma* kills *Chítra Yúda*, *Jáya Suséna*, *Cháruchítra*, *Durjáya*, *Jáya Chítra Séna*, *Chítraka*, *Sangupu Chítra Derma*, and nine more chiefs.]

253—257. [*Burisráwa* opposes *Satiáki*. They fight, and after their weapons are broken they close and wrestle. *Satiáki* is on the point of being killed, when *Arjúna*, at the urgent request of *Krésna*, discharges an arrow at *Burisráwa*, which breaking his arm causes him to drop the weapon with which he was going to kill *Satiáka*. While *Burisráwa* and *Arjúna* are expostulating with each other on their respective conduct, *Satiáki* seizes the opportunity to dispatch the former. *Bíma* and *Arjúna* slay thousands of the

the enemy, and endeavour to get at *Jáya Dráta*; but are prevented by the numbers of the *Kurúwa* who rush in between and try to save him.]

258—259. [Seeing *Bíma* and *Arjúna* tired and nearly exhausted, without the latter's being likely to effect the death of *Jáya Dráta* within the promised time, *Krésna* has recourse to an artifice. He discharges his *chákra* at the declining sun, whereupon the clouds following the course of the weapon, collect round and obscure the luminary, making it appear like night. The *Kurúwa* thinking the fatal day past on which *Arjúna* was to kill *Jáya Dráta*, triumphantly and insultingly call out to *Arjúna* to fulfil his promise of meeting death and being burned.]

260—262. [Taking advantage of the darkness and of the *Kurúwa* being off their guard, *Krésna*, accompanied by *Arjúna*, wheels his chariot past the *Kurúwa*, till he reaches the spot where *Jáya Dráta* is. *Arjúna* then shoots at *Jáya Dráta* and kills him. *Jáya Dráta's* head being struck off by the arrow, *Krésna* causes a wind to rise and carry it to *Jáya Dráta's* father, who was doing penance in the mountains, in order to obtain of the gods, that if his son was killed in the battle, he might live again. In his surprise at beholding the head, he inadvertently exclaimed that his son was *dead*, which sealed his doom. *Krésna* then recalled his *chákra*, whereupon the sun again shone forth before it went down. Thus the vow of *Arjúna* was fulfilled.]

263—264. [*Suyudána* accuses *Dangyang Drúna* of being the cause of *Jáya Dráta's* death, in not suffering him to retire from the field of battle when he wished to do so. *Dangyang Drúna* defends his conduct and uses high words to *Suyudána*.]

265—266. [*Suyudána* invites *Kérna* to go and attack *Arjúna*. *Kérna* goes, and *Suyudána* with his men follow.]

267—271. [The sun sets and the battle continues. Enemies and friends are with difficulty distinguished in the dark, and many of the latter are killed by mistake.]

272—275. [*Sang Dwa jáya-ráta*, the adopted brother of *Kérna*, is killed by *Bíma*. *Pratipéya* is on the point of killing *Sangá sáng'a*, the son of *Satiáki*, but is prevented from doing so by *Bíma*, by whom he himself is slain, after having wounded *Bíma*.]

276. [The sons of the *Kurúwa* chiefs, exasperated at the death of *Pratipéya*, all fall upon *Bíma*, but are every one of them killed by that potent hero.]

277. [Three younger brothers of *Sakuni* are killed by *Bíma*.]

278—280. [*Suyudána* talks with *Kérna* of the carnage occasioned by *Bíma* and *Arjúna*. *Kérna* makes light of their power, and engages to kill them both. *Krépa* accuses *Kérna* of being a boaster, and intimates his inferiority in prowess to the two hostile heroes, whereupon they are going to fight with each other, when *Suyudána* interposes and prevents them.

281—284. [*Kérna* attacks the *Pandawa* army and causes great havoc. A consultation is held among the *Pandáwa* respecting the fittest person to oppose *Kérna*. *Krésna* objects to *Arjúna's* doing so, as being unskilled in fighting by night. *Gatot Kácha*, the son of *Bíma*, is then selected to fight against *Kérna*.]

(Measure *Basánta lila*.)

285. Wherefore *Sang Gatot kácha* was directed to seek the child of the sun
By *Krésna* and *Parta*, who complimented him for his superiority and power:
Quickly roused at the call, he presented himself with joy,
And said, " Happy am I and fortunate, thus to be distinguished by his highness.

286. " And so that I continue to serve the king according to my duty,
" Let my body be severed to pieces, and death itself ensue.
" However arduous the service required, I will nevertheless perform it."
At these words the advanced in years were struck dumb.

287. Thus spake *Sang Gatót Kácha*. The heart of *Kesáwa* failed,
So well did he know how to awaken tender feelings:

(*Tembang Basánta lila*.)

285. Irika ta sang | gatot kacha kinon | mapag arka suta ‖
Teka pira kresna parta maneher | muji sakti nera ‖
Sang ngenojaran | wawang masemo garjita arsa marek ‖
Mawachana bege'a yan ana pakon repatik nerepati ‖

286. Pakena neki lana marki jeng aji yugya neka
Dadaha rikalaning baya aturnya matoa pati
Kunenga paniwoa rahatane gate karya temen
Situtua tan paneng'ha mené sigegen sakarang

287. Na wuwusi sang gatot Kacha lumad ati Kesawa mar
Tekapira yan weruh ujara ngalap maniking redaya

Therefore

Therefore did the heart of his uncle melt away,
When he saw the boy daring enough to encounter the King of *Awáng'ga.*

288. Therefore did *Krésna* and *Parta* remain speechless,
Moved with compassion, and grieved that they had thus called upon *Gatót Kácha.*
Instantly the hero hurried to the attack;
But as he was about to engage the child of the sun, he stopt short in terror.

289. Then all his potent arrows
Issuing from his hands and from his mouth,
With celerity flew to the child of the sun, who overpowered in battle,
Gave way to the left, while the numerous torches of the *Panddwa* army shed their glare around.

Nguni-nguni nalaning to'a sira sang paman arda tenyu
Molati rare neran lumawane sang awang'ga pati

288. Ya Karana Kresna parta mamuwus damené sakareng
Asemo Kamanosan Kaluputan tekaping mangutus
Kuneng iki sang gatot Kacha wawang sira sigra mase
Mapagi pamok sang arka suta tando'a nomandek ares

289. Apitui sarwa sanjata wisesa yatas stranera
Mijili tangan dudung mijili chang Kema nuta ngohuh
Yata rumujak sang Arka suta Kéwerana pinda jemor
Muruda kiu mowa metu sulu bala pandawa bap

290—299. [*Sialambána,* a blind *Rasáksa* chief, joins the *Kurdwa* against *Gatot Kácha,* by whom he is slain; whereupon his band of blind *Rasáksas* take to flight. Three other blind *Rasáksa* chiefs, with separate bodies of blind *Rasáksas,* successively oppose *Gatot Kacha,* and share the same fate as the first.]

300—308. [*Gatot-Kacha* fights with *Kérna,* flies, and is ultimately killed by him.]

309—314. [The *Pendáwa,* enraged at the death of *Gátot-Kácha,* all fight with desperate fury. *Arjúna* alone is restrained and withheld by *Krésna.*]

315—321. [*Dowi Arimbi,* the mother of *Gátot-Kácha,* burns herself on the funeral pile of her son.]

322—334. [The

322—334. [The following morning *Dangyang Drúna*, a *Pandíla* on the side of the *Kurárwa*, causes great havoc among the *Pandárwa*; to save whom from the destruction which threatened them, *Krésna* spreads a false report of *Aswatáma's* death, and makes all the *Pandárwa* proclaim it. *Dangyang Drúna* hears and believes the rumour of his son's death, and faintsaway; upon which *Drestadríumna* approaches him and cuts his throat.]

335—343. [*Aswatáma* hearing that his father is killed, makes a furious attack upon the enemy, but perceiving *Bíma* is afraid and retires.]

344. [The sun is about to set and hostilities cease.]

345—349. [Description of the field of battle after the fight.

350—351. [The King of the *Kurárwa* asks *Kérna* to engage *Arjúna*. *Kérna* agrees, but requests to have some one to attend and support him in battle. *Sália* is selected and appointed for the purpose.]

352—356. [*Kérna* and *Sália*, before they go to fight, go home to take leave of the families, &c. What passes on the occasion.]

357—365. [*Kérna's* wife relates to her husband a dream she had. The particulars of the conversation which takes place between them.]

366—393. [*Dérma Wángsa*, *Krésna*, and *Arjúna*, set out in the night, for the purpose of finding and putting together the head and body of their respected *Gúru*, *Dangyang Drúna*, and in order to pay due respect and homage to his remains, and to entreat forgiveness on account of what had happened to him. Description of all they see and meet by the way.]

394—407. [Morning. The *Pandárwa* prepare for battle.]

408—413. [The *Kurárwa* army is formed into the position *báhui-makára*,* or that of the prawn. *Kérna* in the mouth, *Drumúka* in the right fore claw, *Sakuni* in the left, *Suyudána* in the head, all the princes and chiefs in the body.]

414—415. [The *Pandárwa* army is put into the order called *wúlan-tumánggal*, or that of the new moon. *Arjúna* forms the right horn of the crescent, *Bíma* the left, *Dérma-Wángsa* and all the princes and chiefs compose the centre.]

416—426. [*Kérna* and *Sália*, mounted in one carriage, proceed to the field of battle. The two contending armies engage. Their various success described.]

427—440. [*Bíma* attacks, upbraids, and pursues *Suyudána*. To save the latter, *Dusasána* fires an arrow at *Bíma* and hits him. *Bíma* turns about, and

* See plate of the position of the *Matárem* army.

and finding it was *Dusasána* that shot him, he seizes him by the hair, and having called out to all the princes and chiefs to bear witness to the fulfilment of his promise, he tears him in pieces and drinks his blood.]

441—449. [The battle continues to be fought with various success, sometimes one army giving way and sometimes the other.]

450—467. [*Arjúna* and *Kérna* fight against each other. The arrows shot by each at the other are immediately converted into various elements or destructive animals. *Kérna* shoots rain; *Arjúna* shoots and dispels it. *Kérna* shoots fire; *Arjúna* shoots rain and quenches it. *Kérna* shoots dragons; *Arjúna* shoots griffins which destroy them.]

468—469. [*Kérna* aims an arrow at the throat of *Arjúna*, whom *Sália* beckons to incline his head. *Ardawilíka*, a *Rasáksa*, in the form of a dragon, is killed by *Arjúna*, while in the act of shooting at him.]

470—476. [*Kérna* twice shoots at *Arjúna*, but his arrow only strikes and loosens his top-knot of hair.]

477—479. [*Arjúna*, invited and challenged by *Kérna* to shoot at him, in his turn tells him, if he wishes to save his life to surrender and pay obeisance. *Kérna* refusing to do this is shot in the throat by *Arjuna*: his head falls back into the chariot. On the death of *Kérna*, the child of the sun, that bright luminary grows dim with grief, and expresses his deep sorrow by groans of thunder and showers of tears, while his twinkling eyes emit incessant flashes of lightning.]

479. Disheartened at the death of *Kérna*, the army of the *Kurávva* take to flight,
And pursued by numbers, conceal themselves, out of fear, in holes and cavities,
The earth shakes, and at the same time a drizzling rain descending from the clouds, washes the blood-stained corpse.
The evil-portending cloud is seen, and the grumbling noise of thunder is heard.

480. Thus it was with him who died in the field of battle. Lost was the sweet expression of his countenance,

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479. Ri lina sri Karna lara laruti Kang Korawa bala
Tinut ginreg mukséng wana Kateduning lo'ah juranga res
Pareng mwang lindu mega sumara riris rah sumarasah
Kawanda lirning téja patrà keter wana tangisa

480. Nian lir sang mating rana pada elang mwang manesira

Shining

Shining were his polished teeth, and uplifted and still the black of his fixed eye !
No longer erect, his hair lay flat on his pale face, and frightful yet becoming was his severe wound.
Such is the appearance of the brave who die in battle.

Waja nerang seidenta sepi irengi Kang nitra lumayep
Alandung sang sri tang muka lalu Kuchem syu brana luwes
Datanlen sang waneng baya mapalupu'i ring rana saba

481—483. [The *Kurâwa* having taken to flight are pursued by the *Pandâwa* into *Astína.*]

484. [Night coming on, the *Pandâwa* return.]

485—489. [*Suyudâna* comments on the misfortune of the *Kurâwa* in losing *Kérna*, and consults about the fittest person to succeed that hero.]

490—497. [Advised by *Sakúni*, *Suyudâna* asks *Sâlia* to assume the chief command.]

498—500. [*Sâlia* endeavours to excuse himself; whereupon *Aswatâma* comes forward, and accuses him of being friendly to the *Pandâwa*, and on that account unwilling to become the leader of the *Kurâwa.*]

501—502. [*Aswatâma* and *Sâlia* quarrel and are going to fight, when *Suyudâna* interferes and draws *Sâlia* away, exhorting him to take the command.]

508—511. [*Sâlia* at last consents, and then withdraws to his wife.]

512—516. [*Nakúla* is sent by *Krésna* to *Sâlia* to dissuade him from fighting. Description of *Sâlia's* palace.]

517—524. [At sight of his nephew *Nakúla*, *Sâlia's* resolution fails him, and he promises not to fight against the *Pandâwa.* He declares he will readily and willingly surrender his life to *Dérma Wângsa*, but to no one else, and that that worthy person has only to make use of the arrow called *pustaka akalima asâda.*]

525—527. [*Nakúla* returns and informs *Krésna* and *Dérma Wangsa* of the success of his mission to *Sâlia*, and of all that passed on the occasion.]

528—553. [*Sâlia* relates to his wife, *Sâtia Wâti*, the result of his interview with *Nakúla*, and of his intention to sacrifice himself, whereupon she is grieved and sheds tears. Then follows a long and detailed description of *Sâtia Wâti*, her person, manners, disposition, &c., and the particulars of a conversation

conversation which takes place between her and her husband, wherein they display great affection for each other; after which they yield to the power of love, and then fatigued with amorous dalliance, sink into each other's arms and fall asleep.]

554—556. [In consequence of *Sátia Wáti's* declared determination to accompany him, *Sália* steals from her when she is asleep; and having got fairly away from her, he dresses himself without, and is honoured by the *Pandíta*, who cast flowers upon him.]

559. [*Sália* reaches the field of battle.]

560. [The *Pandáwa* army forthwith appears, and an engagement takes place.]

561. [The army of the *Pandáwa* are hard pressed and obliged to fall back.]

562—564. [*Bíma* comes to their support and routs the enemy with great slaughter.]

565—567. [*Sália* deserted by his army remains alone, and as he discharges his arrows they change into thousands of *Rasáksas*, dragons, and evil spirits, which lighting among the enemy occasion great consternation; whereupon *Krésna* ordering all the people to throw down their weapons and fold their arms, the whole of the *demons* disappear without doing any harm.]

568—581. [The good and quiet *Dérma Wángsa* is reluctantly persuaded by *Krésna* to save the *Pandáwa* by killing *Sália*.]

582—583. [*Dérma Wángsa* discharges the arrow *pustáka kalíma asáda*: it penetrates and sticks in the breast of *Sália*, who immediately dies.]

584—586. [On the death of *Sália* the *Kurúwa* forces are routed and pursued in all directions by the *Pandáwa*, with great slaughter.]

587. *Suyuddána* was on the point of being taken, but he bravely resisted;
And quickly bounding away in great alarm, he narrowly escaped with his life.
But *Sakúné*, trembling with fear, fell into the hands of the enemy;
And weeping implored mercy, exclaiming, "this is the reward of my "kindness and hospitality."

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587. **Suyudana sireki meh kawananga takis lagawa**
Lumompata layu luput lepasa met urip katresan
Tuwen sakuni sang sedeng ngkakatran kakesa graha
Asambata nangis dine kwenargan buja sestawa

"Silence!

588. " Silence! thou vile and infamous dog!
" With what restless labour hast thou sought to vex and offend me;
" But now will I fail not to take my revenge;
" Death shall seize thee, and great shall be thy torture."
589. Thus spake *Bíma*, and trampling him beneath his feet,
He thereby and with his *gáda* reduced to atoms the body of *Sakúne*.
The story goes, that he tore it in pieces, and sucking the blood,
Scattered them among the villages of the north and of the south.
590. The enemy being totally extinguished, filled was the field of battle with mountains of the slain,
While downward, in its deep bed, a sea of blood rolled with noisy rush.
Suyuddna having escaped, there yet remained to seize him.
He is pursued, and sought for, but cannot be found, having plunged in the water.
591. Abandoning their fruitless search after *Suyudána*, the five *Pandáwa* returning, homeward bend their course.
Dewi Sátia Wáti is then informed that *Sália* had fallen in battle.
Aged and creditable persons, bowing respectfully, communicate to her the dire news:
Concealed amid the heaps of slain lay her lord, they alone escaped to tell the tale.
592. The news quickly spreading, all the *Gúrus* of the country weep on every side.

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588. Ada nara 'neng tako ngasu kanistane chadama
Datan werga weh laram beka ngupaya ri banchana
Kunang nea-tana lepaté ki pamales kuh duké riko
Ikang yama ngula pwapang idapana pwageng ning lara
589. Nahan wachana bimaséna tebera dedel sahasa
Renyo sawanira sang arya Sakuni linut ring gada
Biatita sinesep sesep nera senempal uwus
Dinuka kena mancha desa mapado aning lor kidul
590. Uwus para-wasang musu penu ikang sawa marwata
Iline rudiranya gurnita mangarnawa lo'a dalam
Kunang pwa riluput Suyodana dume turung ning'gawé
Tinot mara pinet datan katemo ya ine ar mowa
591. Da rarean mara pancha pandawa murutsaha ba la ri luput Suyodana
Dewi Satia-wati sireki charitan winara ipati salea ring rana
Wanten bretya kaparchaya tuha yata jari sira teka namya torasih
Dan rakweki dumenya tan pajaha sing lara ngeduku samendeming sawa
592. Sang siptan pawaranya tando'a guruwing sanagara pada gurnita nangis

Trembling

Trembling and distressed, *Dèwi Sátia Wati* no longer retains the power of speech.

Blind with grief and with a heart full of sorrow, she reels and cannot stand:

Lost and insensible to all around, she seemed as if life itself had forsaken her.

594. Coming to herself, by the pains and assistance of her friends, she rises and adjusts her disordered dress:

Then loosening and combing her hair, she is bent on reparing to the field of battle.

First grasping her *petrem*,* wherewith to deprive herself of life when she reaches the place where the joy of her heart is lain,

She forthwith ascends her chariot, and sets out, favoured by a grateful breeze.

595—602. [Accompanied by *Sagandíka*, she wanders over the field of battle by night in quest of his corpse, looking for it among the number of prostrate slain. Appearance of the different dead bodies and carcasses of horses, elephants, &c. described. She often thinks that she has found it: her repeated mistakes and disappointments.]

603. Wearied with fruitless search, and despairing of finding him to whom she would make her obeisance, the princess

Unsheathed her dagger, resolved to stab herself, her heart being wholly devoted to her husband.

But the Almighty, in pity, sent lightning to guide her to the spot where he whom she had long sought for lay,

And inspired her with strength and desire to renew the search.

Dewi Satia Wati kitan wenanga sabda kumetere pangunchanging lara
Leng leng tan anara teka ton tekapiran kapeting-ane anekne kang ati
Tan patma kalinger datanuru'i pasambang ng'ya saha pakraking sakit
594. Antukning manulung nimitanera nang lilira mahayu lungsuring tapih
Roma werata ninombara nera naminta tumotura mareng rana
Patrem nitea minusti pangelanga jiwa na pupula mene lawan sineng
Ngkan mangkat mahawan rata nela sama dresan kani sarantaning manah
603. Meh tan diria mahas narendra ma'isi ri taiyani sang enesti sembahan
Paksa patrema sampunang lugasi kang ati sumaivaka nama sang pria
Sih ningyang ukasan manambaya tuduh ri kaha-nanera sang pinet nira
Nahan etunıran panging kina ng'ebang abanga maka sama ngosir kilat

* Dagger.

604. All this while the chariot* lay buried among flowers which had been showered down upon it.
As if the growling thunder wept, tears fell in small rain, in grief for the death of the prince.†
Such was the mark the princess followed till she came to and perceived the body of *Sália*,
Who seemed as if looking at her with a side glance as he lay with grinning teeth.

605. Then quickly seizing the feet of him, now lifeless, who stole from her bed,
Not knowing what she did, she patted, pressed, and kissed the body,
His lips she rubbed and stained red;‡ supporting his head with her encircling arm, and wiping his face with the end of one of her garments: but long were his eyes without twinkling.
To cure his wounds she constantly applied her chewed *siri*

606. "Ah! ah! my princely lord, thou whom having sought I have at
"last found, why dost thou remain silent?
"Wilt thou not speak to her who has thus sought thee out?—Who
"else is there to be kind to me, unfortunate?
"Tired and worn out am I with searching for thee, and now with
"averted glance thou refusest to look at me,

---

604. Oniang warsa sekar sumarsa akuwung kuwunga menoi ring'ganing rata
Genter lu'era nangis malu'a rarab'ing-rereba lara rilina sang prabu
Na tang chihna tinut nareswara wadu teka lumi-ati getra sang kakung
Kadia nung sung'a reh nikang mata atur lumiringa reja kesisan waja

605. Yekan pakrakir a mekul sukune sang peja aneliba ting'galing tilam
Tanwreng da tinepak tepak nera hanan kinisapu kinsuan sinukeman
Lambe lot linuga tekeng magala ginusa pira ura lama tan kedap
Lawan tang kanining kapwa warasa dening sepa ira lana jinampeaken.

606. Ah! ah! mah prabu sungsungen manemahta tuhana pani mita ning heneng
Tan pangling ringana seraya siapa tika sia mowa gatingku kasian
Ngel kwa met riwekas tiring paberatan katemo sahaja ewa tan wulat

"Shall

---

* Of *Sália*.

† Milton says:

"Sky lowered, and muttering thunder, some sad drops
"Wept at completion of the mortal sin."

And a modern poet selected the passage as an example of the exercise of a truly poetical imagination.

‡ With *Siri* juice.

" Shall I weep, or what is it thou woulst have me do?—Speak and
" tell me, instead of preserving this unmeaning smile.

607. " Am I to understand that thou hast no regard for me? Come, quick,
" speak comfort to me and make my heart glad."

With words sweeter than honey and nicely selected, did she thus hold converse with the dead; but it was all in vain.

" Was it thus to meet death," said she, " that thou didst steal from
" me when I was asleep,

" And depart alone, without my knowledge, to the regions above?
" but I will follow thee.

608. " It is my request that thou wilt meet and carry me across the *úgal-*
" *ágil* stone.*

" Trembling and fearful should I be without thy support and
" assistance,

" Although thou shouldst have many *Widadáris* at thy command, yet
" still reserve a place for me before them all,

" What must not be thy regard for her, who has thus wandered about
" after thee, and who is now going to die for thee?"

(Measure *Basánta tiláka.*)

609. Tedious would be the relation of all that *Satía Wáti* said.
Oppressed with a load of grief, great as a mountain,
When she beheld her lord
And determined to meet death.

Wanten ta wekase tangis kwa mene kite suma'ora ayo'a ta minge

607. Nanten weruh ngo'angi tan sianti bapa meng'gepa 'ngamera raras priambada
S'ojar tan pāsirat sirat madu tuhun ane saji saji tan tekeng ati
Pangling'gan rilalis ta 'ngone nalis layata nilibi pamremeng ulun
Nes tanyan lepasi sura laya yaya ku tumutura sadenya tan ling'en

608. Ngeng pintangakwa tuan papag nga'ang ngirikang watu *gala-gila* namba eng'gung an
Tistisnya 'ngoang ngikana tan wani lumampaha gigu ri tayenta raksaka
Yadiastun jeneka 'ngamer surawadu kita sumalanga ayo'a nestura
Pali tapwa welasat ring wang angomeng pati lumaku lana morang morang.

(*Tembang Basanta tilaka*).

609. Tangi ujar satia watin pasambat
Ikang lara marwata mangke nabuat
Tuen katon tahananing iner er
Matang nera dan pejahang kasang kas

610. Seizing

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* Bridge.

610. Seizing her dagger with firm grasp
She drew it from its sheath, glancing as it came out,
Then boldly buried it in her breast.
Like shining gold was the blood that issued from the wound.

611. Not dying instantly, with expiring voice
Sugandíka she called and thus addressed:
"My old and faithful friend and attendant, return thou to *Man-*
" *daráka*,
"And tell the people there that I now send

612. " My last request to the good and worthy,
" That they will commemorate the history of my sufferings,
" In order that my story may be heard and known;
" When the gentle heart will perhaps be moved with love and pity,
" and tears will flow at the sad tale."

614. "Oh! my mistress, when was the time that I ever quitted thee?
" Into whatever state of being thou may'st pass, I will accompany
" thee.
" Whom wilt thou have to send for water,
" And who will wash my noble mistress' feet if I am not with her?"

617. Thus weeping, the female attendant, affected with grief,
The buried dagger drew (from the body of her mistress),

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610. Minges marang kedga lana minusti
Uwus kasaring sarungan pradipta
Inan-deman-denira tan anangres
Ili nikang rah kadi datu munchar

611. Datan wawang mati mangentak entak
Sugandika lot tinawe sinabdan
Kakangku mantuk ta ri mandraraka
Wara tikang wang ri ukasku mangke.

612. Paminta kasi tari sang kawendra
Larang-ku dadiakena gita basa
Rengine ngogang idepe gating ku
Malar ngeresi twasnea mamang wa waspa

614. Aduh Tuan ring kapana, saha ngoang
Tumuta mon 'jenma nejenma rakrian
Siap'eka konen ta mangengswa socha
Ya tan ngwenga damo'a rijeng ta masku

617. Nahan tangis ning pari charaka n'gres
Tanemne kang katga ya tenunusnea

And

And stabbing herself, instantly expired
At the feet of the princess, where her body lay.
618. Forthwith delighted their happy spirits together fled.
The astonished spirit of prince *Sália* quickly said:
" Uneasy and impatient have I waited for thee among the clouds,
" With many *Widadáris, Pandítas,* and *Déwas.*
619. Having taken the princess in his arms,
He returned with her by the road which leads to heaven.
There arrived, they find it extremely beautiful.
Of silk were the houses and brilliant were the precious stones.
620. Amusing herself, the princess
Was delighted with the abundance of food which was there.
Great being the bounty of the Almighty to mankind,
And there was no difference susceptible in the ages of those that were there.*

Inandeman ngeng eksana yan paratra
Sawanya tan sa ridagan sudéwi
618. Tatandua ngetma madulur wijata
Naréswaratma nera gerjitang ling
Alal mangauting jalada mangun res
Sahap sari mwang resi déwa Sang'ga
619. Telas pinangkwa Kenerang Sudéwi
Molih sera marga wimana ramya
Dateng rikang swarga layep alepnya
Graha sinang baswara sarwa ratna
620. Mengen mengen téki naréndra patni
Mangu Kawahan suka sék binokti
Wiwal néran manusa janma nguni
Apan tanantuk tumulu'i dugan nwang

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* Having since my return to England put these illústrations of the *Brata Yudha* in the hands of a relative (the Rev. Thomas Raffles, of Liverpool), he has been kind enough to give the translation a poetical dress, and I regret that the limits of the present volume do not admit of their insertion in this form, in justice to the poetry of Java and the talent which he has displayed. The following example of the last stanzas may serve as a specimen of the style and spirit in which the task has been executed.

603. Wearied with fruitless search, and in despair
To find the object of her pious care,
Her murder'd lord, who on the battle plain
Lay all neglected mid the thousands slain,

621—624. [The *Pandáwa* hear that *Suyudána* is in the middle of the river: delighted, they repair to the spot. *Bíma* calls him a dastardly coward afraid

She drew the dagger from its sheath of rest,
Intent to plunge it in her heaving breast.
Just then, as if in pity to her grief,
Flash'd the red light'ning to the maid's relief,
And shew'd with horrid glare the bloody way
To where her husband's mangled body lay.

604. Another flash, indulgent from the skies,
Points to the spot where *Sália's* carriage lies,
And *Sália's* self, whom living she adored,
The bleeding body of her murder'd lord.
The richest flowers by heavenly influence shed
Their sweetest odours o'er his honoured head,
The muttering thunder mourned his early tomb,
And heaven in showers bewailed the hero's doom

605. With eager grasp the livid corpse she press'd
In frantic wildness to her throbbing breast;
Tried every art of love that might beguile
Its sullen features to one cheerful smile;
Kiss'd those dear lips so late of coral red,
As if unconscious that the soul had fled;
Then in her folded arms his head she rais'd,
And long on those beloved features gazed.
With *síri*-juice his pallid lips she died,
And to his wounds its healing balm applied;
While with the skirt of her embroidered vest,
She wip'd the blood-drops from his mangled breast.

606. " Ah! then, my princely lord, whom I have found
" Bleeding and mangled on this cursed ground!
" Why are thy lips in sullen silence sealed
" To her who sought thee on this battle field?
" Wilt thou not speak—my love, my lord, my all,
" Or still in vain must *Sátia Wáti* call!
" Say, shall my copious tears in torrents flow
" And thus express my agony and woe?
" How shall I move thee, by what art beguile
" The ghastly air of that unmeaning smile?"

607. Thus soft and tender were the words she poured,
To move the pity of her murder'd lord;
But ah! no sound the unconscious dead return'd,
No fire of love within his bosom burn'd;

While

afraid to die, and assures him that his arm will reach him, whithersoever he may betake himself, to the lowest depth of the earth or the highest region of heaven.]

[*Suyudána*

While at each pause a death-like stillness stole
O'er the deep anguish of the mourner's soul.
" And was it thus to bow thy honour'd head
" Amid the thousands of the mingled dead,
" That on that fatal morning thou didst glide
" With gentle footsteps from thy consort's side?
" And thus to reach the glorious realms above
" Without the faithful partner of thy love?
" But earth has lost its fleeting charms for me,
" And, happy spirit, I will follow thee!

608. " Oh! meet and bear me o'er that fatal stone,
" Nor let me pass it, trembling and alone.
" Though *Widadáris* shall obey thy call,
" Yet keep for me a place above them all.
" To whom but me does that first place belong,
" Who sought and found thee mid this ghastly throng;
" And who, unable to survive thy doom,
" Thus sheds her blood and shares thy honour'd tomb?"

610. Then with a steady hand the noble maid
Drew from its peaceful sheath the gleaming blade;
From her fair bosom tore th' embroidered vest,
And plunged it deep within her heaving breast.
Rich was the blood that issued from the wound
And streamed like liquid gold upon the ground.

611. And while the ebbing tide of life remained,
And thought and reason were a while sustained,
She called her maiden with her feeble breath,
And thus address'd her from the arms of death.

612. " Oh! when my spirit soars to realms above,
" Take this my last request to those I love:
" Tell them to think of *Sátia, Wati's* fate,
" And oft the story of her love relate;
" Then o'er her woes the tender heart shall sigh,
" And the big tear-drop roll from pity's eye."

614. " Ah my lov'd mistress," cried the faithful maid,
" In every scene by thee I gladly staid.
" Whate'er the state of being thou must know,
" Thy faithful maiden will partake it too.

625—628. [*Suyudána* comes out of the water and assures *Bíma* that he betook himself to the river, not out of fear, but for the purpose of making adoration to the gods, challenging *Bíma*, or any other of the *Pandáwa*, to combat. *Krésna* represents that *Dérma-Wángsa* is too peaceable and benevolent to fight against *Suyudána*; that *Arjúna's* forte consists in using the bow mounted in a chariot; that *Nakúla* and *Sedéwa* are too young and inexperienced, and that *Bíma* is therefore the fittest of all the *Pandáwa* to oppose *Suyudána*.]

629—631. [*Kakrasána* is informed by *Naráda* of the *Pandáwa* and *Kurúwa* forces being engaged, and withdraws to see the issue of the contest. *Bíma* and *Suyudána* go and make their respects to him, and each receives from him a charm.]

632—639. [*Bíma* and *Suyudána* fight. Missing each other, they strike and cut the earth, trees, and every thing about them, without being able to

" What hand but mine the cooling stream shall pour,
" Or bathe the feet of her whom I adore?"

617. Strong in despair, and starting from the ground,
She drew the dagger from her mistress' wound,
With deadly aim she plunged it in her breast,
And with her mistress sunk to endless rest.

618. Then did their happy spirits wing their way
To the fair regions of eternal day.
The astonish'd shade of *Sália* linger'd there,
Borne on the pinions of the ambient air,
To bid the object of his earthly love
An eager welcome to the realms above.

619. Then in his arms his lovely bride he bore
Up that resplendent path he trod before,
Till earth and time had vanished all away
Amid the splendours of eternal day:
Where fields of light and silken mansions stand,
The glorious work of a celestial hand.

620. Th' enraptured princess, dazzled with the sight,
Gazed o'er the boundless realms of living light.
With heavenly fruit the eternal groves were crowned,
And joy and rich profusion smiled around.
All bore the bloom of an immortal youth,
All breathed alike the air of love and truth;
And all adoring one eternal mind,—
The Almighty, rich in bounty to mankind.

to hurt each other. They then throw away their weapons, and closing, wrestle. So closely are they united, that they seem to be one person and to have one voice.]

640—656. [*Arjúna* repeatedly striking his hand on his left thigh, reminds *Bíma* of *Suyudána's* being vulnerable in that particular place only. *Bíma* recollecting the circumstance, seizes his club and strikes *Suyudána* with it in his vulnerable part. *Suyudána* falls, and expiring under the blow is trampled upon by *Bíma*, who continues to insult and triumph over him, till out of all patience with his relentless and ungenerous conduct, *Kakrasána* seizes his spear and is going to slay *Bíma*, but is withheld by *Krésna*, who says that *Bíma* is not to be blamed for such just retaliation.]

(Here end the Javan copies of this work; the following abstract is from a copy of the *Bráta Yúdha Káwi* presented to me by the *Rája* of *Báli Balíling* in *Báli*.)

657—667. [*Suyudána* dead and night coming on, the *Pandáwa* retire from the scene of battle to the city of *Astína*, and there feast and rejoice, on account of their victory. Satiated and fatigued with their revelling, all except *Krésna* go to sleep. He alone remains awake, pitying in his own mind the fate of *Suyudána*, and recollecting with feelings of regret the indignant and unkind manner in which he was treated by *Bíma*. Withdrawing by stealth, he goes to the mountains, and wanders about oppressed with grief and much agitated.]

668. [Next morning the *Pandáwa* missing *Krésna*, go in search of him and find him among the images on the hills. Portentous signs take place. A raven croaks till blood issues from its beak, it rains blood, and all the wild animals fight with each other.]

669. [Next morning all these omens are gone.]

670—693. [News arrives from *Astína* of *Aswatáma's* having entered the city by night, and assassinated *Drésta-dríumna*, *Sérikándi*, and *Pánchakumára*, and of all the *mántris* having fled for fear. Half are inclined to give credit to the report, and half believe that it must have been the spirit of *Sália*. The *Pandáwa* return to *Astína*, and find the women there all in tears and bewailing the loss of those who had been murdered during the night. *Krésna* consoles them and reconciles them to what has happened.]

694—696. [*Krésna* makes the *Pandáwa* accompany him in search of *Aswatáma*, whom they find among the hills.]

697—699. [*Bíma* is going to strike *Aswatáma*, when the latter discharges an arrow at *Bíma*, and at the same time tells him he is not a fit opponent, inviting *Arjúna* to contend with him. *Arjúna* and *Aswatáma* fight, causing the earth and mountains to shake, &c.]

700—705. [*Sáng yáng Naráda* descends from above, and tells *Arjúna* that they will cause the destruction of the world if they continue the dreadful conflict. *Sáng yáng Naráda* at the same time goes up to *Aswatáma*, and advises him to desist from opposing the *Pandáwa*, as he will certainly be beaten, and recommends his surrender and resignation to the *Pandáwa* of his *pusáka* of *Chúda-manik*, also called *Chúpu-mánik Estigéna*, a charm which gives its possessor the power of getting eight different things.]

706—707. [*Aswatáma* refuses to give it to the *Pandáwa*, but is willing to part with it to the unborn grandson of *Arjúna*, of whom *Utári* was then pregnant, and whom he directed should be called *Parikísit.*]

708—709. *Krésna* offers to bear witness to the promise; after which *Aswatáma* gives the *pusáka* to *Bíma*, to deliver to the grandson of *Arjúna.*]

710—714. [*Krésna* and the *Pandáwa* again return to *Astína*, and inform *Arjúna's* wife of what has happened. *Aswatáma* remains aloof from the *Pandáwa*, wandering about in the woods and among the mountains. *Yuyútsuh*, the only surviving *Kuráwa* chief, joins and lives with the *Pandáwa.* All the sons of the *Pandáwa* having been killed in the battle, without a single descendant being left to be made a king of *Astína*, excepting the yet unborn son of *Abimányu*, whom *Utári* was about to bring forth, *Dérma Wangsa*, the eldest of the *Pandáwa* (although all of them had arrived at an age when they should withdraw from the world) is appointed sovereign, until such time as he can be relieved and succeeded by the yet unborn *Parikísit.* Description of *Dérma Wángsa;* the beauty of his person; his many good qualities and accomplishments, for which and for his character for justice, wisdom, prudence, &c. he is universally beloved and his praises celebrated in song.]

715—719. [*Dérma Wángsa* receives the name and title of *Batára Jáya Báya.* Under his wise and excellent administration the kingdom of *Astína* flourishes, crimes are unknown, and the inhabitants are happy. The neighbouring princes of Java, who had survived the war, all acknowledge the authority of the king of *Astína* and pay homage to him.]

The musical instruments of the Javans are peculiar. Several of them are necessary to compose a *gámelan*, set, or band: of these there are several varieties. The *gámelan salíndro*, which is the most perfect, consists of the several instruments represented in the annexed plate. In the *gámelan pélog*, the instruments are much larger and louder; the *bónang* or *krómo*, has sometimes only ten, and sometimes as many as fourteen notes. Both of these *gámelans* are employed as accompaniments to the *wáyangs*. The *gámelan míring* partakes of the two former, and is employed to accompany the *wáyang klítik*. In the *gámelan múng'gang*, called also *kódok ng'órek*, from its resembling the croaking of frogs, the *bónang* has fifteen notes, and the *kécher* resembles the triangle: neither the *génder*, *saléntam*, *sarón*, nor *chalémpung*, are included in this set; this *gámelan* is considered the most ancient, and is played at tournaments, in processions, &c. In the *chára báli*, or *chára wángsul*, the *rebáb*, or viol, is not used: in other respects the instruments are the same as in the *salíndro*, except that they are as large as in the *pélog*. The *gámelan sekáten*, which resembles the *pélog*, except that the instruments are still larger and louder, is restricted to the use of the sovereign, and seldom played, except on great occasions, as during eight days of the festival of *Múlut*. The *gámelan srúnen* is used in processions of state and in war, being properly the martial music of the country, in which, besides the ordinary instruments, a particular *gong* and trumpets are introduced. Music.

The annexed plate will afford a better idea of the form of these instruments than any verbal description. Most of them resemble the *staccáto* or harmonica, and the sound is produced by the stroke of a hammer. The *gámbang káyu* has wooden plates, sixteen or seventeen in number: the *gámbang gángsa*, of which there are several in each band, has metal plates.

In the *génder* the metal plates are thin, of a different form, and suspended by strings. The *gong*, represented (No. 9) in the annexed plate, is usually three feet in diameter. The *bónang*, *kénong*, and *ketók*, are of metal, and are suspended by tightened cords to favour the vibration. The *kécher*, shewn in the plate, corresponds with the cymbal. The hammers with which the larger instruments are struck are either wound round at the end with cloth, or the elastic gum, in order to soften the sound. The drum is struck with the open hand and fingers only. The *chalémpung* is a stringed instrument, with from ten to fifteen wires, which are sounded with the finger, after the manner of the harp.

The

The person who leads the band performs upon the *rebáb* (No. 17), an instrument which, having a neck, and two strings pitched by pegs, is capable of producing perfect intonation and a variety of sounds, by shortening the strings with the pressure of the finger.

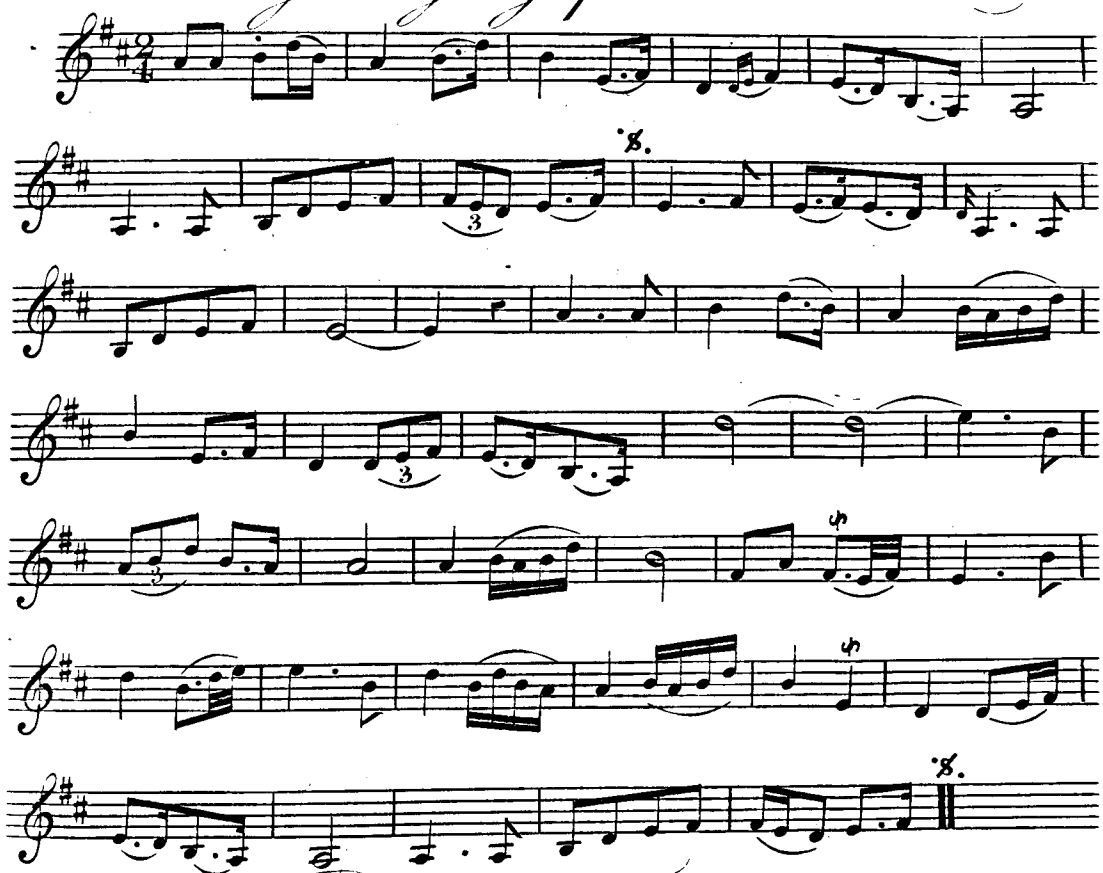
The *gámbang káyu* (No. 2) is a kind of *staccáto*, consisting of wooden bars of graduated lengths, placed across a kind of boat, which when skilfully struck with a sort of mallet, produce pleasing tones, either grave or acute. The lowest and highest sounds of the instrument differ from each other by the interval of three octaves and a major third: the intermediate sounds of each octave from the lowest note are a second, third, fifth, and sixth. This instrument is general throughout the Archipelago, and is frequently played alone, or accompanied only by the drum and a small *gong*. *Ráden Rána Dipúra*, a native of Java, who accompanied me to England, played on this instrument several of his national melodies before an eminent composer, all of which were found to bear a strong resemblance to the oldest music of Scotland, the distinctive character of both, as well as of Indian music in general, being determined by the want of the fourth and seventh of the key and of all the semitones.* By reiteration several of the sounds are artfully prolonged much beyond their noted length, which produces an irregularity of measure that might both perplex and offend the educated ear of an accompanying timeist. The rhythm of the sections (from extension and contraction) appears very imperfect.

The *bónang* or *krómo* (No. 3), the *sáron* (No. 5), the *démong* (No. 6), and *selántam* (No. 7), are *staccátos* of metallic bars, and a sort of bells placed on a frame. They contain a regular diatonic scale, and nearly two octaves. These, however, are never played singly, but harmonize with the instrument on which the air is played.

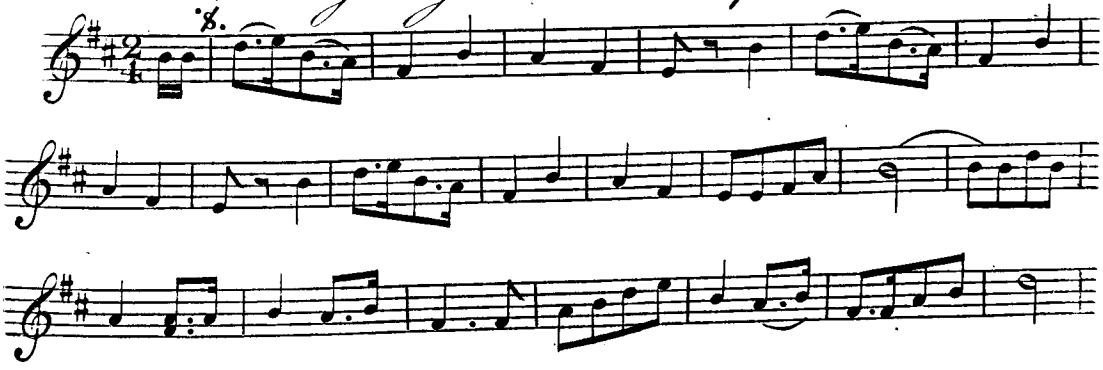
The *gongs* (No. 9) are perhaps the noblest instruments of the kind that have been brought to Europe: I am assured that they are very superior to that which was admitted in the terrific scenes of the serious ballet representing the death of Captain Cooke. Suspended in frames, and struck by a mallet covered with cloth or elastic gum, they sustain the harmonious triad in a very perfect manner, and are probably the most powerful and musical of all monotonous instruments. They might be introduced with advantage in lieu of large drums. They have the advantage of being melifluous,

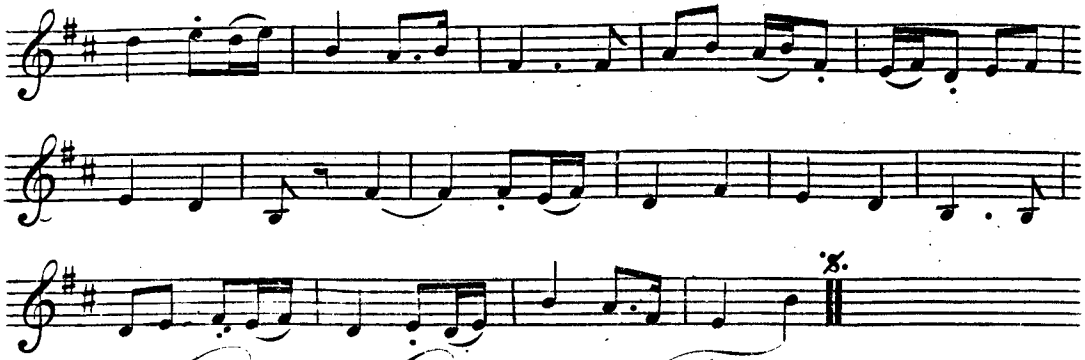
* The same observation has, I believe, been made on the character of the Grecian music.

Surung Dayung - push and row.

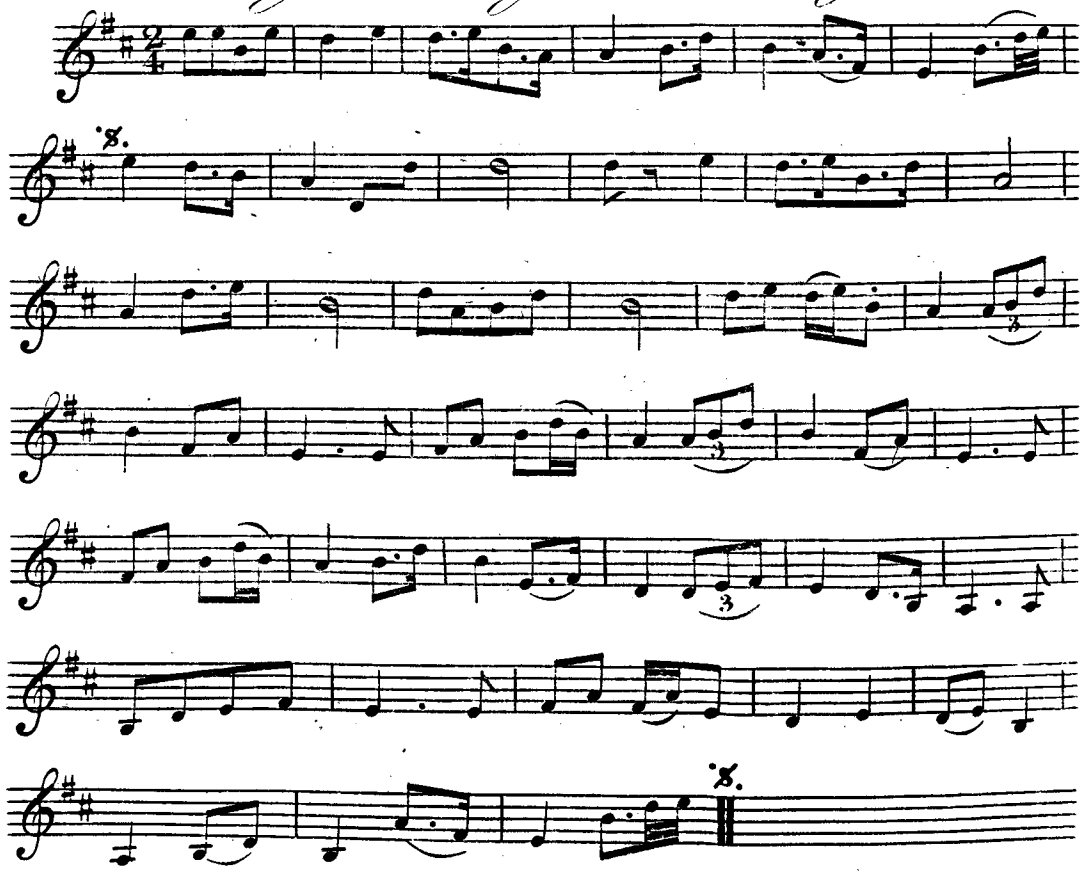


Kuboyong - The Captive.

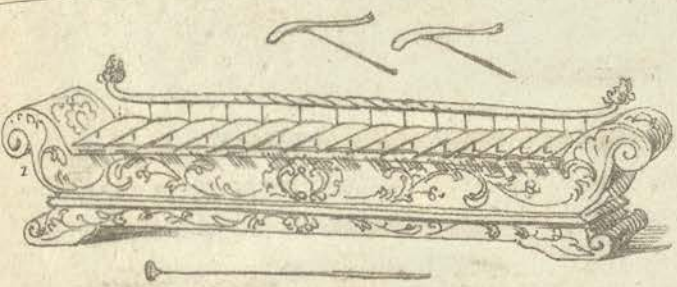


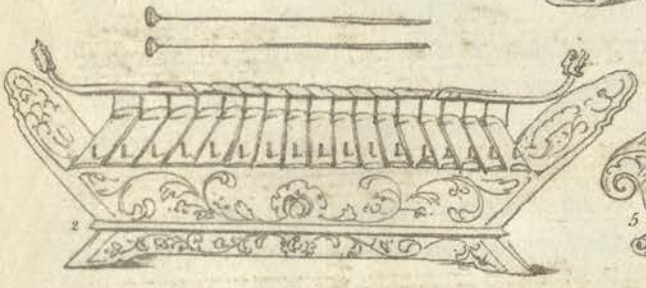


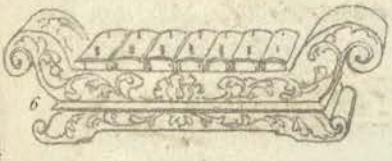
Onang Onang - The delight.

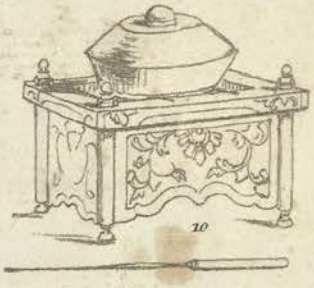


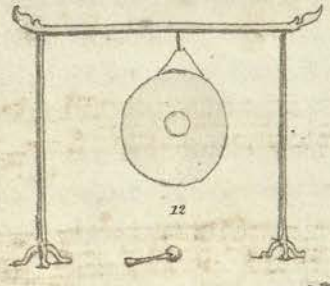
Musical Instruments
Gamelan Salindro

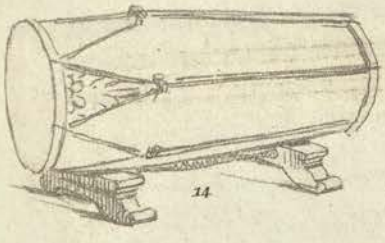


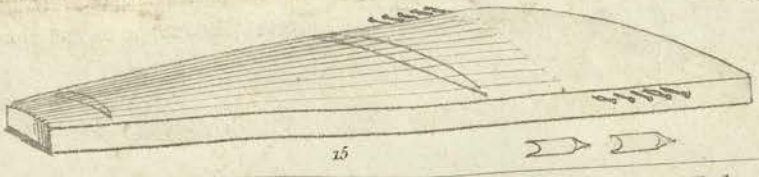












1 Gambang Gangsa.
2 Gambang Kayu.
3 Bonang or Kromo.
5 Saron.
6 Demong.
7 Selantam.
8 Kecher.
9 Gong.
10 Kenong.
11 Ketuk.
12 Kumpul.
14 Kendang.
15 Chelempung.
16 Suling.
17 Rebab.

fluous, and capable of accompanying pathetic strains. The two *gongs* differ from each other by one note.

The above observations apply particularly to the *gámelan pélog*, which usually accompanies the recitation of the popular poems of the country. The *gámbang káyu* of the *salíndru*, appears only to differ in being in another key, which is considered better suited to the occasions in which that kind of *gámelan* is used.

The airs which are exhibited in the annexed plate are selected from several written down by a gentleman at *Semárang*, as they were played on the *rebáb* of the *gámelan pélog*, and may afford a further illustration of the nature of their music.

But it is the harmony and pleasing sound of all the instruments united, which gives the music of Java its peculiar character among Asiatics. The sounds produced on several of the instruments are peculiarly rich, and when heard at a distance have been frequently compared to those produced on the harmonic glasses. The airs, however simple and monotonous they may appear of themselves, when played on the *gámbang káyu*, or accompanied by the other instruments, never tire on the ear, and it is not unusual for the *gámelan* to play for many days and nights in succession.

The Javans do not note down or commit their music to writing: the national airs, of which I have myself counted above a hundred, are preserved by the ear alone. Those which are exhibited in the annexed plate are among the most popular: but there are a variety which are played on occasions of rejoicing and festivity, which it would be difficult to note down; if indeed they can be called airs at all, the sounds produced rather resembling the chiming of bells than a melody. Thus when a great man arrives at the native seat of government, the tune of *kébu gíru*, "buffaloes "frisking," is played, and a variety of others of the same nature, which diffuse the same kind of joy and gaiety among all assembled, as the quick ringing of bells in the churches of England.

A complete set of the *gámelan pélog* costs from a thousand to sixteen hundred dollars (£250 to £400), but second-hand sets are frequently disposed of. The principal manufacture is at *Grésik*, and the *gongs* in particular furnish a valuable article of export. Every native chief in authority has one or more *gámelans*, and there are more or less perfect sets in all the populous towns of the eastern provinces.

In

In some of the interior, and in particular in the *Súnda* districts, the inhabitants still perform on a rude instrument of *bámbu*, called the *ángklung*, of which a representation is given in one of the plates. This instrument is formed of five or more tubes of *bámbu*, cut at the end after the manner of the barrels of an organ. These, which are of graduated lengths, from about twenty to eight inches, are placed in a frame, in such a manner as to move to a certain extent from their position and to vibrate on the frame being shaken. A troop of from ten to fifty mountaineers, each with an *ángklung*, and accompanied by one or two others with a small drum played with the open hand, always perform upon this instrument on occasions of festivity in the *Súnda* districts. The upper part of the instrument, and the parties themselves, are generally decorated with common feathers, and the performers, in their appearance and action, are frequently as grotesque and wild as can be imagined. There is something, however, so extremely simple, and at the same time gay, in the sound produced by the rattling of these *bámbu* tubes, that I confess I have never heard the *ángklung* without pleasure. The Javans say the first music of which they have an idea was produced by the accidental admission of the air into a *bámbu* tube, which was left hanging on a tree, and that the *ángklung* was the first improvement upon this Eolian music. With regard to the music of the *gámelan*, "that," say they, "was "procured from heaven, and we have a long story about it."

A wind instrument, of the nature of a flute, but in length some feet, with a proportionate diameter, is sometimes introduced in the *gámelans*; but this is not usual in Java, though in *Báli* it is general.

The *trawángsa* is a stringed instrument, not very unlike a guitar (see plate), which is occasionally found in the *Súnda* districts: it is by no means general. I recollect to have once heard an old blind bard at *Chiánjur* play upon this instrument, reciting at the same time traditions respecting *Pajajáran*, and the ancient history of the country, which had probably never been committed to writing.

Painting. The Javans have made no progress in drawing or painting; nor are there any traces to be found of their having, at any former period of their history, attained any proficiency in this art. They are not, however, ignorant of proportions or perspective, nor are they insensible to the beauty and effect of the productions of other nations.* Their eye is correct and their hand steady,

* We can hardly suppose them to have been as ignorant of the art of design as their neighbours on Borneo, at the period of their being first visited by Europeans. The following story

steady, and if required to sketch any particular object, they produce a very fair resemblance of the original. They are imitative, and though genius in this art may not have yet appeared among them, there is reason to believe that, with due encouragement, they would not be found less ingenious than other nations in a similar stage of civilization. They have a tradition, that the art of painting was once successfully cultivated among them, and a period is even assigned to the loss of it; but the tradition does not seem entitled to much credit.

Arithmetic.

The Javans do not appear to possess any peculiar method or system in their arithmetical calculations. They generally compute without putting down the figures in writing. In this process they are slow, but generally correct. The common people, from an entire ignorance of arithmetic or to assist their memory, sometimes use grains of *pâri* or small stones on these occasions.

Sculpture and architecture.

The many vast and magnificent remains of edifices found at this day in different parts of Java, bear witness to the high degree of perfection in which architecture and sculpture were at one period practised in that island. But whether the natives themselves designed these edifices and their ornaments, or only worked under the direction of ingenious artists from other countries, is a question connected with their history, which we shall at present forbear to inquire into.

The art of sculpture is entirely lost to the natives. The only modern buildings they possess, of any architectural importance, are the *krâtons*, or palaces of the chiefs, which have already been described.

Astronomy.

The Javans of the present day have no pretensions to astronomy as a science. The seasons are determined by reference to a system no longer perfectly understood, either in its principle or application; but from the Hindu terms still in use for the days of the week, &c. and from the similarity

is translated from a note in Joao de Barros, 4 Decade, Book I., Chap. 17. "Vasco Lorenco-"Drejo Cam and Gonzala Veltoza, were sent to the King of Borneo on a treaty of "commerce. Among their presents was a piece of tapestry, representing the marriage of "Henry VIII of England and Catherine, Princess of Arragon. The King received them well" "but on delivering the presents, the piece of tapestry was displayed, with the figures as large "as life. This to the King was matter of alarm and suspicion, for he imagined that the "figures must be enchanted, and that the Portuguese wished to introduce them under his "roof to deprive him of his kingdom and his life. He ordered the tapestry to be immediately "removed, and that the Portuguese should immediately depart, as he did not chuse to have "any more kings beside himself in the country; and all attempts to pacify him were fruit-"less."—Vol. 4. part I, p. 107.

of many of their superstitions to those of continental India, it seems probable that if they ever possessed an astronomical system, it was derived from that quarter. Thus when an eclipse takes place, the people shout and make all the noise they can, to prevent the sun or moon from being devoured by the great *nága* or dragon, which they suppose to be invading it. Some of the better informed have derived a few notions of astronomy from the Arabs; but their knowledge, in this respect, is at best extremely imperfect, and it is rather to the traces, which are to be found in the ancient manuscripts, and to the remains of what they knew in former days, that it is interesting to refer.

Divisions of time.

The Javans, in common with other Mahometans, have for upwards of two centuries, if not for a longer period, adopted the lunar year of the Arabs; but they still retain their own era, and seldom adopt that of the Hejira. The Javan era is called that of *Aji Sáka*, on whose arrival in Java it is supposed to have commenced; but as *sáka* is a Sanscrit term, variously applied, as connected with the establishment of an era, it was probably adopted by the Javans at the period of the introduction of the era itself,* which corresponds almost exactly with the Hindu era of *Salavaharna*, being seventy-four years short of the christian era. The present is accordingly the year 1744 of the Javan era, or era of *Aji Sáka*. On *Báli*, where the same era is likewise adopted, there is a difference of about seven years, the *Báli* year being 1737. This difference is supposed to have arisen from the people of *Báli*, who are still unconverted to the Mahometan faith, continuing to use the solar year.

The Javans usually divide the day and night each into five portions, as follow:

Division of the Day.

The period from six o'clock in the morning till eight is called *ésuk*;
That from eight till noon, ... *teng'ang'i*;
That from noon till one o'clock, ... *bedúg*;
That from one till three, ... *lingsir kúlon*;
That from three till six, ... *ásar*;

Division of the Night.

The period from six o'clock in the evening till eight is called *sóré*;
That from eight till eleven o'clock, ... *sirapwóng*;
That from midnight till one o'clock, ... *teng'awéng'i*;

That

* See Chapter on History.

Pón *Wagi* *Kaliwon* *Manis* *Pahing*

Pón *Wagi* *Kaliwon* *Manis* *Pahing*

Fac Simile of Signs representing the divisions of the day and the Pasar or Market days — from an ancient M. S. in possession of the Tumunggung of Telaga in Cheribon.

That from one o'clock till three ..... *lingsir-wéng'i*;
That from three o'clock till day-light ..... *báng'un.*

The twenty-four hours of the day and night are also occasionally divided into what is called the *lima wáktu*, or five periods of time, namely: from sunset until eight o'clock in the morning; from that hour till twelve; from twelve till three; from three till four; from four till sunset.

Each of these divisions is considered sacred to one of the five deities, *Sri*, *Kála*, *Wisnu*, *Maheswára*, and *Bráma*, supposed to preside over these divisions of the day and night in rotation, the order being changed every day, until at the commencement of every fifth day and night it returns to the same again. The division which thus becomes sacred to *Sri* is considered fortunate; that to *Kála* unfortunate; that to *Wisnu* neither good nor bad; that to *Maheswára* as still more fortunate than that to *Sri*; that to *Bráma* as peculiarly unfortunate.

Week of five days.

The terms *páhing*, *pon*, *wági*, *kaliwon*, and *mánis* or *légi*, are applied to the days of the *panchawára*, or week of five days, which is common throughout the country, and by which the markets are universally regulated.*

Week of seven days.

Besides this week of five days, which seems to be by far the most ancient as well as the most generally adopted among them, the Javans have a week of seven days as follows.

Díti, Sunday, which corresponds with the Hindu *Rowi.*
Sóma, Monday ..... *Soma.*
Ang'gára, Tuesday ..... *Mangala.*
Búdha, Wednesday ..... *Budha.*
Raspáti, Thursday ..... *Vrihaspati.*
Súkra, Friday ..... *Sukra.*
Sanischára or *Túmpah*, Saturday ..... *Sani.*

The Arabic terms are usually employed to express the months.

Wuku.

The weeks of seven days, considered with reference to the seasons, are termed *wúku*. Thirty of these are said to have been established in commemoration of the victory obtained over *Wátu Gúnung*.† These thirty have

* "Each Mexican month of twenty days was subdivided into four small periods of five "days. At the beginning of these periods every commune kept its fair, *tianquiztli*."—*Humboldt's Researches*, Translation, vol i, page 283.

"In respect to civil government, they divided the month into four periods of five days, and "on a certain fixed day of each period their fair, or great market day, was held."—*Clavigero*, Translation, vol. i, page 293.

† See Literature, account of the *Kanda.*

have again six principal divisions, each consisting of thirty-five days, and commencing on the day when *díti* and *páhing* fall together.

Each *wúku* is dedicated to its particular deity, and has its appropriate emblems in the Javan system of judicial astrology. The names of the *wúku* and of the deities to which each is considered sacred are as follow:

	WUKU.	DEWA OR DEITY.
1.	*Sínta*	*Batara Yáma.*
2.	*Lándap*	*Súria.*
3.	*Wúkir*	*Maheswára.*
4.	*Kurántil*	*Puru Senkára.*
5.	*Tálu*	*Báyu.*
6.	*Gúmbreg*	*Sákra.*
7.	*Wariga*	*Asmára.*
8.	*Warigájan*	*Pancháresi.*
9.	*Júlung Wáng'i*	*Sámbo.*
10.	*Sung Sang*	*Gána Kumára.*
11.	*Galúng'an*	*Kamajáya.*
12.	*Kuníng'an*	*Indra.*
13.	*Lángkir*	*Kala.*
14.	*Mandásia*	*Bráma.*
15.	*Julung-pújud*	*Páncha Rásmi.*
16.	*Paháng*	*Tántra.*
17.	*Kuru Welút*	*Wísnu.*
18.	*Maraké*	*Gána.*
19.	*Támbir*	*Séwa.*
20.	*Mánda kung'an*	*Basúki.*
21.	*Maktal*	*Chandrása.*
22.	*Woyé*	*Kawéra.*
23.	*Manáhil*	*Chitra Gáta.*
24.	*Prang-bákat*	*Bísma.*
25.	*Bála*	*Dúrga.*
26.	*Wúku*	*Lódra.*
27.	*Wáyang*	*Sri.*
28.	*Kuláwu*	*Sewandána.*
29.	*Dukúd*	*Kanéka.*
30.	*Wátu gúnung*	*Gúru.*

The

The twelve seasons, *Mángsa*, of which an account has been given, when treating of the agriculture of the Javans, are said to be determined by reference to the sun's course at the commencement of each of these divisions.

When a want of rain is experienced, it is a custom for the people of the village or town to assemble, and for a *wáyang* to be performed upon the story of *Wátu Gúnung* and *Déwi Sínta*. On these occasions two sticks of the dark coloured sugar-cane, two young and two old cocoa-nuts, two bundles of different coloured *pári*, two bundles of the flowers of the *areca*-nut, a piece of white cloth, sweet scented oils, two fowls and two ducks, are placed by the side of the *dálang* during the performance, and are afterwards considered his property.

The term *windu* is used to express a revolution or cycle of years. The Javans refer to *windu* of eight years, a *windu* of twelve years, a *windu* of twenty years, and a *windu* of thirty-two years. The *windu* of eight years, now in use, seems to have been borrowed from the Arabs; but this is more frequently considered of seven years, each year taking its name from one of the following animals, according to the day of the week on which it begins. Windu or Cycle.

Mangkára, ... Prawn, if on a Friday,
Ménda, ... Goat, ... Saturday,
Klábang, ... Centiped ..... Sunday,
Wichítra, ... Worm ..... Monday,
Mintúna, ... A species of fish, Tuesday,
Was, ... Scorpion, ... Wednesday,
Maisába, ... Buffalo, ... Thursday.

The names given to the year comprised in the *windu* of twelve years appear to be the same with the signs of the zodiac, which according to the manuscript discovered at Chéribon are as follow :—

1. *Mésa* or *Mesársi*, ... the Ram, corresponding with the Hindu *Mesha*,
2. *M'rísa* or *M'resába*, ... the Bull, ... *Vrisha*,
3. *M'ritúna* or *M'rikaga*, ... the Butterfly, ... *Mithuna* (the pair),
4. *Kalakáta* or *Kkala kadi*, ... the Crab, ... *Karkata*,
5. *Sing'ha* or *Grigréson*, ... the Lion, ... *Sinha*,
6. *Kanya* or *Kangerása*, ... the Virgin, ... *Kunya*,

7. *Tula*

7. *Tula* or *Tularási*, ... the Balance, ... *Tula*,
8. *Mri-Chika* or *Priwitarási*, the Scorpion, ... *Vrishchica*,
9. *Dánu* or *Wánoh*, ... the Bow, ... *Danus*,
10. *Makára*, ... the Crawfish, ... *Makara* (sea monster),
11. *Kúba*, ... the Water-jug, ... *Kumbha*,
12. *Ména*, ... the Fish, ... *Mina*.*

The Javans, though they occasionally apply the signs of the zodiac to the twelve years of the cycle, have at present no knowledge of these signs as connected with the sun's course. In the Chéribon manuscript, which contains an explanation of each sign, they seem to have been considered only as giving names to particular years. Thus in the explanations of the first sign it is stated:

"This year, the year of *Mesa-arsi*, there is a mark in the horn of the ram; "the deity who presides is *Batára Wisnu*; the rain is for five months; it "is profitable to plant *gágas*, but birds destroy great quantities; this may "be prevented by administering *obat* (medicine) composed of the oil of the "*káwang*, with the flowers of the cotton plant and those of the *kasúmba*: "rats also do great mischief in the *sáwahs*, which may be prevented by "administering the *bud* of *síri* on a lucky day, named *ang'gara*, and *diti* on "the *panchawára Mánis*; when administering it the following words should "be repeated; '*Hong! Kíro-Wísnu-Sówa! tung'gal sih ning Buána!* "'Hail Wisnu! who art beheld clearly to be the only one in the world!'"

In the same manuscript, which appears to be entirely of an astronomical or astrological nature, the year appears to be divided into four portions, each distinguished by the peculiar position of a *nága*, or serpent.

The first to the three divisions includes *Jista*, *Sáda*, *Kásar*; the form and shape of the great *nága* in these seasons is first stated, and represented by a drawing, the head being during these months towards the east and tail to the west. "In these months, if any one wishes to plant rice, it must be "white and yellow *pári*; and at this time alms must be given, consisting of "white rice ornamented with the flowers called *wári*, and in the name of or "in honour of *Déwa Yáma*, and on the seventh day. It will not be pro- "fitable to go to war in these months.

"If

* Each of the years represented in the Chéribon manuscript, and distinguished by the signs of the Zodiac, is considered sacred to one of the following Deities: *Wísnu, Sámbo, Indra, Suria, Místri, Barúna, Sang Místri, Wandra Kurísia, Purusiah, Tabada, Aria*, or *Gána*.

OF THE
BOMBAY
BRANCH
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY

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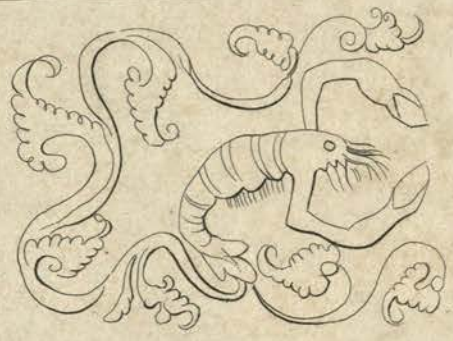

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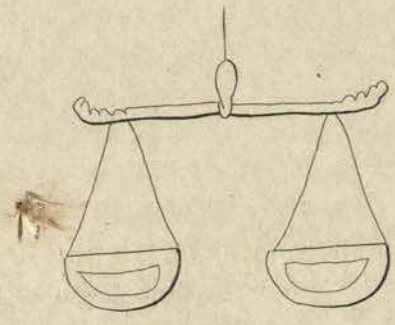

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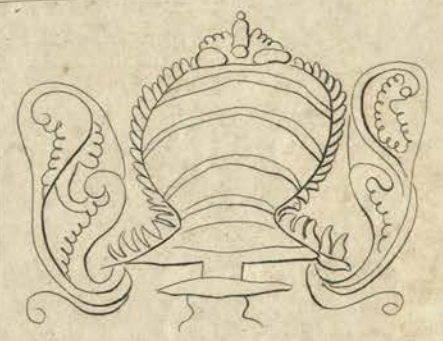

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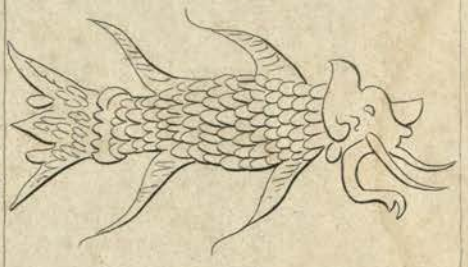

12

Fac Simile of the Signs of the Zodiac as represented in an ancient M.S. in posſesion of the Tumunggung of Teliga in Cheribon.

" If a child is born in these months he will be liable to seven sicknesses " through life. Great care and caution must be taken in these months " against sickness."

The second is as follows:

" In the seasons of *Káru*, *Katíga*, and *Kaphat*, the head of the *nága* is " to the north and tail to the west. These times are neither good or bad; " it is proper to plant yellow *pári*; alms should be given of *búbur dbang*, " red rice and water, &c. in honor or in the name of *Déwa Sarasáti*. Success " will attend wars undertaken in these months.

" If a child is born in the month it will be unfortunate, and great care " and caution must be taken regarding it; and if the child attains an ad- " vanced age, unhappiness will befal the parent.

" In the third *nága*, which includes the fifth, sixth, and seventh seasons, " the head of the *nága*," it says, " is to the west, his tail to the east, his " belly to the north. The offering then to be made is yellow rice, and " a small ivory handled knife ornamented with gold. The deity of these " months is *Batára Sarasáti*. In going to war in these seasons, be careful " not to face the head of the *nága*." *

* See an account of this manuscript under the head Antiquities.

END OF VOL. I.

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Great Queen Street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.

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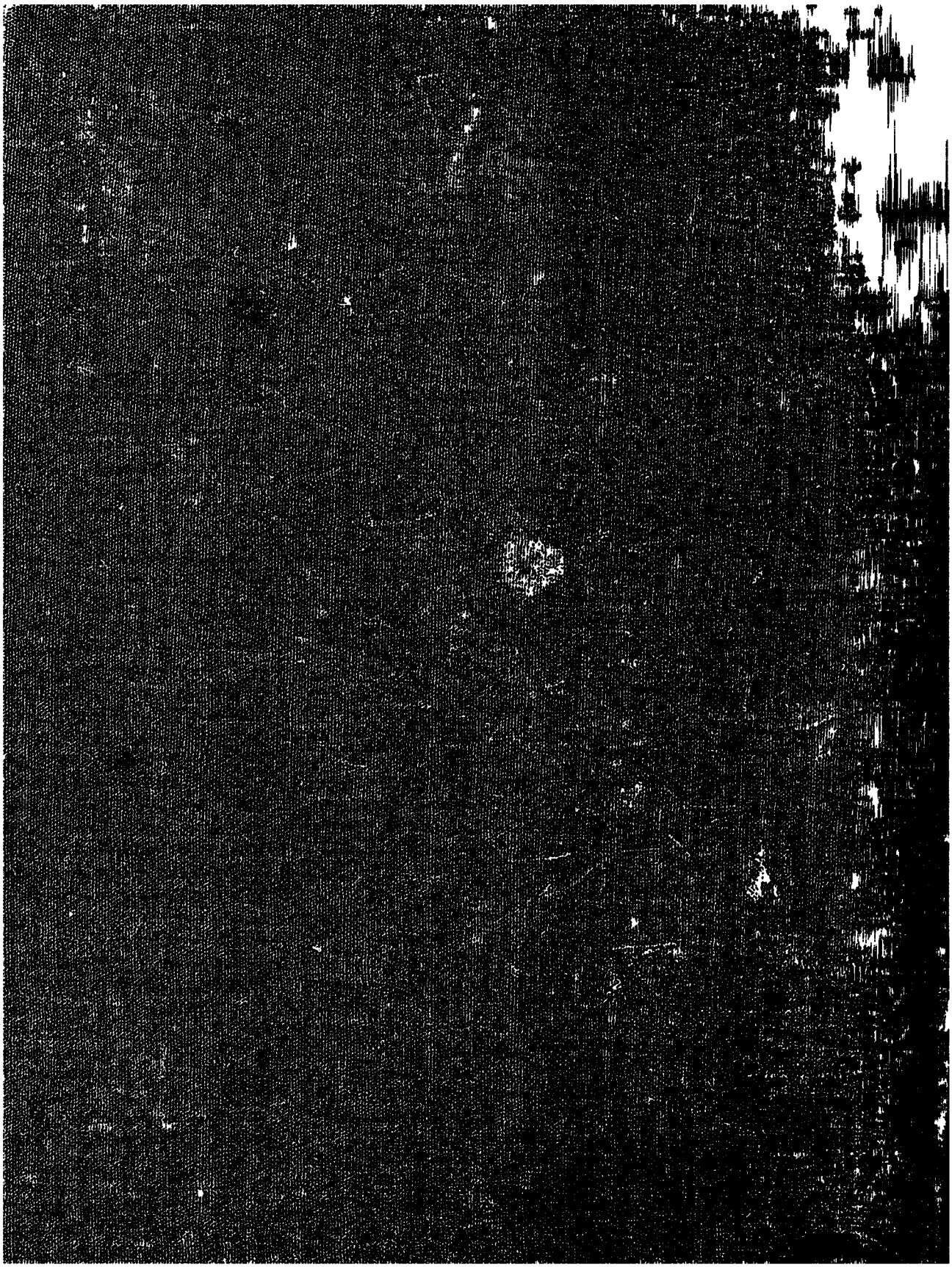
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